

R E P O R T

FROM THE

S E L E C T C O M M I T T E E

ON

E A S T I N D I A (R A I L W A Y S).

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
13 July 1858.*

EAST INDIA.

(BENGAL—MEMORIAL OF MISSIONARIES.)

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 10 May 1857;—for,

A COPY “of the MINUTE recorded by the Lieutenant-governor of *Bengal*; of the MINUTES recorded by the several Members of Council of the Supreme Government of *India*; of the LETTER written by the Secretary to the Government of *India* to the Secretary to the Government of *Bengal*; and of the LETTER from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-general of *India* in Council; respecting the MEMORIAL of certain MISSIONARIES residing in, or near *Calcutta*, dated the 2d day of September 1856.”

India Board, }
19 May 1857. }

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MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Halliday*.

18 September 1856.

THIS is a Memorial which has been submitted to me by certain Christian missionaries concerning the state of the provinces subject to the Government of Bengal, with a request that I will lay it before the Right Honourable the Governor-general in Council.

Memorial from certain Christian Missionaries, on the state of the rural population.

2. It will be seen that the Memorialists declare their belief that “in many districts neither life nor property is secure, that gang robberies of the most daring character are perpetrated annually in great numbers, with impunity, and that there are constant scenes of violence in contentions respecting disputed boundaries between the owners of landed estates.”

3. The Memorialists ascribe these evils to “the inefficiency of the police, and the judicial system;” regarding the former of which they inveigh against the village chowkeydars and the stipendiary thannah police as corrupt, oppressive, and incompetent.

4. The working of the zemindaree system is considered by the Memorialists as one of the most active causes of evil. It encourages, they say, the concealment, and consequently the commission, of crime. It impedes the administration of justice; and, whilst it emboldens the rich to set the law at defiance, it leads the poor to despair of obtaining redress even against the greatest wrong that may be inflicted on them. “It tends,” the Memorialists add, “to demoralise and pauperise the peasantry, and to reduce this fair and fertile land to a condition similar to that under which Ireland suffered so grievously and so long.”

5. From all this it has resulted, in the judgment of the Memorialists, that the rural population of Bengal commonly live in a state of poverty and wretchedness, produced chiefly by the present system of landed tenures, and the extortion of the zemindars, aggravated by the inefficiency and the cruelties of the peace officers, who are paid by the chowkedarry tax, or by the Government.

6. And besides the causes above assigned, the Memorialists attribute much of the lawlessness of which they complain, to "the want of a complete survey of the estates of the country, of a Registration Act to settle titles, and of laws to obviate the infinite mischief of the universal system of secret trusts," from which wants arise constant conflict and violence, and the tenant is reduced, not merely to beggary, but also in many cases to a state of the most abject and pitiable servitude.

7. In effect, the Memorialists declare the social condition of the people of Bengal to be "deplorable in the extreme," and affirm that a spirit of sullen discontent prevails among the rural population, from an impression that the Government is indifferent to their sufferings, that the discontent is daily increasing, and that a bitter feeling of hatred towards their rulers is being engendered in their minds.

8. This being, in the opinion of the Memorialists, the actual state of things, they go on to express their earnest desire that a Commission may be appointed, consisting of men of independent minds, unbiassed by official or local prejudices, to institute a searching inquiry into all the causes that now affect the condition of the population, and "especially the following eight subjects:"

1st. "The state of the police and the judicial system."

2d. "The powers and influence of the zemindars and planters, and how those powers are used."

3d. "The resources and earnings of the labouring classes, and the proportion which these bear to the rent that they are compelled to pay."

4th. "The harassing exactions and oppressions to which the poor are subject"

5th. "The landed tenures"

6th. "The extension of the Government sales of ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs, among a people once celebrated for temperance."*

7th. "The actual extent to which education is provided for the masses;" and,

8th. "The best means of alleviating the sufferings, and elevating the condition, of the people."

9. Notwithstanding the authority which cannot but attach to the respected names appended to this memorial, and notwithstanding the estimation with which the motives and purposes of these excellent and useful missionaries must certainly be regarded, it is impossible for any one who has had the large and frequent opportunities which I have enjoyed of acquainting myself by personal intercourse with all classes, Native and European, in and out of the service, and thereby acquiring a knowledge of the real state of things, to admit, as a correct representation of facts, the picture which is drawn in this Memorial of the general condition of the rural population of Bengal.

10. It is a picture, founded doubtless on some isolated facts, which have occasionally come to the knowledge of missionaries in the mofussil, and it also represents some circumstances which might, and no doubt sometimes, do happen in the present state, not only of the law, which admits of speedy alteration, but also of national morals, education, and public opinion, which cannot be speedily amended by the Government, but must await the comparatively slow advance of general civilisation and improvement. But it is not, in my judgment, by any means an accurate representation of the state of the actual relations between landlord

The Memorialists do not seem to be aware that there is no such thing as a Government sale of spirit and intoxicating drugs. The Government largely taxes the sale of such articles, with a view to discourage it. The Government sells nothing of the kind except opium, which is a small matter, subsidiary to the general monopoly, and evidently not the article to which the Memorialists

landlord (or planter) and tenant, and of the condition of the rural population over the most part of the territory to which it purports to apply; and, above all, I must take leave to express my absolute dissent from the statement made, doubtless in perfect good faith, that the people exhibit a spirit of sullen discontent on account of the miseries ascribed to them, and that there exists among them that bitter hatred to the Government which has filled the Memorialists, as they declare, "with alarm as well as sorrow."

11. Great stress is laid by the Memorialists on the inefficient condition of the police, and the defects of the judicial system. They call, first and foremost, for inquiry into these, in preference to all other subjects of investigation, and they designate them, and with perfect truth, the radical cause of the social evils of which I am far from denying the existence, though I am not disposed to look upon them as so dark and deplorable as they appear in the painting of the Memorialists. But why appoint a commission to inquire into such matters as those? They have been inquired into repeatedly, and their defects thoroughly examined and exposed. Measures for the improvement of both the police and the judicial system are now, as is well known, under the consideration of the Executive Government, and likely soon to be presented to the Legislature. The time present is, as regards those things, not the time for investigation but for action, and anything that is likely to delay action on those points will impede the very consummation which the Memorialists so greatly desire. Nothing would so surely, or so long, delay the completion of the necessary improvements in the police and in the judicial system, as a commission for a new inquiry into those subjects, and, on that ground alone, further inquiry is to be deprecated.

12. But it is certain, no less from the statements of the Memorialists themselves than from the obvious nature of the case, that reform in these two important points will go a great way towards removing the evils which undoubtedly affect the condition of the rural population. This is a country in which, owing to imperfect civilisation, scanty knowledge, and a low standard of morality, to habits of selfish domination in one part of the population, and of slavish submission in another part, might is at all times very apt to be made right. It is a country, therefore, in which the poor will greatly need, for their protection against the rich, a strong and incorrupt police, and a pure, simple, and accessible judicial system. As soon as the police is put on as reasonably sound a footing as the condition of the country allows, and as soon as the judicial system has been simplified, cheapened, and rendered easily accessible, the greater part will have been done of all that a Government can at present do in this country, towards the protection of its poorer against its richer subjects; and when the law of landlord and tenant is amended, a subject on which I have been recently occupied in inquiry, and regarding which a project of law will shortly be placed before the Legislative Council, I know not what more will remain in the way of legislative improvement to meet the fullest wishes of the Memorialists, and of all who, like the Memorialists, are benevolently intent on raising and bettering the material condition of the Bengal agriculturalist.

13. That the Government is actually engaged in measures for this purpose is notorious. They may perform the duty well or ill; as fast as can be expected, or with unreasonable delay: whatever be the case, no one can say that the Memorialists, and others having the same good purposes as the Memorialists, ought not to assist by information and suggestions, and to stimulate and quicken by earnest appeal and exhortation. On the contrary, all they can do in these ways must be useful, and can seldom fail to be acceptable. At all events, it must tend to improve the forthcoming measures, and to accelerate their completion. And when they shall have been completed, with the aid of all well-informed and public-spirited persons like the Memorialists, we shall, I hope, have done all that present circumstances place within our power towards giving to the ryot a just and fair rule of conduct for the mutual relations between himself and the zemindar; a police capable of protecting him against violence and aggression; and a judicial system suited to his position, his wants, and his means, and available, without unreasonable delays and impediments, to afford him redress against his most powerful oppressors. But, to appoint a commission to inquire into these matters is certainly not the way to hasten the accomplishment of the business in hand, but to retard it.

14. It must be obvious, I think, that while some of the questions on which the Memorialists propose to employ Commissioners of Inquiry, are such as require at present no investigation, others are such as no investigation would be likely to bring to a profitable or satisfactory termination. Upon "the state of the police and judicial system," inquiry has been pushed to a sufficient extent; and action, the consequence of inquiry, is what is now most urgently called for. Upon "the actual extent to which education is now provided for the masses," no inquiry could give fuller information than has resulted from the investigations of Mr. Adam; in consequence of which, it has been provided, in the educational measures dictated by the Home Government, and only just coming into operation here, that the education of the masses in the vernacular shall be a large and important part of the *caré*, and the expenditure, of Government. In this, as in the previous subject named by the Memorialists, investigation seems to have been suggested just when the time for investigation has passed away, and when it would be more to the purpose to assist and accelerate the measures actually in progress, than to impede them by proposals for inquiry. - And what sound practical purposes could possibly be served, in the present state of the case, by sending commissioners to open up such subjects of investigation as "the powers and influence of the zemindars and planters, and how those powers are used," or the resources and earnings of the labouring classes, and the proportions which these bear to the rent that they are compelled to pay; or, again, "the harassing exactions and oppressions to which the poor are subject?" The great matter in hand for the classes affected by these questions, is to have a good police, a good law of landlord and tenant, and a good judicial system; and when these are secured, the rest (so far as the state of morals and civilisation permit) will follow of itself. And for morals and civilisation we can but look to the results of education, now well known to be in active prosecution by Government, and to the exertions of the Memorialists, and the other similar public benefactors.

15. Of the other subjects of inquiry proposed by the Memorialists, one, that relating to the Excise revenue, seems, as I have said, to have been suggested under a mistaken view of facts. There are no such things as "Government sales" of "ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs;" and it is not possible that the taxing heavily of a given commodity should increase* its consumption, except by encouraging smuggling, which is not the statement made, or in fact the thing aimed at, by the Memorialists. The other two subjects of inquiry are the "landed tenures," and "the best means of alleviating the sufferings and elevating the condition of the people;" of which the first, however interesting, seems to me to have but a remote bearing on the matter in hand; and the other is a profound and extensive question, the solution of which is not more desirable in India than in any other country, but which has in no country been sought, and in none surely is likely to be attained, by the labours of any commissioners who could possibly be selected for the purpose.

16. Lastly, I should apprehend that even if it were thought proper to enter upon these delicate, intricate, and extensive investigations, it would be a matter of extreme difficulty to select such an agency as should fulfil the conditions imposed by the Memorialists, and at the same time be satisfactory to the various classes liable to be affected by their Report, or to the Government which would have to act upon it hereafter. The commissioners are to be "men of independent minds, unbiassed by official or local prejudices." There must, therefore, be no Government officers on the commission; no zemindars, or the agents of zemindars; no indigo planters; and no merchants who are of one

* The Board of Revenue, in a recent letter to Government, have written on this subject in the following terms:—"To whatever causes the increase of the consumption of intoxicating liquors in this country (a fact which is universally admitted) is attributable, the Board unhesitatingly deny that the imposition of a tax upon the community can have anything to do with it. They quite agree with Mr. Atherton, that, far from fostering or encouraging, in the slightest degree, a habit so pernicious to the health, and injurious to the welfare of its subjects, it should be the duty of every wise Government, by all just means, to suppress it; but they believe that prohibitory legislation on such a subject would be ineffectual, and that all that the Government can do, is to impose as heavy a tax on spirits as is practicable, without leading to illicit manufacture."

one mind and one interest with indigo planters. There can be no missionaries employed in the inquiry, with any chance of giving satisfaction to indigo planters or zemindars; and, in short, every one seems to be excluded who has knowledge of the language and the country, or experience of the people. From the inquiries of commissioners destitute of these important qualifications, not even the Memorialists themselves could, I suppose, anticipate any happy results.

17. In forwarding therefore this Memorial, in order to its being laid before the Right Honourable the Governor-general in Council, I am unable to support its prayer with any favourable recommendation. On the contrary, I would earnestly deprecate the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry such as the Memorialists seek for, as unnecessary for the object they have in view, and likely to prove, if attempted, tedious, expensive, and unsatisfactory, possibly dangerous, and certainly mischievous; as raising, among a credulous and ignorant population, expectations which it could never fulfil; and obstructive to the cause of sound and safe reform, by evoking, and setting in open and clamorous hostility to each other, all kinds of class and professional interests and opinions; and, by postponing to the distant close of a difficult and intricate, and possibly stormy and tumultuous investigation, important measures of improvement, which, when matured, may fairly be expected to remove most of the evils of which there is now reason to complain, and which are known to be either now in actual preparation, or are about soon to be brought forward for consideration.

Fred. Jas. Halliday.

MINUTE by the Right Honourable the Governor-General.

6 October 1856.

I HAVE read the Memorial upon the social condition of the people of Bengal, addressed by the missionaries of the Calcutta Conference to his Honour the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, with the attention which is due to the importance of the subjects which it treats, and to the excellent and earnest men who are the authors of it. I have also read the minute which the Lieutenant-governor has recorded upon that Memorial, and in which I generally concur.

His Honour has since communicated to the Government of India a petition from the Committee of the British Indian Association, to the same effect as the Memorial.

The Memorialists, after drawing a painful and lamentable picture of the condition of the rural population of Bengal, of the violence, injustice, and oppression to which they are exposed, and of the sullen discontent, and even hatred towards their rulers, which has been engendered in them, express a desire that a commission may be appointed to inquire into the causes of this state of things.

They ask that such commission shall consist of men of independent minds, unbiassed by official or local prejudices.

I cannot adduce, in support of my opinions upon this subject, the experience derived from personal intercourse with the natives, and from frequent opportunities of observation, spread over many years, which has enabled the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal to speak upon it with such high authority; but I can say with perfect sincerity, that, after availing myself to the best of my power of such information and testimony as is within my reach, I am led to the conclusion that the statement of the Memorialists, if it is intended to be a general representation of the prevailing condition of the people of Bengal, is greatly overcharged.

Nevertheless, I am as thoroughly convinced as the Memorialists themselves can be, that the condition of the people of Bengal cries out loudly for amendment; and that this amendment is in a great degree in the hands of the Government; and the same evidence which has given me this conviction has also satisfied me that nothing more is needed in the way of inquiry on the part of the Government of India, in order to set amendment in motion; that, so far as information is concerned, the Government of India possesses enough to guide it surely and safely to the first great measures of reform in the administration of justice and in the police; and that, to incur delay on the ground that further

Memorial of Missionaries on the condition of the population of Bengal.

investigation of the present palpable deficiencies under these heads is requisite, would be to waste time under false pretensions.

The Memorialists will not, I trust, have long to wait for proof that, in regard to those two means of amelioration, the improvement of the police and of the judicial system, the matter is ripe for action.

So also with respect to the law of landlord and tenant in Bengal, a subject upon which the Lieutenant-governor has already a Bill in preparation.

So also with education. The Memorialists would inquire, through a commission, as to the actual extent to which education is provided for the masses. The impulse given to education, and the system presented for its extension to every class, by the despatch of the Honourable Court of Directors, of the 19th of July 1851, cannot be unknown to the Memorialists. The progress made in the two years that have since elapsed may not be such as to satisfy the aspirations of zealous men, eager for the advancement of true knowledge amongst the benighted people whose spiritual and intellectual enlightenment is the object of their daily care and labours. I do not blame their impatience. That they should watch, and urge, the Government of India in the carrying out of the great work of secular education is not only natural, but desirable; but I deny that there is need of Commissions of Inquiry either to ascertain what has been the result of a system a few months old, or to establish that the necessities and deficiencies which called that system forth still have a real existence. The Memorialists may be sure that the Government of India are thoroughly alive to the fact, that all improvements of police or laws must fail of their full effect, if the ignorance and intellectual deficiency of the people should remain unassisted and unabated; and that the duty which this imposes upon the Government, in regard to the vernacular education of the rural population of Bengal, needs not to be demonstrated by a commission.

If, upon the above-mentioned heads, inquiry by a commission would be useless, and, in so far as it would delay action, worse than useless, upon the other subjects named by the Memorialists it would be actively mischievous. These subjects are, the powers and influence of the zemindars, the use made of these, the earnings of the labouring classes, the rent they pay, the exactions and oppressions which they suffer, and, generally, the best means of alleviating their sufferings, and elevating their condition; in short, the social state of the people in all their relations.

There is also the sale of spirits by the Government; but this, as shown by the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, has been included under some misapprehension. The Memorialists cite the example of the commission appointed by the Government of Madras for inquiring into the practice of torture; but the cases are in no way parallel. In that instance, the Government inquired into the conduct of its own servants, in respect of one single and distinct allegation against them. The question to be solved was one of simple fact, upon which a clear issue might be expected. No class feelings or jealousies were aroused. There was no room for the raising of conflicting theories and opinions to interfere with a positive and definite result; and, therefore, no likelihood that any of the parties concerned would be disappointed.

With such a commission as has been suggested by the Memorialists, the effect would be the very reverse of all this. A wide and vague field of inquiry, inviting discussion and difference upon such subjects as rent, wages, fixity of tenure, and the relations of poor to rich; class made to testify openly against class; the weaker remanded, when their task is done, to the vindictiveness of the stronger, against which no interposition could effectually protect them; wild and extravagant expectations of immediate advantage raised in the minds of a whole people, only to be disappointed: the examination (if the prayer of the British Indian Association be granted) of the share which the Memorialists themselves have had in causing the social evils which they deplore; and the investigation of these delicate and dangerous questions confided to persons whose responsibility would cease with the inquiry.

These would be some of the conditions inseparable from the commission advocated by the missionaries of the Calcutta Conference. With every sincere respect and admiration for the character of the body from which this Memorial proceeds, and gladly acknowledging the value of the co-operation of its members in some of the highest duties of Government, I cannot think that the advice which they have tendered to the Government of India in this instance is well judged,

judged, or that to adopt it would advance the end at which we all aim, the moral and social improvement of the Indian people.

The first and obvious measures towards social reform in Bengal are those which, as I have already said, the Government is preparing to take. I am not so sanguine as to expect that, when taken, they will prove immediate in their results, or that they will command the approval of all parties; but if there should be anything of error in them, it will not arise from any want of information as to the evils which they are designed to cure.

Canning.

MINUTE by the Honourable *J. A. Dorin.*

10 October 1856.

I AGREE entirely in the view taken of this Memorial by the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal.

Memorial of the Calcutta Missionary Body on the condition of the population of Bengal.

There can be little question of the unsatisfactory condition of the rural population of the districts of Bengal Proper; but whether this state of things arises from defects which the Government can remedy, or is engendered by physical causes over which the Government can exercise no control, may be open to very grave doubt.

In respect to such sources of social disorder as would admit of action being taken on them, I believe the Government are in possession of sufficient information to enable them to proceed with reasonable promptitude and decision: upon other heads of inquiry suggested by the reverend missionaries, no information, however extensive, would justify the Government in taking any action whatever.

Nothing, in fact, has surprised me more than to find this demand for a Commission of Inquiry into the condition of the rural population of Bengal, supported by parties whose interests appear to be so diametrically opposed to each other as the Calcutta Missionary Body and the British Indian Association. The Missionary Body, I presume, advocate the wrongs of the poor against the rich. The British Indian Association, on the other hand, comprise the richer classes and landed proprietors, as contradistinguished from the bulk of the poorer population! The former body expatiate on the "poverty and wretchedness produced chiefly by the present system of landed tenures and the extortions of the zemindars," and point to the evils of the "present working of the zemindaree system," while the latter desire to be informed, "whether the social evils of these provinces are to any and what extent caused by the well-intentioned efforts and zeal of professional Christian missionaries:" thus arraying class interests in antagonism to each other, which could be of no possible advantage to any section of the community, and would probably end in proving that both parties are in opposition to some third interest, as obnoxious to both their opinions.

But to what useful result could this tend, or what could it teach the Government in advancement of those projects which they are already anxious to carry out towards the improvement of a very disordered state of social existence? The jarring of class interests will assuredly not assist the progress of social organisation, nor am I altogether sanguine that the amendment of the law, or the improvement of the police, or the still more potent engine of the spread of education, will very materially eradicate the evils of which the Memorialists complained.

I believe those evils to arise in a great degree from the physical structure of the people, and that nature and climate have at least as much to do with them as any defect in the civil administration of the country.

The civil and criminal law is essentially the same in the North-western Provinces as in Bengal, and the state of the police is little better in the Upper Provinces than in the Lower; so that, if the faultiness of the law, or of the police, were the cause of the social evils experienced by one portion of the population, they might be regarded as producing similar results on the other. No one avers that this is the case, or that the condition of the peasantry of the North-western Provinces is so debased as that of Bengal.

And, for one reason, why? because they are men. They are a fine manly race, replete with physical courage, who will not submit to be pillaged by every pri-

vileged, or unprivileged, plunderer ; men who will stand up for their own rights, and defend their property as soon as they have acquired it. But will a Bengallee do this ? Will he lift a finger in defence of either life or property, or is there a particle of physical or moral courage in his composition ? I cannot say that I have ever heard of it.

I believe there is not a more timid human being than a Bengallee, on the face of the earth, and we have had only too palpable proof of it on recent occasions. During the unfortunate Sonthal disturbances of last year, it was utterly impossible to persuade a Bengallee villager to make the slightest stand in defence of his life or his property ; the mere distant sound of a Sonthal drum was enough to put a whole community to instant flight ; and between men, women, and children, there was only this distinction ; that, whereas the men could run the fastest, they were only too glad to make their own escape, and leave their homes to be burnt, and their women and children to be slaughtered, with impunity. *The Bengallee police were as bad as the villagers, and yet the Sonthals themselves were little better than unarmed savages, utterly unable to withstand any real opposition ; who rose, not so much in rebellion against the Government, as in retaliation for supposed wrongs inflicted on them by the extortion of Bengallee mahajuns and money lenders, and who were scattered to the winds the moment a military force was able to act against them.

What can be done for such people as these, who will do nothing for themselves ? What Government interference can supply that foundation of moral improvement, that self-reliance, which nature itself seems to have denied ? It is almost a law of nature that cowards should be either slaves or tyrants, and I fear this describes but too truly the general condition of the population of this fertile province. It may be that the zemindaree system has failed in practice ; yet it was not necessarily a bad system, nor was it founded on unstatesmanlike principles. Its object was to create a substantial intermediate interest in the community, a landed aristocracy, from which the genial flow of social influences might reasonably have been expected ; and, if it has failed in producing this effect, the fault is more with the unsuitable materials on which it operated than in the principle of the measure itself. English and Bengallee nature are not alike, and it has not followed that the theory of a system which might be abundantly adapted to the constitution of England was equally applicable to the atmosphere of Bengal. The Memorialists should not blame the system so much as the people ; and, in like manner, where they descant, as they do most justly, on the iniquities of the police, they should remember that the police of England is not perfect, and that if the police are expected to protect the people, it is at least equally required that the people shall help the police ; and, what is more to the purpose, that the people shall, to a very great extent, have reasonable reliance on themselves.

The crime of dacoity is frightfully prevalent, yet is it possible to suppose it could be so extensive if the people could be persuaded to do anything in their own defence ? Dacoits are as little disposed to face danger needlessly as any other class of the community, and vigorous resistance would soon extirpate the system ; but where is this found ? The very timidity of the people is an inducement to the crime, and yet it cannot be expected that there should be a policeman in every man's house ? The extortion of the police is notorious ; yet, if men will submit to extortion in silence, how is the remedy to be provided ? The omalah of the courts of law are accused of being corrupt ; yet, if suitors will favour the corruption, how is justice to be pure ? No doubt the police is capable of vast improvement, and a Sikh police has recently been organised for the Sonthal pergunnahs, in despair of finding a Bengallee policeman who was fit to be trusted ; yet, unless the people are prepared to make some exertion for themselves, I do not see how a well-ordered police, or an amended code and administration of the law, can effect very much in diminution of social evils.

The Honourable the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal hopes to be able to introduce a more equitable law on the subject of landlord and tenant, and it is quite possible that some existing evils may be eradicated by an amendment of the law on this head ; but there are many conditions in these relative positions which the law cannot correct, and which, so far as I know, are incurable by any action of the Government. Nothing that the Government is likely to be able to do can check that tendency to over-population which creates a greater demand for land than there is land to supply, and which consequently has the effect of raising

rents

rents to a rate that will barely yield the tenant a decent subsistence. In the North-western Provinces the evil is in a great degree mitigated by the Government extracting some 200,000 of the population for its army, and by the great demand for stalwart men for service, public or private, all over the continent of Hindostan; but in Bengal, who will take a Bengallee for a soldier or a watchman? He will not even make a tolerable emigrant, and I am informed that, amongst the whole of the emigrant-coolies from the port of Calcutta, not ten per cent. are from Bengal Proper. The bulk of the emigrants are men from Behar and the North-west, men of bone and muscle, who will at least think and act for themselves, and do good service in whatever part of the world they may be employed.

I do not say all this in order to argue that any amelioration of the social evils which beset the population of Bengal is impossible, but to show that, in my opinion, there are natural and physical difficulties in the way of improvement, the remedy also of which is beyond the reach of any Government, or of any inquiry that could be pushed to the fullest extent desired by the most enthusiastic philanthropist.

That education will gradually effect sensible changes in the moral and physical disposition of the people there is much reason to hope, and that meanwhile the Government will do what they can to improve the civil condition of their subjects, there is every assurance that goodwill and good faith can supply; but still no surprise need be felt if the results of these most earnest endeavours should not fulfil expectations which are more plausible in theory than, I fear, likely for a long series of years to be realised in practice.

J. A. Dorin.

MINUTE by the Honourable *J. P. Grant.*

22 October 1856.

1. I UNDERSTAND the only practical question at present before us, as raised by these Memorials, to be this: should a commission be appointed in Bengal to inquire into the matters proposed by the Memorialists to be inquired into, or any of them? On this question, after giving these papers all the respectful attention which is due to them, I concur with the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, the Governor-general, and Mr. Dorin.

Memorial of the Bengal Missionaries, and of the British Indian Association.

2. There is much in the Memorial of the Missionaries, in which, I believe, we all fully agree; and there is much, as has been observed, which is overcharged. But nowhere do I find any very distinct reason advanced for the practical measure proposed, namely, the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry. In regard to what we are all agreed upon, no Commission of Inquiry can be necessary, for there is nothing to inquire about. In regard to what is believed to be overcharged, there is still no need of inquiry; for, how-muchsoever an existing evil may be exaggerated, no one denies that so far as it really exists, whatever can be done by a Government to remedy it, ought to be done. All that remains in the Memorial of substantially disputable matter, are the assertion that bitter hatred of their rulers is now in course of being engendered in the minds of the Bengal ryots; and the severe and unqualified charges made by the Memorialists, as a class, against the class of zemindars universally.

3. I do not suppose that many besides the Memorialists share in their belief upon the first point; and if the fact were as they believe, such a commission to prove it, as they propose, would be too dangerous an experiment to try.

4. I do not mean to make light of this belief: I could make light of no belief entertained in a quarter entitled to so much respect, on a question of such importance. I am sure that this assertion would not have been thus formally made on what were not thought strong grounds. But there is a great inconsistency, to my understanding, between this assertion and other assertions made with equal confidence in the same Memorial. The alleged feeling is imputed to the extreme and peculiar social evils to which the ryot of Bengal is said to be subject; and all the evils of which the ryot can be conscious are traced by the Memorialists, if I understand them, to extortions, and tyranny, and general misconduct of the zemindars, and to the immediate consequences

of the zemindaree system, inadequately checked as it is by the police and judicial system provided by the rulers. Now our police is, I dare say, not very much better than it was, but there is no reason to imagine that it is worse. The increase in the pay of police darogahs has done undeniable good, to a certain extent. In other respects our judicial system is vastly better than it was; and the improvement has been all in the direction of the ryot, by bringing justice (though still much too far from him) much nearer to him than it was. Of late years magisterial officers have been largely increased in number, and more dispersed over the country than formerly. Moonsiff's courts, the courts of the ryot, as effective courts of civil justice, may be said to be the creation of the last 30 years: and their improvement in quality, year by year, is unquestioned. Of late, then, the checks provided by the rulers have been vastly improved upon the whole, and, so far as the rulers are concerned, in appearance, as well as in reality, there has been in this generation much to soothe, nothing to irritate, and most certainly nothing to engender the bitter hatred attributed to the ryot. The zemindars, therefore, and the zemindaree system, according to the Memorialists, are the cause of all. To them, the Memorialists allege, are due the alleged social evils, which evils are alleged to be now engendering bitter hatred of their rulers in the breasts of the Bengal ryots of the present day. Now this string of allegations would all be consistent enough, if the zemindaree system were a novelty. But how stands the fact? Be that system good or bad, it is no novelty; it is not even a creation of the British Government. We found the system, and the zemindars themselves, in full force. We have left the zemindars but the shadow of the power they then had; in many respects we have left them not even the shadow of it. For such power as is left them, I can think of no personal interest they can have had then in using it well, that they have not in an equal or greater degree now; and certainly they have more to fear in using it ill now than they had then. How is it, then, that if social evils really exist to such an extreme degree as to embitter the ryot's spirit, and if zemindars and the zemindaree system are the immediate causes of those evils, this bitterness is only now beginning to be engendered, a generation or two after the assumed enemy has been, to say the least, partially bound down? Why did it not begin to arise in the ryot's breast, whilst the zemindar, with no better disposition and many fewer responsibilities, had 20 times his present power for evil?

5. As, in my judgment, all these suppositions, namely, the extreme degree of the evils, their cause and their effect, cannot be true, and one is no more credible than the other, I can see no reason for adopting any. To me they have all much more the appearance of having been entertained as consequences of different theories, than as the results of wary and unprejudiced observation.

6. As to the charges made by the Memorialists against the zemindars as a class, I cannot ascertain what the Memorialists themselves would propose to be done, if the result of an inquiry were to be in accordance with their own views. A Commission of Inquiry could do no practical good, and it could not help doing much real mischief. Every man, to whatever class he belongs, and whatever may be the general character of his class, if he commits acts of extortion or cruelty, should be punished. The law is already adequate for the punishment of such offences, and it will not be less so shortly when the penal code is passed. Whatever can be done in the way of procedure to facilitate the working of the law ought to be done, and will be done forthwith. No Commission of Inquiry would assist such improvements, whilst a Commission of Inquiry that should array class against class, that should fill many of the most influential minds in the country with anger and revenge, and that should set all political elements in heated antagonism with each other, would be an inauspicious commencement of our reforms.

7. If it had not been that the British Indian Association have told us expressly that they had themselves arrived independently at the determination to ask for a similar inquiry, I should have thought their Memorial intended as an indirect answer to their accusers, by way of showing that the zemindars, as a class, do not fear inquiry; but that inquiry cannot be one-sided, and that if one great class is to be dissected, all rival interests and classes (the accusing class included) must be prepared for the same sacrifice. They assign

as one and in itself a sufficient reason for their recommendation, that the inquiry may "determine the anxious and never-ending controversies and recriminations between the different classes whose position or property (or both united) may enable them to influence the fate of the rural population." With me, one, and as I think in itself a sufficient reason, for not acceding to the proposed measure, is that I am convinced that it would have exactly the contrary effect.

8. The Memorial of the Missionaries, transcribing and adopting a previous petition to Parliament, mentions the following as evils existing in Bengal, "which it falls properly within the scope of Government to meet and control," and which they say "appear to be on the increase":—

- (1.) Insecurity of life and property in many districts.
- (2.) Numerous gang robberies perpetrated annually with impunity.
- (3.) Constant scenes of violence, in contentions respecting disputed boundaries between the owners of landed estates.

The Memorialists maintain that the radical cause of these evils is the inefficiency of the police and of the judicial system; that a well-organised police, with a more extensive and more effective judicial system (besides giving the required security to life and property), would do much to check the outrages that arise out of disputes about land; and, moreover, that in order to a cure of this last evil, the cause which leads to disputes about land, namely, the insecurity of title and possession, must be removed by, first, the complete survey of the land; secondly, a system of registration; and thirdly, "laws to obviate the infinite mischief of the universal system of secret trusts."

9. Upon this important head, I beg to record my complete concurrence with the Memorialists, both as to the existence and extent of the evils, and the nature of the remedies.

10. For many years past I have never lost an opportunity of pressing upon the highest authorities the injustice with which Bengal is treated in regard to the expenditure allowed to her for police. This is no question of system; it is purely a money question. Without a very large additional expenditure nothing can be done; with twelve or fifteen lacs a year to give, the money could hardly be misspent. We have reason to believe that the days of this crying evil are numbered. The next great defect of the judicial system is the want of local criminal courts, so scattered as to be accessible to the people. I believe this evil is easily remedied at slight cost. I sketched, a considerable time ago, a scheme for the purpose, in a minute now before the Council. In regard to civil justice, the existing system is very much less objectionable; and it will be improved doubtless by the changes of procedure now under discussion. I have been too often disappointed in India by seeing great and unquestionable improvements within our grasp postponed indefinitely in the search of some model of imaginary perfection, to feel over-sanguine about any Indian reform. But it does look now, thanks to what has been done at home, as if public expectation would not be much longer disappointed, so far as the reform of the Bengal police and district judicial system is concerned.

11. The questions of survey and registration, in which last the question of trusts is involved, are not in so promising a condition; yet the difficulties ought not to be insurmountable, being, as I believe, purely official. If the superior revenue functionaries in Bengal could be induced to consent to learn anything from the North-west, the thing could be done with money.

12. To the above expression of general concurrence with the Memorialists, I have to make any exception only as to the assertion that the evils noticed are increasing. I cannot think that the Memorialists intend to say that life and property are less secure, and that dacoitees are more numerous and more atrocious in character, than was the case before our rule, or 100, or 50, or 20 years ago. Such an opinion could be refuted to demonstration; but I think it very probable that contentions and offences respecting landed property are increasing, and these may have been chiefly in the minds of the Memorialists. The explanation, however, if the fact be so, is easy. The value of landed property is increasing rapidly, and it is therefore becoming daily more worth fighting for.

There are no such contentions and affrays about land at Madras, as are justly complained of by the Memorialists here. But this is not due to a good police and judicial administration, a survey and registration, or the absence of a zemindaree system in the greater part of that Presidency; it is due to the fact, that, in most Madras districts, land is valueless, by reason of the revenue system there in force, the contentions there being when a ryot is forced, not to give up, but to take land. What has happened in Bengal is this: that, by the perpetual limitation of the tribute, by a substantive law which is theoretically just to all connected with the soil, and by the general maintenance of a system of justice and order not intolerably defective, a new subject of property has come into existence, which already infinitely exceeds in value all the other property of the country put together; while no local or other arrangements have been made for the security of that property, such as its peculiar nature requires.

13. This is the extent of the neglect of the several Bengal administrations, from the time of Lord Cornwallis downwards. I do not excuse it. I am, and I have long been, as earnest as the Memorialists for its correction. But, surely, it is not a full and fair view of the social state of the agricultural people of Bengal, which would dwell upon the evils caused by the want of special arrangements for the security of their property in the soil; without noticing the fact that this property itself was the gift of the system impugned, and has grown up in spite of all the defects imputed to it.

J. P. Grant.

MINUTE by the Honourable *B. Peacock.*

26 October 1856.

I CANNOT beneficially add anything to the several minutes which have been recorded. I entirely agree in the opinions which have been expressed that a commission for the purpose specified in the Memorial is not necessary, and that such a commission ought not to be issued.

B. Peacock.

No. 1647.

From *C. Beadon*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of *India*, to *W. Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of *Bengal*.

Sir,

Council Chamber, 11 November 1856.

Home Department.

I AM directed by the Governor-general in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1336, dated the 19th September, forwarding a Memorial from certain reverend Christian Missionaries residing in and near Calcutta, in which it is prayed that the Government will issue a Commission to inquire into the condition of the people of India, and the means of improving it.

2. With this Memorial you have also submitted a minute by the Lieutenant-governor, in which his Honour has recorded his reasons for declining to support the proposal.

3. Your subsequent letter, No. 1368, dated the 27th September, forwards a petition from the Committee of the British Indian Association, requesting that the prayer of the Memorial of the Missionaries may be acceded to.

4. The Governor-general in Council has read and deliberated upon these documents, with the care and attention due to the importance of the subjects they treat of, and to the excellent and earnest men by whom the Memorial has been presented; and he has arrived at the conclusion that the course recommended by the Memorialists, while likely to give rise to very serious evils, would fail to secure, or forward in any degree, the end at which the Government, no less than the Memorialists, aim, namely, the moral and social improvement of the people.

5. I am

5. I am directed, therefore, to request that, with the permission of the Lieutenant-governor, you will inform the reverend Missionaries and the Committee of the British Indian Association that his Lordship in Council, concurring in the views recorded in his Honour's minute, cannot consent to the appointment of a Commission for the purposes indicated in the Memorial.

6. The subject will be reported for the information of the home authorities by the next mail.

I have, &c.

C. Beadon,

Secretary to the Government of India.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.—No. 20, of 1857.

To Our Governor-General of *India* in Council, London, 11 March 1857.

Para. 1. CERTAIN Missionaries belonging to various religious societies, and residing in and near Calcutta, presented a Memorial to the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, in the month of September last, in which they set forth, in strong terms, the deplorable condition, in its social aspect, of the rural population of Bengal. In their specification of the evils which press most heavily upon the people, the Missionaries advert to the inefficiency of the police and of the judicial system now in operation in the Bengal Presidency; to the prevalence of gang robberies, and affrays respecting disputed boundaries; to the frequency of torture, in order to extort confessions; to the demoralising influences of contentions between landed proprietors, and of the corruption of the police, as tending to pauperise and enslave the peasantry; to the existing zemindaree system (in connexion with the general character both of zemindar and ryot), which "emboldens the rich to set the law at defiance, and leads the poor to despair of obtaining redress;" to the extortions of the zemindars; to the want of a survey of the country; and to the absence of a Registration Act to settle titles; and of laws against secret trusts.

Public Letter, dated 14 November (No. 132), 1856.

Memorial of certain Christian Missionaries, praying for a Commission of Inquiry into the social condition of the rural population of Bengal.

2. The above is a brief summary of the social evils which the Memorialists allege, not only to be in active operation, but which they "regret to declare, appear to be on the increase." They feel themselves "bound to declare that they view with alarm, as well as sorrow, the continuance of the evils which they have so long deplored, and the effects of which are seen in the demoralisation and the sufferings of the people: they believe that measures of relief can with safety be delayed no longer, as, from the information they have acquired, they fear that the discontent of the rural population is daily increasing, and that a bitter feeling of hatred towards their rulers is being engendered in their minds;" and they close their Memorial with the prayer that a Commission may be appointed, consisting of "men of independent minds, unbiassed by official or local prejudices, to institute a searching inquiry into all the causes that now affect the condition of the population; especially into the state of the police and the judicial system, the powers and influence of the zemindars and planters, and how those powers are used; the resources and earnings of the labouring classes, and the proportion which these bear to the rent they are compelled to pay; the harassing exactions and oppressions to which the poor are subject; the landed tenures; the extension of the Government sales of ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs among a people once celebrated for temperance; the actual extent to which education is provided for the masses; and the best means of alleviating the sufferings and elevating the condition of the people."

— 3. The Memorial of the Missionaries was followed by a petition from the Committee of the British Indian Association, which represents the interests of the landed proprietors of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, supporting the prayer of the Memorialists, "for a searching, patient, and unbiassed inquiry into

the social evils of these provinces; viz., whether they be to any, and what, extent caused by the landed system, the planting interest, the Mahajunee dealings, the Foujdary and Dewanny administration; also, whether to any and what extent by the well intended efforts and zeal of professional Christian Missionaries."

4. In forwarding the Memorial of the Missionaries to the Supreme Government, the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal stated his inability, for the reasons set forth at length in his minute of the 18th September 1856; to support its prayer with any favourable recommendation; and, in this opinion of the Lieutenant-governor, the Governor-general, and the other Members of Council then in Calcutta, have, on the grounds stated in their respective minutes, unanimously expressed their concurrence.

5. The statements and arguments contained in the several minutes to which we have referred, appear to us to dispose satisfactorily of all the allegations and conclusions of the Memorial, in regard to the necessity, or expediency, of appointing such a Commission as that to which the Memorialists point. Without denying that great social evils exist, the minutes show that Government is in possession of full information in regard to them; that measures are under consideration, or in actual progress, for applying remedies to such of them as are remediable by the direct executive, or legislative, action of the Government; while it is shown that the cure of others must of necessity be left to the more tardy progress of national advancement in the scale of civilisation and social improvement. Nothing, indeed, is more striking in the memorial of the excellent men who have applied for the Commission of Inquiry, than the manner in which it leaves altogether unnoticed the measures and exertions of the Government for the alleviation of the evils to which they so pointedly refer.

6. Measures for the reform of the police are now under the consideration of the Government; codes of procedure, to simplify and facilitate the administration of justice, both civil and criminal, are before the Legislative Council; measures specially directed to the suppression of gang robbery have, for some time, been in active operation in those districts of Bengal in which that crime has most extensively prevailed. Of the endeavours of the Government, and its officers, in this direction the Memorialists can scarcely be altogether ignorant. Immediately in connexion with the statement, that the evils to which they advert appear to be on the increase, they allege, "that gang robberies of the most daring character are perpetrated annually, in great numbers, with impunity." The contrary of this is the fact; for, instead of increasing, the number of gang robberies had decreased, in the districts referred to, from 439 in 1851, to 168 in 1854 (the reports for which year are the last we have received in detail), and the decrease was still progressing: the most formidable gang of dacoits had been broken up, and upwards of 200 of their members had been convicted, of whom 180 had been transported for life. The subject of torture by the police, in order to extort confessions, has received the anxious attention of the Government and of the Home Authorities; and the propriety of depriving the police of the power of receiving the confessions of suspected or accused persons is now under your consideration. A Bill for the suppression of affrays and contentions respecting disputed boundaries was before the Legislative Council three years ago, and did not pass into law only because of the difficulties with which the subject was found to be encompassed. It was, however, with reference to this, and to other important points, that, in the year 1854, we addressed to you the remarks noted in the margin* in connexion with

* "The survey being both Mouzalwar and Meehalwar, it appears to us that the determination of boundaries of villages and estates by an inquiry on the spot, and their delineation on the survey maps, must tend greatly to put a stop to those frequent disputes which have often led to serious affrays, attended occasionally with loss of life, as well as to the litigation in the civil courts, to which the want of trustworthy records so often gave rise. Under any circumstances, the existence of these records must greatly facilitate the labours of the judicial authorities before whom boundary questions may be brought for adjudication. The survey will doubtless be found of considerable advantage in the revenue administration of the country; but we attach greater importance to the results which we anticipate from it in the decrease of crime, in the diminution of litigation, in the security of the titles to estates, and in the increased value which it will thereby give to landed property of all descriptions." Despatch, 20th April (No. 12) 1854.

with the survey of the country, the want of which is spoken of by the Memorialists as of a thing which had no existence, but which, at the date of the last report on the subject, had cost the State upwards of 20 lakhs of rupees. The existing relations between landlord and tenant have repeatedly been under the consideration of the Government, and a project of law on the subject is shortly to be laid before the Legislative Council. The registration of titles has been encouraged by a law (Act. XIX. of 1843) which gives a legal preference to registered against unregistered documents; and the Government has only abstained from enforcing such a registration of all transfers and successions in respect of real property as shall give additional security to titles, and put a check to secret trusts, by difficulties which beset the subject, and with which it is not surprising that the Memorialists are not fully acquainted.

7. It needs no commission of inquiry to inform us that the peasantry of Bengal are subjected, by their landlords, to arbitrary and illegal demands, on religious and other occasions, beyond, and independent of, the sums which they pay as rent. The demand and payment are made in a way which does not admit of the interference of the police; but the courts of justice would deal with all such levies of money as extortionate exactions. To the courts, however, the people do not appeal for protection in such cases. They submit to the demands, either because they consider them as having the sanction of prescription, or because, as shown by Mr. Dorin, they are too timid to resist payment. The Memorialists seem not to be aware of the difficulty of forcing protection upon a people beyond the point at which they are prepared to accept it, and to lend their own aid in securing it.

8. The remarks which we have already made upon the catalogue of social evils enumerated by the Memorialists will apply, with one or two exceptions, to the several tangible points of inquiry to which they desire that the attention of the proposed Commission should be directed. The reference to the Government sales of ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs is founded on mistake as to facts; and the only point which remains to be noticed is "the actual extent to which education is provided for the masses."

9. This is not a subject which, at the present moment, demands inquiry at the hands of a special commission. The whole subject has been recently considered in all its bearings. The existing deficiencies have been unreservedly acknowledged; the importance, and the duty, of giving a sound education to the people committed to our charge fully recognised; the principles on which we desire to see that education conducted distinctly enunciated; the machinery for giving effect to it clearly indicated; and measures have recently been organised for carrying out the instructions of our despatch of the 19th July (No. 49) 1854, by means of grants in aid, of which it is open to the Memorialists, as well as to all others who will take their part, conformably with the rules prescribed, in the education of the people, to avail themselves.

10. We observe with great satisfaction that the Lieutenant-governor expresses his "absolute dissent from the statement made, doubtless in perfect good faith, that the people exhibit a spirit of sullen discontent, on account of the miseries ascribed to them; and that there exists among them that bitter hatred to the Government which has filled the Memorialists, as they declare, with alarm as well as sorrow." Much, as already shown, has been done to remedy the evils to which the Memorialists advert, and to inspire confidence in the Government. "Much," as observed by Mr. Grant, "to soothe, nothing to irritate, and most certainly nothing to engender the bitter hatred attributed to the ryot."

11. In the remarks made by the Lieutenant-governor, and by the members of the Supreme Government, with respect to the certain effects of the appointment of such a Commission as that prayed for, in setting class against class, and arraying different interests in antagonism to each other, we fully agree. Indeed, the indications which mark the preliminary steps point, with sufficient clearness, to the effects of such a measure. The Memorialists avowedly "bear their testimony, on behalf of the people," as against the landed proprietors and indigo planters; on the other hand, the petition of the British Indian Association is manifestly an acceptance, by the landed proprietors, of the challenge which they

consider to be involved in the Memorial of the Missionaries. The Memorialists, moreover, evidently anticipate that the appointment of a Commission will encourage the tenants to give evidence against their landlords; but the means by which, after the Commission has closed its inquiries, the former are to be protected against the vengeance of the latter, appear not to have engaged their attention.

12. Considering, for the reasons above stated, that such an inquiry as that prayed for is wholly unnecessary; and, adverting to the injurious results to which it is likely to lead; to the check it must impose upon the progress of remedial measures; and to the difficulty of selecting for the duty persons possessing the requisite knowledge of the existing system of administration, and of the character, language, and institutions of the country, whose impartiality would not be impugned by one or other of the classes of which the community is composed, it only remains for us to express our approval of your reply to the prayer of the Memorialists.

We are, your affectionate Friends,

W. H. Sykes.
Ross D. Mangles.
C. Mills.
R. Ellice.
J. W. Hogg.
M. T. Smith.
E. Macnaghten.
J. P. Willoughby.
H. T. Prinsep.
J. Oliphant.
F. Currie.
John Shepherd.
W. B. Bayley.
R. J. H. Vivian.

EAST INDIA.

(BENGAL.—MEMORIAL OF MISSIONARIES.)

A COPY of the MINUTE recorded by the Lieutenant-governor of *Bengal*; of the MINUTES recorded by the several Members of Council of the Suprem. Government of *India*; of the LETTER written by the Secretary to the Government of *India* to the Secretary to the Government of *Bengal*; and of the LETTER from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-general of *India* in Council, respecting the MEMORIAL of certain MISSIONARIES residing in or near *Calcutta*, dated 2 September 1856.

(*Mr. Seymour.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
19 May 1857.

• RETURNS (IN FURTHER PART)

To the Order of the HOUSE OF LORDS, dated 12th April 1858.

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AMOUNT OF GOVERNMENT STOCK IN INDIA held by EUROPEANS and NATIVES respectively in 1851 and 1857, and NUMBER of EUROPEANS and NATIVES holding Stock in each of those Years.

The last Return received from India showing the Amount of Stock *held* by Europeans and Natives respectively was made up to the 30th April 1847, and was received in 1852.

	Europeans.	Natives	Total
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
The Amount of Stock then held was - - -	23,44,68,775	13,08,92,162	36,53,60,937
The Returns subsequently received do not show the Amount of Stock <i>held</i> by Europeans and Natives, but they state the Amount <i>subscribed</i> to the several Loans. The Subscriptions were as follow :			
To the 5 per Cent. Loan of 1841-42 - - -	3,81,30,500	1,94,87,600	5,79,18,100
To the 4 per Cent. Loan of 1842-43 - - -	Not separately shown.		4,03,65,536
To the 3½ per Cent. Loan of 1853-54 - - -	4,07,300	6,64,600	10,71,900
To the 5 per Cent. Loan (Public Works), 1851-55 - - -	1,73,60,700	1,01,39,300	2,75,00,000
To the 4½ per Cent. Loan of 1856-57 - - -	9,19,700	1,07,100	10,26,800
To the 5 per Cent. Loan of 1856-57, to 1st May 1857 - - -	56,92,200	27,93,800	84,86,000

The Number of Europeans and Natives holding Stock is not shown in the Returns received from India.

(Errors excepted.)

J. COSMO MELVILL.

East India House, }
10th May 1858. }

J. D. DICKINSON,
Secretary.

EAST INDIES.

RETURNS (IN FURTHER PART)

To the Order of the House of Lords, dated 12th April 1855.

AMOUNT of GOVERNMENT STOCK in INDIA held by
EUROPEANS and NATIVES respectively in 1851 and
1857, and NUMBER of EUROPEANS and NATIVES
holding STOCK in each of those Years.

(The Earl of Ellenborough.)

Ordered to be printed 11th May 1855.

(70.—VII.)

EAST INDIES.

RETURNS.

(IN FURTHER PART)

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East India House, }
15th April 1858. }

J. D. DICKINSON,
Secretary.

(The Earl of Ellenborough.)

Ordered to be printed 21st May 1858.

RETURN of the NUMBER of MILITARY and MARINE OFFICERS on the RETIRED LIST of each of the Three Presidencies, in January 1858.

		MILITARY.	MARINE.
Bengal	- - -	699	—
Madras	- - -	519	—
Bombay	- - -	274	58
		1,492*	58

* This Number includes Military and Medical Officers.

Military Department, East India House, }
April-1858.

PHILIP MELVILL,
Sec. Mil. Dept.

RETURN showing the NUMBER of OFFICERS of each of the Armies of BENGAL, MADRAS, and BOMBAY on FURLOUGH on the 30th April 1851, and in January 1858.

	BENGAL.		MADRAS.		BOMBAY.		TOTAL.
	Private Affairs.	Sick Certificate.	Private Affairs.	Sick Certificate.	Private Affairs.	Sick Certificate.	
1851 :							
Military - -	62	171	44	223	40	148	688
Medical - - -	11	20	6	36	1	37	111
1858 :							
Military - - -	- -	160	1	169	- -	88	418
Medical - - -	- -	30	1	15	- -	16	62

Note.—This Return does not include Colonels of Regiments.

East India House, }
12th April 1858. }

PHILIP MELVILL,
Sec. Mil. Dept.

NUMBER of OFFICERS of each ARMY employed in 1851 and 1857 on DETACHED SERVICE, Civil and Political, and Military, respectively.

	BENGAL.		MADRAS.		BOMBAY.	
	Civil and Political.	Military.	Civil and Political.	Military.	Civil and Political.	Military.
1851 - -	151	430	44	208	42	165
1857 - -	145	348	99	341	99	205

Note.—The above Return does not include the Officers of Engineers.

STATEMENT showing the NUMBER of MILITARY OFFICERS of each Presidency in CIVIL EMPLOYMENT and on DETACHED DUTY in 1851 and 1857, distinguishing their respective Ranks.

	Colonels.		Lieut.-Colonels.		Majors.		Captains.		Lieutenants.		Cornets or Ensigns.	
	1851.	1857.	1851.	1857.	1851.	1857.	1851.	1857.	1851.	1857.	1851.	1857.
BENGAL :												
Artillery -	3	1	3	4	2	2	18	18	11	22	-	-
Cavalry -	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	19	21	4	-	-
Infantry -	11	5	23	10	20	21	207	216	214	167	22	1
	15	7	27	15	23	24	248	253	246	193	22	1
MADRAS :												
Artillery -	1	1	1	1	1	2	17	19	13	18	-	-
Cavalry -	-	1	1	1	1	2	13	22	6	13	-	1
Infantry -	13	8	7	16	9	9	107	158	60	165	2	3
	14	10	9	18	11	13	137	199	79	196	2	4
BOMBAY :												
Artillery -	1	2	1	5	1	3	9	11	6	6	-	1
Cavalry -	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	7	1	3	-	-
Infantry -	6	4	10	21	12	11	84	117	68	106	5	4
	8	6	11	27	14	16	94	135	75	115	5	5

SUMMARY.

	Colonels.		Lieut.-Colonels.		Majors.		Captains.		Lieutenants.		Cornets or Ensigns.	
	1851.	1857.	1851.	1857.	1851.	1857.	1851.	1857.	1851.	1857.	1851.	1857.
BENGAL -	15	7	27	15	23	24	248	253	246	193	22	1
MADRAS -	14	10	9	18	11	13	137	199	79	196	2	4
BOMBAY -	8	6	11	27	14	16	94	135	75	115	5	5
	37	23	47	60	48	53	479	587	400	504	29	10

Compiled from the latest Returns received, viz. :

Bengal - East India Register, January 1858.
 Madras - Army List, December 1857.
 Bombay - Army List, December 1857.

PHILIP MELVILL,
 Sec. Mil. Dept.

East India House, 12th April 1858.

NUMBER of OFFICERS of the RETIRED LIST who actually served Ten Years in INDIA.

Bengal - 630
 Madras - 422
 Bombay - 231
 1,283

East India House, }
 12th April 1858. }

PHILIP MELVILL,
 Sec. Mil. Dept.

NUMBER of OFFICERS on FURLOUGH who have actually served Ten Years in INDIA.

Bengal - 138
 Madras - 135
 Bombay - 61
 334

East India House, }
 20th April 1858. }

PHILIP MELVILL,
 Sec. Mil. Dept.

AN ACCOUNT of the MILITARY FORCE employed under each PRESIDENCY in BRITISH INDIA in Company's; and of the Royal Troops, the Cavalry from the Infantry; and of the Company's Regular Corps from the Irregular.

	ROYAL TROOPS.							COMPANYS																
	DRAGOONS.			INFANTRY.				ENGINEERS AND SAPPERS.				ARTILLERY.												
	Number of Regiments.	Officers.	Non-commissioned and Rank and File.	Number of Regiments.	Officers.	Non-commissioned and Rank and File.	Total.	European Officers.	European Non-commissioned.	Native Commissioned, Non-commissioned, and Rank and File.	Total.	HORSE.				EUROPEAN FOOT.								
												Number of Brigades.	Officers.	European Non-commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-commissioned, and Rank and File.	Gun-Lascars.	Number of Battalions.	Officers.	Non-commissioned and Rank and File.	Our Lascars.	Ordnance Drivers.			
1852:																								
Bengal -	3	89	2,103	15	540	14,830	17,562	88	85	1,107	1,280	3	61	1,087	459	351	6	104	2,384	801	674			
Madras -	1	28	673	4	143	3,959	4,803	68	61	825	954	1	32	481	216	—	4	86	1,767	528	755			
Bombay -	1	29	674	5	179	5,077	5,959	38	32	449	519	1	24	472	—	97	2	39	1,062	359	172			
	5	146	3,450	24	862	23,866	28,324	194	178	2,373	2,747	5	117	1,990	675	448	12	229	5,173	1,588	1,601			
1853:																								
Bengal -	2	59	1,392	15	558	14,250	16,259	91	84	1,311	1,486	3	63	1,035	461	351	6	105	2,473	795	709			
Madras -	1	34	733	4	150	3,945	4,862	60	58	790	908	1	26	517	216	—	4	94	1,639	538	760			
Bombay -	1	26	690	5	174	4,854	5,744	48	24	456	528	1	21	483	—	100	2	38	1,064	257	173			
	4	119	2,815	24	882	23,049	26,865	199	166	2,557	2,922	5	110	2,035	677	451	12	237	5,176	1,590	1,642			
1854:																								
Bengal -	2	57	1,377	16	604	15,726	17,764	96	58	1,394	1,548	3	63	983	456	350	6	120	2,442	781	801			
Madras -	1	23	505	4	143	3,952	4,623	60	61	813	934	1	32	507	225	—	4	87	1,673	528	735			
Bombay -	1	24	644	4	136	3,844	4,648	46	25	447	518	1	20	487	—	99	2	38	1,056	258	216			
	4	104	2,526	24	883	23,522	27,035	202	144	2,654	3,000	5	115	1,977	681	449	12	245	5,171	1,577	1,752			
1855:																								
Bengal -	2	56	1,419	15	517	14,373	16,365	120	60	1,371	1,551	3	66	1,052	459	351	6	105	2,191	777	698			
Madras -	—	—	—	4	114	3,812	3,926	63	76	985	1,124	1	32	479	216	—	4	82	1,709	629	634			
Bombay -	1	28	720	4	120	3,844	4,712	48	15	462	525	1	17	480	—	99	2	440	972	260	215			
	3	84	2,139	23	751	22,029	25,003	231	151	2,818	3,200	5	115	2,011	675	450	12	227	4,872	1,666	1,547			
1856:																								
Bengal -	1	23	625	15	474	14,446	15,638	120	71	1,328	1,519	3	66	1,018	457	351	6	105	2,100	780	759			
Madras -	—	—	—	3	86	3,170	3,256	69	81	1,097	1,247	1	31	478	212	—	4	76	1,605	628	625			
Bombay -	1	24	687	4	106	3,869	4,686	48	9	537	594	1	21	478	—	100	2	44	1,020	309	211			
	2	47	1,382	22	666	21,485	23,580	237	161	2,962	3,360	5	118	1,974	669	451	12	225	4,725	1,670	1,593			
1857:																								
Bengal -	2	46	1,510	15	473	13,956	15,795	120	88	1,289	1,497	3	69	999	447	351	6	102	1,899	774	757			
Madras -	1	34	605	3	102	3,009	3,750	74	7	1,180	1,270	1	38	502	212	—	4	82	1,511	625	493			
Bombay -	1	25	656	4	118	3,919	4,718	57	15	665	657	1	29	528	—	98	2	47	980	289	238			
	4	115	2,571	22	693	20,824	24,263	251	110	3,043	3,404	5	119	2,029	659	449	12	261	4,390	1,658	1,489			

each Year, from 1852 to the latest Period, distinguishing the Royal Troops from the East India the Cavalry, the Infantry, and the Artillery; the European from the Native Troops; and the

TROOPS.

ARTILLERY.							NATIVE CAVALRY.								
NATIVE FOOT.							REGULAR.					IRREGULAR.			
Number of Battalions.	European Officers.	European Non-commissioned.	Native Commissioned, Non-commissioned, and Rank and File.	Gun Mascar.	Ordnance Drivers.	Total.	Number of Regiments.	European Officers.	European Non-commissioned.	Native Commissioned, Non-commissioned, and Rank and File.	Total.	Number of Officers.	European Officers.	Native Commissioned, Non-commissioned, and Rank and File.	Total.
3	72	25	1,880	—	562	8,370	10	132	30	4,983	5,145	24	85	14,300	14,385
1	20	3	672	136	134	4,830	8	123	26	3,320	3,469	—	—	—	—
2	59	8	1,004	186	215	3,577	3	46	6	1,468	1,520	9	17	6,892	6,909
6	131	36	3,556	322	911	16,777	21	301	62	9,771	10,134	33	102	21,192	21,294
3	74	22	1,801	—	512	8,401	10	121	30	4,980	5,131	24	92	14,190	14,282
1	23	3	677	136	124	4,753	8	119	26	3,271	3,416	—	—	—	—
2	41	9	1,010	185	218	3,599	3	47	7	1,454	1,508	9	16	6,902	6,918
6	138	34	3,488	321	854	16,758	21	287	63	9,705	10,055	33	108	21,092	21,200
3	69	21	1,865	—	521	8,472	10	115	30	4,971	5,116	24	76	14,241	14,317
1	24	3	677	136	123	4,760	8	118	26	3,225	3,369	—	—	—	—
2	37	8	987	188	172	3,566	3	40	7	1,450	1,506	9	18	6,890	6,908
6	130	32	3,529	324	816	16,798	21	282	63	9,646	9,991	33	94	21,131	21,225
3	73	25	1,852	—	579	8,328	10	112	30	5,034	5,176	24	86	14,212	14,298
1	22	2	683	152	186	4,826	8	119	26	3,157	3,302	—	—	—	—
2	34	6	1,005	190	167	3,485	3	52	7	1,447	1,506	9	17	6,880	6,897
6	129	33	3,540	342	932	16,539	21	283	63	9,638	9,984	33	103	21,092	21,195
3	73	20	1,863	—	509	8,101	10	119	29	5,031	5,179	24	84	14,200	14,284
1	20	2	686	132	217	4,712	8	116	25	3,140	3,281	—	—	—	—
2	37	8	1,033	188	175	3,577	3	49	6	1,426	1,481	9	16	6,870	6,886
6	130	30	3,582	320	901	16,390	21	284	60	9,597	9,941	33	100	21,070	21,170
3	76	27	1,836	—	460	7,797	10	106	28	5,002	5,138	24	91	14,061	14,152
1	27	2	691	149	808	4,584	8	121	26	3,055	3,209	—	—	—	—
2	35	8	990	194	174	3,575	3	57	6	1,473	1,528	9	15	6,860	6,895
6	138	37	3,517	343	846	13,907	21	284	60	9,552	9,878	33	106	20,941	21,047

(Continued on pages 6 and 7.)

AN ACCOUNT of the MILITARY FORCE employed under each PRESIDENT in BRITISH INDIA in Company's; and of the Royal Troops, the Cavalry from the Infantry, and of the Company's the Regular Corps from the Irregular—continued.

COMPANY'S TROOPS.

INFANTRY.														
EUROPEAN.					NATIVE.									
					REGULAR.					IRREGULAR.				
	Number of Regiments.	Officers.	Non-commissioned and Rank and File.	TOTAL.	Number of Regiments.	European Officers.	European Non-commissioned.	Native Commissioned, Non-commissioned, and Rank and File.	TOTAL.	Number of Regiments.	European Officers.	European Non-commissioned.	Native Commissioned, Non-commissioned, and Rank and File.	TOTAL.
1852:														
Bengal	2	78	1,949	2,027	74	1,337	146	85,221	86,704	37	116	72	29,168	29,356
Madras	2	71	2,041	2,112	52	1,016	104	44,145	45,265	—	—	—	—	—
Bombay	2	78	2,099	2,177	29	546	21	26,074	26,641	10	24	3	8,022	8,049
	6	227	6,089	6,316	155	2,899	271	155,440	158,610	47	140	75	37,190	37,405
1853:														
Bengal	2	81	2,029	2,110	74	1,336	146	84,682	86,164	37	122	69	29,137	29,328
Madras	2	77	2,050	2,127	52	1,033	101	43,933	45,067	—	—	—	—	—
Bombay	2	79	2,061	2,140	29	544	19	25,812	26,375	10	26	4	7,926	7,956
	6	237	6,140	6,377	155	2,913	266	154,427	157,606	47	148	73	37,063	37,284
1854:														
Bengal	3	117	2,200	2,317	74	1,286	146	84,286	85,718	37	120	70	28,683	28,873
Madras	3	108	2,147	2,255	52	955	101	43,527	44,586	—	—	—	—	—
Bombay	3	112	1,988	2,100	29	536	28	25,528	26,092	10	25	3	7,886	7,914
	9	337	6,335	6,672	155	2,777	278	153,341	156,396	47	145	73	36,569	36,737
1855:														
Bengal	3	115	2,508	2,623	74	1,293	147	84,363	85,803	37	115	75	29,147	29,337
Madras	3	101	2,571	2,672	52	947	101	43,124	44,172	—	—	—	—	—
Bombay	3	108	2,448	2,556	29	519	15	25,446	25,980	10	26	3	7,890	7,919
	9	324	7,527	7,851	155	2,759	263	152,933	155,955	47	141	78	37,037	37,236
1856:														
Bengal	3	109	2,632	2,741	74	1,300	135	84,079	85,514	35	104	69	27,432	27,605
Madras	3	106	2,717	2,823	52	973	98	43,157	44,228	—	—	—	—	—
Bombay	3	106	2,766	2,872	29	498	19	25,302	25,819	10	25	3	7,880	7,908
	9	321	8,115	8,436	155	2,771	232	152,538	155,561	45	129	72	35,312	35,513
1857:														
Bengal	3	114	2,460	2,574	74	1,276	136	83,103	84,515	35	126	56	27,355	27,537
Madras	3	113	2,687	2,800	52	981	104	41,388	42,373	—	—	—	—	—
Bombay	3	108	2,956	3,064	29	512	19	25,441	25,972	10	26	3	7,860	7,889
	9	335	8,103	8,438	155	2,769	259	149,832	152,860	45	152	59	35,215	35,426

each Year from 1852 to the latest Period, distinguishing the Royal Troops from the East India the Cavalry, the Infantry, and the Artillery; the European from the Native Troops; and

COMPANY'S TROOPS.

VETERANS.				MEDICAL ESTABLISHMENT.				TOTAL.			
European Officers.	European Men.	Native Commissioned, Non-commissioned, and Rank and File.	Total.	European Officers.	Apothecaries and Stewards.	Native Doctors.		Europeans.	Natives.		
104	189	—	299	371	—	301	102	26,089	189,807	165,896	1852:
55	258	2,872	3,185	256	297	111	119	11,687	53,714	65,401	Bengal.
10	—	503	513	202	120	217	88	10,933	45,552	56,485	Madras.
169	447	3,375	3,991	829	417	629	309	48,709	239,073	287,782	Bombay.
102	188	—	285	352	—	317	117	24,986	139,246	164,232	1853:
55	251	2,942	3,248	246	295	105	130	11,370	53,787	65,157	Bengal.
14	—	466	480	193	124	229	95	10,577	45,312	55,889	Madras.
171	434	3,408	4,013	791	419	651	342	46,933	238,345	285,278	Bombay.
98	180	—	278	362	—	325	115	26,531	138,674	165,205	1854:
58	236	2,840	3,129	237	305	110	118	11,172	53,254	64,426	Bengal.
14	—	462	476	203	128	210	95	9,443	44,921	54,364	Madras.
165	416	3,302	3,883	802	433	645	328	47,146	236,849	283,995	Bombay.
89	205	—	294	374	—	319	138	25,344	139,162	164,506	1855:
61	260	2,854	3,175	238	302	109	122	10,927	53,031	63,958	Bengal.
17	—	487	504	188	131	219	98	9,822	44,898	54,720	Madras.
167	465	3,341	3,973	790	433	647	358	46,093	237,091	283,184	Bombay.
87	192	—	279	366	—	320	157	24,594	137,109	161,703	1856:
61	284	2,895	3,240	230	304	108	124	10,852	53,201	63,553	Bengal.
18	—	574	592	206	130	223	95	10,158	44,911	55,069	Madras.
166	476	3,469	4,111	802	434	651	376	45,104	235,221	280,325	Bombay.
85	186	—	271	370	—	326	163	24,366	135,767	160,133	1857:
61	279	2,918	3,258	240	306	110	126	10,736	51,244	61,970	Bengal.
17	—	695	712	204	138	215	96	10,480	45,613	55,643	Madras.
163	465	3,613	4,241	814	434	651	385	45,522	232,224	277,746	Bombay.

PHILIP MELVILL,
Secretary Military Department.

DISPOSITION RETURN showing the BRITISH and NATIVE ARMED and DISARMED NATIVE TROOPS throughout the BENGAL PRESIDENCY, excluding the LAHORE DIVISION.

Division.	STATION.	Corps.	British Non-commissioned Officers and Men.			Native Non-commissioned Officers and Men (Armed).	Grand Total Non-commissioned Officers and Men.	Guns.	Disarmed Native Troops of all Ranks.	REMARKS.
			Effective.	Sick.	Total.					
PRESIDENCY DIVISION.	Calcutta and Fort William.	Royal Artillery	348	-	348	-	-	-	-	156 Horses attached; One Company ordered to Dum Dum. In Presidency Hospital. Depôt at Homrah. Native Details on Duty furnished from Barrackpore.
		Her Majesty's 6th Regiment	129	-	129	-	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 19th Regiment	951	46	997	-	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 54th Regiment	656	-	656	-	-	-	-	
		Details of various Regiments	15	215	230	-	2,436	-	-	
		Madras Native Infantry Depôt	-	-	-	76	-	-	1,609	
	Dum Dum	Native Details on Duty in Fort, Governor-General's Body Guard, and Calcutta Militia.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
		Detachment of Royal Artillery	7	12	19	-	-	12	-	
		9th Battalion Artillery	-	-	-	-	-	-	936	
		Head Quarters, 5th Battalion Artillery.	26	13	38	-	332	-	61	
	Barrackpore	Depôt, Her Majesty's and Company's Troops.	242	33	275	-	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 35th	663	55	718	-	-	-	-	
		Honourable Company's Recruits.	7	16	23	-	-	-	-	
		Detachment of Indian Navy	55	8	63	-	-	6	-	
		2d, 19th, 32d, 34th, and 43d Native Infantry.	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,379	
	Chinsura	Depôt, Her Majesty's Troops	78	-	78	-	78	-	-	
	Berhampore	Her Majesty's 35th Regiment	190	9	199	-	-	-	-	
		Detachment of 3d Company's 9th Battalion Artillery.	-	-	-	-	199	4	25	
		11th Irregular Cavalry, and 63d Native Infantry.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,115	
	Julpigoorce	73d Native Infantry	-	-	-	838	838	-	-	
	Dacca	Her Majesty's 54th	314	-	314	-	314	2	-	
	Dibroogur	Assam Local Artillery	-	-	-	154	-	-	-	
		1st Assam Light Infantry	-	-	-	525	679	-	-	
	Gowhatty	2d Assam Light Infantry	-	-	-	372	372	-	-	
	Cherra Poonjee	Sylhat Light Infantry	-	-	-	356	356	-	-	
	Akyab	Arracan Local Battalion	-	-	-	471	471	-	-	
	Chyebassa	Sikh Volunteers	-	-	-	145	-	-	-	
		Shekawater Battalion	-	-	-	727	872	-	-	
	En route between Calcutta and Allahabad.	13th Light Infantry	362	-	362	-	-	-	-	
		80th Foot	591	-	591	-	-	-	-	
		Detachment of Her Majesty's 54th.	174	-	174	-	-	-	-	
		Head Quarters, Madras Rifles	-	-	-	221	-	-	-	
	Bhaugulpore	5th Irregular Cavalry and Bhaugulpore Rangers.	-	-	-	-	-	-	311	
	Purneah	Detachment of Her Majesty's 5th.	46	2	48	-	-	-	-	
		Seamen	100	-	100	-	148	-	-	
	Dinsgeepoor and Rungpore.	Seamen	200	-	200	-	200	-	-	
	Poosa and Durbunga	Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry	208	13	221	-	321	-	-	
	Dinapore	4th Co. 5th Bat. Artillery	24	3	27	-	-	2	-	
		Her Majesty's 37th	317	91	348	-	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 82d	115	11	126	-	546	-	-	
		5th Irregular Cavalry, 7th, 8th, and 40th Native Infantry.	-	-	-	-	-	-	153	
		Christian Drummers	-	-	-	45	-	-	-	
	Patna	Her Majesty's 82d	57	3	60	-	-	-	-	
		Bengal Police Battalion	-	-	-	93	153	-	-	
	Moorzuffierpoor	Detachment of Bengal Police Battalion.	-	-	-	91	-	-	-	
		Regiment of Gorkhas	-	-	-	397	488	-	-	

STATION.	COMP.	British Non-Commissioned Officers and Men			Native Non-Commissioned Officers and Men (Armed)	Grand Total Non-Commissioned Officers and Men	Guns	Disarmed Native Troops of all Ranks.	REMARKS.
		Effective.	Sick.	Total.					
Between Goruckpoor and the River Gogra.	Naval Brigade	220	12	242	-	-	4 a	-	a 12-Pounder Howitzers; Two are Mountain-Train under Lieutenant-Colonel Rowcroft.
	Detachment of Bengal Police Battalion.	-	-	-	56	1,864	-	-	
Buzar	Goorkah Regiment	-	-	-	512	-	-	-	
	Ditto	-	-	-	554	-	-	-	
Gya	Seamen from Jumna	37	3	40	-	53	-	-	
	Detachment of Bengal Police Battalion.	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	
Hazareebagh	Seamen	100	-	100	-	135	-	-	
	Detachment of Bengal Police Battalion.	-	-	-	35	-	-	-	
Dorunda	Detachment of Madras Rifles	-	-	-	177 b	404	-	-	b 52 Men on Service for Palamow were furnished by Hazareebagh.
	Bengal Police Battalion	-	-	-	227	-	-	-	
On Service towards Palamow.	Madras Artillery	-	-	-	26	-	2 c	-	c Six-Pounders.
	27th Madras Native Infantry	-	-	-	193 d	-	-	-	d Four Men, Madras Rifles, included.
Arrah	Rangurh Light Infantry Battalion.	-	-	-	167 e	497	-	-	e 60 of these at Sambhulpore.
	Rangurh Irregular Cavalry	-	-	-	111 f	-	-	-	f 78 on Service towards Lohardugga.
Sassaram	Detachment of Madras Rifles	-	-	-	57	-	-	-	
	Detachment of 27th Native Infantry.	-	-	-	69	187	-	-	
Ghazeepore	Rangurh Lt. Infantry Batt.	-	-	-	61	-	-	-	
	Bengal Police Battalion, Cavalry.	-	-	-	96	609	-	-	
Darjeeling	Bengal Police Battalion, Infantry.	-	-	-	513 g	-	-	-	g Includes 44 Men at Dehree, and 28 at Chupra.
	Detachment of Royal Artillery.	20	-	20	-	-	2 h	-	h Nine-Pounders.
Benares	Detachment of Her Majesty's 97th.	132	-	132	-	174	-	-	
	Loodiano Regiment, Detachment.	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	
Mirzapore	4th Company of 5th Battalion of Artillery.	22	1	23	-	-	2 i	-	i Nine-Pounders.
	Her Majesty's 37th	230	36	266	-	289	-	864	Ordered by Government on Foreign Service.
Fort of Jounpore	65th Native Infantry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Invalid Depot.
	European Depot	-	148	148	-	148	-	-	
Left Column, under Brigadier-General Francke, at Badshapoor.	8th Company, 2d Battalion Royal Artillery.	34	2	36	-	-	2 j	-	j Six-Pounders; 14 Guns are in Position in Entrenchment, manned, partly, by some of the Royal Artillery.
	Her Majesty's 97th	97	45	142	-	-	-	-	
Chunar	Her Majesty's 20th	95	16	111	-	-	-	-	
	European Depot	3	91	94	-	438	-	565	
Mirzapore	25th, 37th, and 50th Native Infantry, and Detachments of 5th, 12th, and 13th Irregular Cavalry.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Regiment of Loodianah	-	-	-	55	-	-	-	
Fort of Jounpore	European Invalid Battalion	112	3	115	-	172	-	-	
	Her Majesty's 37th, Detachment.	50	7	57	-	-	-	-	
Right Column at Mahoul.	47th Native Infantry	-	-	-	-	-	-	580	
	Detachment of Royal Artillery.	25	-	25	-	299	2 k	-	k Nine-Pounders.
Centre Column at Paikutehla.	Goorkahs	-	-	-	274	-	-	-	
	Royal Artillery	23	-	23	-	-	2 l	-	l Nine-Pounders.
Gomsegunge	Royal Horse Artillery	80	-	80	-	-	6	-	
	Madras Artillery	35	1	36	29	-	2	-	
Phoolapoor	Goorkah Artillery	-	-	-	37	-	2	-	
	2d Dragoon Guards	186	-	186 m	-	1,864	-	-	m Have since joined Regimental Headquarters. Erroneously entered.
Jhoosee	Her Majesty's 97th	453	35	488 n	-	-	-	-	n The 192 Men at Sassaram are under Orders to join Regimental Headquarters.
	Goorkahs	-	-	-	985	-	-	-	
Gomsegunge	4th Company, 5th Battalion Artillery.	20	1	21	31	-	2 o	-	o Nine-Pounders.
	Madras Artillery	33	-	33	22	1,875	2 p	-	p Nine-Pounders.
Phoolapoor	Her Majesty's 10th Regiment	685	18	703 q	-	-	-	-	q Includes 323 men of 10th, en route from Chupra.
	17th Madras Native Infantry	-	-	-	119	-	-	-	
Jhoosee	Goorkah Force	-	-	-	946	-	-	-	
	Royal Artillery	79	14	93	-	-	6 r	-	r Nine-Pounders.
Jhoosee	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment	630	41	671	-	1,667	-	-	
	Goorkah	-	-	-	903	-	-	-	
Jhoosee	Regiment of Loodiana	-	-	-	109	-	-	-	
	Regiment of Ferozpoor	-	-	-	60	-	-	-	
Jhoosee	13th Irregular Cavalry	-	-	-	64	124	-	-	
	Regiment of Ferozpoor	-	-	-	197 s	197	-	-	s 54 non-effective of these.

DIVISION.	STATION.	CORPS.	British Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.			Native Non-Commissioned Officers and Men (Armed).	Grand Total Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.	Guns.	Disarmed Native Troops of all Arms.	REMARKS.
			Effective.	Sick.	Total.					
CAWNPUR DIVISION.	Allahabad	Her Majesty's 80th Regiment	545	-	545	-	-	-	-	-
		Royal Artillery	131	-	131	-	-	6 a	-	a Six 9-Pounders, On Light Field Battery equipped.
		7th Hussars	62	16	78	-	-	-	-	-
		Her Majesty's 18th Light Infantry.	858	31	889	-	-	-	-	-
		Convalescents and different Corps.	12	-	12	-	-	-	-	-
		18th Irregular Cavalry.	-	-	-	64	2,286	-	-	-
		Convalescents and Invalid Depot.	158	358	516	-	-	-	-	b Includes 22 Boys unable to bear Arms.
		Regiment of Loodians	-	-	-	109	-	-	-	-
		Garrison Service Company	-	-	-	67	-	-	-	-
		2d Bhagoon Guards	60	29	89	-	-	-	-	-
	Bhairampoor	Regiment of Ferozpoor	-	-	-	276	-	-	-	-
		Regiment of Ferozpoor	-	-	-	63	63	-	-	-
		Regiment of Ferozpoor	-	-	-	97	97	-	-	-
	Khaga	Regiment of Ferozpoor	-	-	-	42	-	2 c	-	c Six-Pounders.
	Futtehpore	E. Troop Madras Horse Artillery.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		2d Company 5th Battalion Bengal Artillery.	18	1	19	-	654	2 d	-	d Nine-Pounders in progress to Cawnpore.
		C. Company 5th Battalion Madras Artillery.	-	-	-	42	-	4 e	-	e Three 6-Pounders, On 12-Pounder Howitzer.
	Pandoo Muddee	17th Madras N.I.	-	-	-	551	-	-	-	-
		Madras Rifles	-	-	-	200	200	-	-	-
		Bengal Artillery, 3d Company, 1st Battalion.	50	-	50	-	-	2 f	-	f Nine-Pounders.
	Ukburpore	Her Majesty's 88th Regiment	758	-	758	-	908	-	-	-
		2d Punjab Cavalry	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-
		Lahore Light Horse	110	-	110	-	-	-	-	g Eurasians,
	En route to Allahabad from Cawnpore	Patban Horse	-	-	-	100	210	-	-	-
		6th Company 8th Battalion Bengal Artillery.	-	-	-	23	-	-	-	In Entrenchment.
		Bengal Artillery Recruits	260	30	290	-	-	-	-	-
	Cawnpore	Naval Brigade	86	7	93	-	-	-	-	-
		Her Majesty's 32d Regiment	420	33	453	-	-	-	-	-
		Detachments of Battalions	564	79	643	-	-	-	-	-
		Depôts of Regiments	226	137	363	-	2,806	-	-	-
		Hodson's Horse	-	-	-	103 g	-	-	-	g At Bilhour, watching the Porries.
		Recruits	152	-	152	-	-	-	-	Chiefly of 3d European Regiment.
		Native details	-	-	-	252	-	-	-	The greater Part belong the old Lucknow Garrison.
		Her Majesty's 75th Regiment	407	27	434	-	-	-	-	Proceeding from Alum Bagh to Cawnpore.
		Royal Engineers	132	-	132	-	-	-	-	-
		Bengal Sappers	-	-	-	218	-	-	-	-
	Attached to the Commander-in-Chief's Force, Brigadier Napier, C.B., Chief Engineer	Punjab ditto	-	-	-	659	1,974	-	-	-
		Pioneers	-	-	-	850	-	-	-	-
		Madras Sappers	-	-	-	115	-	-	-	-
		E. Troop Royal Horse Artillery.	154	-	154	-	-	6 h	-	h Four 6-Pounders and 1 12-Pounder Howitzer.
		F. ditto ditto	180	-	180	-	-	-	-	En route to Cawnpore from Allahabad.
		1st Troop 1st Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery.	96	12	108	-	-	6 i	-	i Five 9-Pounders, One 2-Pounder Howitzer.
		2d Troop 1st Brigade ditto	101	-	101	-	-	6 j	-	See below, en route join; j Five 9-Pounders, One 12-Pounder Howitzer.
		2d Troop 3d Brigade ditto	114	-	114	-	-	5 k	-	k Four 6-Pounders, One 1-Pounder Howitzer.
		3d Troop 3d Brigade ditto	101	7	108	-	-	6 l	-	l Five 9-Pounders, One 2-Pounder Howitzer.
		8d Company 14th Battalion Royal Artillery.	118	4	122	-	1,767	-	-	Reserve Company.
	Artillery Division, Sir A. Wilson commanding.	2d Company 9d Battalion Bengal Artillery.	106	4	110	-	-	6 m	-	m Five 9-Pounders, One 24-Pounder Howitzer at Alum Bagh.
		3d Company 5th Battalion Royal Artillery.	196	4	200	-	-	6 n	-	n Four 9-Pounders, 1 24-Pounder Howitzer at Alum Bagh.
		6th Co. 11th Batt. ditto	50	1	51	-	-	-	-	-
		5th Co. 12th Batt. ditto	84	-	84	-	-	-	-	-
		5th Co. 13th Batt. ditto	53	22	75	-	-	-	-	-
		4th Co. 1st Bengal Artillery	42	-	42	-	-	-	-	-
		1st Co. 5th ditto	62	-	62	-	-	-	-	-
		2d Co. 5th ditto	60	-	60	-	-	-	-	-
		2d Co. 8th ditto	-	-	-	41	-	-	-	-
		Bengal Artillery Recruits	150	-	150	-	-	-	-	Reserve Companies at Alum Bagh.

UNDER HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OPERATING AGAINST LUCKNOW.

Division	Station	Component	British Non-Commissioned Officers and Men			Native Non-Commissioned Officers and Men (Armed)	Grand Total Non-Commissioned Officers and Men	Guns	Disarmed Native Troops of all Arms	Remarks
			Effective	Sick	Total					
UNDER HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OPERATING AGAINST JACKSON. CANNOR DIVISION.	Attached to Artillery Division	Naval Brigade	321	10	331	—	331	19	—	a Four 65-Pounders, Six 34-Pounders, One 18-Pounder, and Two 8-inch Howitzers.
	Cavalry Division under Commander-General Fergusson	1st Brigade	Her Majesty's 5th Lancers	424	14	438	—	—	—	At Alum Bagh.
			2d Battalion Military Train	195	22	207	—	—	—	b At present at Utkurpoor.
			2d Punjab Cavalry	—	—	—	128	—	—	
			5th ditto ditto	—	—	—	92	—	—	
			Welsh Horse	—	—	—	300	—	—	c 150 at Utkurpoor.
							4,961	—	—	
	2d Brigade	2d Dragoon Guards	408	—	408	—	—	—	—	d En route to Cawnpore from Allahabad.
		7th Hussars	378	27	405	—	—	—	—	At Alum Bagh.
		Volunteer Cavalry	54	5	59	—	—	—	—	
		1st Punjab Cavalry	—	—	—	124	—	—	—	
		Hodson's Horse	—	—	—	799	—	—	—	
	1st Infantry Division, Major-General O'Brien	1st Brigade	Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers	495	32	527	—	—	—	At Alum Bagh.
			Ditto 84th	583	39	622	—	—	—	
			1st Madras Fusiliers	439	37	476	—	—	—	
	2d Brigade	Her Majesty's 78th	482	18	500	—	—	—	—	At Alum Bagh.
		Ditto 90th	685	33	718	—	—	—	—	
		Regiment of Ferozpoor	—	—	—	134	—	—	—	
	2d Infantry Division:									
	3d Brigade	Her Majesty's 34th	492	20	512	—	—	—	—	At the Bunnee Bridge.
		Ditto 38th	642	18	660	—	—	—	—	To relieve 75th in Alum Bagh.
		Ditto 53d	662	45	707	—	—	—	—	
	4th Brigade	Ditto 42d	777	31	808	—	11,934	—	—	
		Ditto 93d	854	46	900	—	—	—	—	
		4th Punjab Rifles	—	—	—	632	—	—	—	
	3d Infantry Division, Brigadier-General Walpole:									
	5th Brigade	Her Majesty's 93d	793	35	828	—	—	—	—	Includes Recruits.
		Ditto 79th	864	28	892	—	—	—	—	
		1st Bengal Fusiliers	530	49	579	—	—	—	—	
	6th Brigade	2d Battalion Rifle Brigade	718	42	760	—	—	—	—	29-Pounders. See 2d Brigade of Infantry.
		3d ditto ditto	868	19	887	—	—	—	—	
		2d Punjab Infantry	—	—	—	622	—	—	—	
	At the Bunnee Bridge	Madras Artillery	—	—	—	31	—	2	—	Included in General Wilson's Artillery Division.
		Her Majesty's 54th Regiment	—	—	—	453	—	—	—	
		27th Madras Native Infantry	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	En route to join Headquarters.	2d Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Includes 124 Recruits on the point of joining.
		3d Sikh Cavalry	—	—	—	284	—	—	—	
		2d Punjab Cavalry	—	—	—	370	—	—	—	
	Meerutke Serai	7th Punjab Infantry	—	—	—	420	—	—	—	9-Pounders.
	Pattahgarh	7th Company 14th Battalion Royal Artillery	109	—	109	—	—	4	—	
		Her Majesty's 82d	504	61	565	—	—	—	—	
		3d Company Sikh Artillery	—	—	—	65	—	—	—	186 from Dinapore en route, ordered up. Made over to Artillery Park. Includes 124 Recruits on the point of joining.
	Dinapore	Her Majesty's 8th Regiment	453	—	453	—	—	—	—	
		Alexander's Horse	50	—	50	230	—	—	—	
		7th Company 14th Battalion Royal Artillery	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21 Light Field Battery attached.
	Blawan	Alexander's Horse	—	—	—	150	—	—	—	
	Aligarh	1st Company 5th Battalion Artillery	18	—	18	—	—	—	—	
		3d European Regiment	194	—	194	—	—	—	—	
		4th Sikh Infantry	—	—	—	117	—	—	—	
	Agga	3d Company 5th Battalion Artillery	50	—	50	—	—	—	—	
		3d European Regiment	301	—	301	—	—	—	—	
		Disarmed Native Corps	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

The Garrison is further to be increased by a Native Levy being raised, and a Detach of Irregular Horse.

Division	STATION.	COMP.	British			Native Command- ed Officers and Men (Army)	Grand Total Non- Commis- ioned Officers and Men	Cash	Dis- armed Native Troops of all Ranks	REMARKS.
			Europe- an	Sikhs	Total					
Muzart Division.	Meerut	Head-quarters, and 3d Com- pany, 3d Battalion Bom- bay Artillery	161	-	161	-	-	6a	-	a Five 9-Pounders and One 24-Pounder Howitzer.
		Depôt of Recruits	151	-	151	-	-	-	-	
		Sikh Artillery	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards	485	70	555	-	-	-	-	Includes 197 Men return- ing from Futtighur, and 96 on Duty in the Dis- trict.
		Detachment of 3d Regiment, Light Cavalry	-	-	-	-	2,79	-	48	
		Her Majesty's 60th Rifles	505	68	573	-	-	-	-	
		1st Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	525	-	-	-	
		Left Wing, 1st Belooch Bat- talion	-	-	-	392	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 64th Regiment	598	-	598	-	-	-	-	At Boodlandshur.
	Delhi	Detachment of Horse Artillery	105	15	120	-	-	6b	-	b Five 6-Pounders, one 12- Pounder Howitzer, 3d Troop, 1st Brigade.
		4th Battalion Artillery	193	15	208	-	-	-	-	
		4th Company, 6th Battalion Artillery	75	7	82	-	-	-	-	Reserve Companies.
		Detachment Artillery Recruits	28	6	34	-	-	-	-	
		Sikh Artillery	-	-	-	80	2,849	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 61st Regiment	323	68	391	-	-	-	-	
		2d European B. Fusiliers	487	82	569	-	-	-	-	
		Sirmoor Battalion	-	-	-	398	-	-	-	
		4th Sikh Infantry	-	-	-	309	-	-	-	
		4th Irregular Cavalry	-	-	-	108	-	-	-	
		2d Troop, 2d Brigade Horse Artillery	101	-	101	-	101	6c	-	Five 5-Pounders, and One 12-Pounder Howitzer.
	Landour	Convalescents, Her Majesty's Troops	-	328	328	-	-	-	-	
		Landour Rangers	-	-	-	303	653	-	-	
		Sirmoor Battalion	-	-	-	90	-	-	-	
	Deyrah	Depôt, Sirmoor Battalion	-	-	-	214	214	-	-	
	Bulldighurh	Detachment, 1st Punjab In- fantry	-	-	-	320	320	-	-	
	Roorkee	Sappers and Miners	-	-	-	83	113	-	-	
		Thomson College	30	-	30	-	-	-	-	
	Shearunpore	Nusseree Battalion	-	-	-	508	508	-	-	
		1st Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	60	-	-	-	
	Moozuffurnuggur	Detachment of Nusseree Bat- talion	-	-	-	42	42	-	-	
	Munglone	Detachment of Nusseree Bat- talion	-	-	-	71	187	-	-	
		Sikh Detachment	-	-	-	116	-	-	-	
	Jumalpoore	Artillery	39	-	39	-	-	-	-	
		1st Punjab Cavalry	-	-	-	257	326	-	-	
		Irregular Horse	-	-	-	80	-	-	-	
	Jaloe	Sappers and Miners	-	-	-	101	-	-	-	
		Artillery	40	-	40	-	296	-	-	
		1st Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	84	-	-	-	
		Detachment of Nusseree Bat- talion	-	-	-	71	-	-	-	
	Almorah	66th Goorka Regiment	-	-	-	982	-	-	-	
		1st Extra Goorka Regiment	-	-	-	234	1,506 d	-	-	d Formed at the Foot of the Hills at Huldwanee.
		Nepal Goorka Contingent	-	-	-	290	-	-	-	
	Handi	Irregular Levies	-	-	-	528	-	-	-	Horse and Foot.
		23d Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	66	1,254	-	-	
		Raja Jowahir Sing's Troops	-	-	-	660	-	-	-	
	Kanoud	Punjab Mounted Police	-	-	-	109	-	-	-	
		Artillery	-	-	-	97	1,031	4e	-	e Six-Pounders.
		23 Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	825	-	-	-	
	In the Goorgoon Dis- trict	Kemson Battalion	-	-	-	627	708	-	-	
		2d Irregular Cavalry	-	-	-	75	-	-	-	
	Umballa	4th Company, 7th Battalion Artillery	-	-	-	78	-	6f	-	f Five 6-Pounders, One 12- Pounder Howitzer, tem- porary Bullock Battery.
		Her Majesty's 6th Lancers	41	-	41	-	-	-	-	
		2d Light Cavalry	-	-	-	58	-	-	-	
		Convalescent Depôt	295	87	382	-	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 10th	206	-	206	-	-	-	-	
		18th Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	867	3,775	-	-	
		5th Regiment	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	
		Wing, 1st Sikh Infantry	-	-	-	554	-	-	-	
		25 Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	800	-	-	-	
		17th Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	894	-	-	-	Arrived from Punjab for Field Service: the 2d Punjab Infantry having come on to Meerut.

DIVISION	STATION	COMP.	British Non-Commissioned Officers and Men			Native Non-Commissioned Officers and Men (Armed)	GRAND TOTAL Non-Commissioned Officers and Men	Guns	Disarmed Native Troops of all Ranks	REMARKS
			Effective	Sick	Total					
SHEIKH DIVISION	Kumowlie	Her Majesty's 75th Regiment	53	-	53	-	53	-	-	
	Jataga	Nusseree Battalion	-	-	-	105	105	-	-	
	Dughla	Depôt European Infantry	57	19	76	-	76	-	-	
	Kabathoo	2d European Bengal Fusiliers	35	15	48	-	48	-	-	
	Phillour	2d Company 2d Battalion Artillery	23	-	23	-	-	-	-	
		Hazara Mountain Train	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	
		Detachment of Her Majesty's 53d Regiment	75	6	81	-	114	-	-	
		3d Regiment Native Infantry	-	-	-	-	-	-	101	
	Jullunder	1st Troop 3d Brigade Horse Artillery	94	-	94	-	-	6	-	
		6th Light Cavalry	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	
PESHAWUR DIVISION		Her Majesty's 52d Regt. 33d, 36th, and 63d Native Infantry	703	-	703	-	1,487	-	951	
		22d Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	691	-	-	-	
	Hosheypore	Left Wing Native Infantry	-	-	-	-	-	-	236	
	The Disposition Return of the Lahore Division not having been received, cannot be inserted.									
	Meerree	Her Majesty's 27th Regt. Peshawur Mountain Train	-	14	14	-	60	-	-	
	Rawul Pindoe	4th Troop 2d Brigade B. Horse Artillery	-	-	-	112	-	6	-	
		Her Majesty's 24th, Depôt	329	11	341	-	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 27th	-	10	10	-	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 27th	2	131	133	-	1,235	-	-	
		19th Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	639	-	-	561	
		58th Regiment Native Infantry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Fort Attock	Her Majesty's 27th Regt.	167	-	167	-	167	-	-	
	Nowshero	Her Majesty's 27th Regt. Peshawur Mountain Train	563	143	706	-	46	912	-	
		8th Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	-	160	-	-	
		64th Native Infantry	-	-	-	-	-	-	870	
	Peshawur	1st Troop 2d Brigade Horse Artillery	74	4	78	23	-	6	-	
		1st, 3d, and 4th Companies 2d Battalion of Artillery	200	29	229	131	-	18	-	
		Peshawur Light Horse	287	24	311	-	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 70th Regt.	583	63	646	-	-	-	-	
		Her Majesty's 27th Regt.	406	54	460	-	-	-	-	
		Eurasian Company	-	-	-	64	-	-	-	
		7th Irregular Cavalry	-	-	-	368	4,717	-	-	
		18th ditto	-	-	-	219	-	-	-	
		9th Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	327	-	-	-	
		14th ditto	-	-	-	126	-	-	-	
		18th ditto	-	-	-	748	-	-	-	
		Kolah i Ghilzie Regiment	-	-	-	985	-	-	-	
		24th and 27th N. Infantry	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,552	
	Hoto Mardah	Detachment of 2d Punjab Cavalry	-	-	-	198	609	-	-	
		16th Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	511	-	-	-	
	Fort Michnee	7th Irregular Cavalry	-	-	-	55	220	-	-	
		21st Native Infantry	-	-	-	165	-	-	-	
	Fort Shookuddar	7th Irregular Cavalry	-	-	-	35	412	-	-	
		21st Native Infantry	-	-	-	377	-	-	-	
	Fort Abassie	18th Irregular Cavalry	-	-	-	-	-	-	116	
		21st Native Infantry	-	-	-	320	32	-	-	
	On Escort Duty	18th Irregular Cavalry	-	-	-	52	-	-	-	
		8th Punjab Infantry	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	
		9th ditto	-	-	-	16	128	-	-	
		19th ditto	-	-	-	74	-	-	-	
		21st Native Infantry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
GRAND TOTAL			39,367	39,048	78,905	78,905	216	12,604		

Quartemaster-General's Office, Head Quarters, Camp, Cawnpore, 12th February, 1858.

G. Atterton, Captain, Officiating Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Army.

Continued Statement of SA MAGUIRE and SA HOGAN, re: JOSEPH P. MORAN, being under the
 direction of FORT M. GIBSON, re: WILLIAM C. MORAN (S)

Major General F. E. Craig, C.B. - Commands
 Capt. G. I. Condy, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General
 Lieutenant A. Drury, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General (Europe)
 Lieutenant R. H. Bolton, Acting ditto

Captain F. A. Chambers, Adjutant General
 Major W. H. Wagstaff, Deputy Judge Advocate General
 Surgeon W. Burrell, Superintending Surgeon

CAMP, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.					ON DETACHMENT.					TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.
STATIONS.	COOR.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned Officers and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned Officers and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	STATIONS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned Officers and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.		
Fort St. George	Body Guard	3	2	125	-	-	-	Bengal	3	2	125	Sept. 1857. March "	
	25th Regt. Nat. Infantry	15	2	768	-	-	-	Clutter	15	2	768		
	36th ditto	16	1	786	3	1	16	Chinglaput	19	2	882		
	1st Native Veteran Batta.	12	2	1,886	-	-	245	Solem	12	2	1,327	Since its Formation.	
	Madras Sapper Militia	3	2	324	-	-	176		3	2	424		
							280						
	1st Battalion Artillery	74	112	-	1	56	-	Bellary	19	369	-	April 1857.	
					2	73	-	Rangoon					
					-	43	-	Moulmein					
					-	39	-	Sittang					
				-	13	-	Vellore						
				1	17	-	Masilipatam						
				1	26	-	Kurnool						
				-	-	28	Bellary						
				-	-	28	Rangoon						
				-	-	22	Moulmein						
Gun Lascars attached	-	-	38	-	-	-	11	Sittang	1	-	128	April "	
				-	-	-	3	Vellore					
				-	-	-	6	Fort St. George					
				-	-	-	2	Kurnool					
				1	-	-	40	Penang					
				1	-	-	38	Malacca					
				1	-	-	-	Hong Kong					
				1	-	-	40	Cannanore					
				1	-	-	24	Mangalore					
				2	-	-	20	Mysore					
St. Thomas' Mount	5th Battalion Artillery	8	2	909	2	-	-	80	Bengal	91	2	687	Since its Formation.
					-	-	-	47	Vizianagram				
					1	-	-	29	Cuttack				
					2	-	-	57	Meerday				
					2	-	-	75	Singapore				
					1	-	-	24	Labuan				
					-	-	-	14	Masilipatam				
					-	-	-	5	Penang				
					-	-	-	6	Malacca				
					-	-	-	5	Hong Kong				
Gun Lascars attached	-	-	29	-	-	-	5	Cannanore	-	-	194	Ditto.	
				-	-	-	8	Mangalore					
				-	-	-	3	Mysore					
				-	-	-	17	Bengal					
				-	-	-	12	Vizianagram					
				-	-	-	6	Cuttack					
				-	-	-	16	Meerday					
				-	-	-	15	Singapore					
				-	-	-	14	Labuan					
				-	-	-	3	Masilipatam					
				-	-	-	9	Fort St. George					
				-	-	-	14	Body Guard	15	3	854	Aug. 1857.	
				-	-	-	9	Bengal					
				1	-	-	397	Vellore					
				1	-	-	71	Cuttack					
				1	-	-	420	Quatour					
				1	-	-	15	Thampan					
				1	-	-	240	Cadastre					
				-	-	-	141	Pennamallee					
				-	-	-	64	Arnee					
				-	-	-	72	Roystonville					
Arcot	3d Native Veteran Batta.	10	2	1,091	-	-	-		14	2	1,451	July 1858.	
Vellure	18th Regt. Nat. Infantry	17	2	787	-	-	-		17	2	807	April 1859.	
	3 Extra ditto	4	2	486	-	-	-		4	2	490	Since its Formation.	

NORTHERN DIVISION.

Major-General A. Tulloch, G.B. Commands.
 Captain F. J. M. Mason, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General (absent).
 Major R. J. Kempt, Acting - - ditto.
 Captain G. F. Shakespear, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Captain C. C. McCallum, Deputy Judge Advocate-General.
 Major G. A. Tulloch, Aide-de-Camp.
 Surgeon F. Cooper, Superintending Surgeon.

CAMPS, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.					ON DETACHMENT.					TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.
STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	STATIONS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.		
Berhampore	5th Regt. Native Infantry	5	2	412	2 4 1	—	116 304 6	Bengal - Cuttack - Secunderabad -	12	2	898	April 1854.	
Masulipatam	7th Regt. ditto -	10	2	557	1 1 2	—	71 168 83	Bizwarah - Secunderabad - Yenagooden -	14	2	809	March 1857.	
	1st extra ditto -	4	2	419	—	—	—	- - -	4	2	149	Since its For- mation.	
Samuleottah	9th extra ditto -	10	2	393	— 1 1 1 2 1	—	32 83 83 66 228 6	Cocanada - Ellore - Rajahmundry - Rajapore - Masulipatam - Secunderabad -	2	2	821	Dec. 1854.	
Rusalkondah	24d Regt. Light Infantry	14	2	798	1	—	6	Secunderabad -	15	2	801	Feb. 1857	
Vizianagrum	31st Regt. ditto -	11	2	559	2 1 —	—	168 84 6	Kimdy - Palcondah - Secunderabad -	11	2	817	May 1856	
Cuttack	40th Regt. Native Infantry	8	2	632	3	—	168	Sumbulpore -	11	2	806	April 1857.	
Vizagapatam	43d Regt. ditto -	10	2	527	1 1 1	—	201 110 6	Chitrole - Berhampore - Secunderabad -	17	2	815	March 1854.	
	European Veterans	4	110	—	— — —	131 36 —	— — —	Palaveram - Fort St. George - Civil Engineer's Department -	1	280	—	—	
					— 1 2 1 1 2 5 2	— — — — — — — —	20 125 108 113 100 52 115 7 248 123	Paunbrun - Secunderabad - Rangoon - Thyetungo - Padongruys - Cannanore - Tonghoo - Jackatalla - Bengal - Rajahmundry -	18	55	1,186	March 1855	

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

Major-General R. Budd, Commands.
 Major W. L. Walker, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General (absent).
 Major R. Taylor, Acting - - ditto.
 Captain E. F. Burton, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Captain J. White, Acting Aide-de-Camp.
 Captain J. White, Deputy Judge Advocate-General.
 Surgeon G. Beeton, Superintending Surgeon.

Trichinopoly	1st Regt. Light Cavalry	14	3	372	{	1	—	15	Body Guard	14	3	357	Dec. 1856.
								119	Coimbatore				
								81	Trichore				
								41	Dindigul				
	21st Regt. Native Infantry	10	2	555	{	1	—	21	Jackatilla	11	2	818	August 1857.
								58	Paulghant				
								65	Tanjore				
								89	Tranquebar				
	24th Regt. Light Infantry	7	2	242	{	1	—	71	Combicorum	16	2	803	April 1857.
								96	Negapatam				
4								Secunderabad					
233								Bengal					
2d extra Reg. Nat. Infantry	7	2	466	{	1	—	—	—	3	2	466	Since its For- mation.	
							61	Madura					
							97	Rannad					
							6	Bangalore					
Pallancottah	51st ditto	14	2	655	{	1	—	—	—	17	2	819	March 1857.
								176	Cochin				
Quilon	2d ditto	11	2	543	{	2	—	45	Trivandrum	13	2	770	Nov. 1854.
								—	Bangalore				

HYDERABAD SUBSIDIARY FORCE.

Major-General J. C. Coffin, Commands.

Major F. Knyvett, Assistant Adjutant-General (in Europe).

Major D. Hodson, Acting ditto.

Captain T. Peyton, Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Major T. Pritchard, Deputy Judge Advocate-General.

Surgeon G. Pearce, Superintending Surgeon.

CAMPS, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.					ON DETACHMENT.				TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.
STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	STATIONS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	
Secunderabad.	7th Light Cavalry - -	10	3	385	-	-	14	Body Guard - -	10	3	399	March 1855.
	4th Battalion Artillery - -	9	162	-	2 1 1	48 26 45 72	-	Rangoon - - Bassein - - Mount - - Bangalore - -	13	373	-	Oct. 1855.
	Gun Lascars, attached - -	-	-	62	-	-	22 10 29	Rangoon - - Bassein - - Bangalore - -	-	-	123	Oct. 1855.
	3d European Regiment - -	30	955	-	-	-	-	- - - -	30	955	-	March 1855.
	1st Regiment Native Infantry - -	9	2	701	3	-	116	Bengal - -	12	2	817	May 1857.
	22d ditto - -	20	2	897	-	-	-	- - - -	20	2	897	Feb. 1857.
	24th ditto - -	12	2	746	3	-	116	Bengal - -	15	2	862	Feb. 1857.
	11st ditto - -	16	2	839	-	-	-	- - - -	16	2	839	April 1857.
	19d ditto - -	14	2	807	-	-	-	- - - -	14	2	807	Jan. 1857.

NAGPORE FORCE.

Brigadier H. Prior, Commands.

Captain E. T. Boddam, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Major W. G. P. Jenkins, Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Captain D. Blair, Acting Judge Advocate-General.

Surgeon J. T. Maule, Superintending Surgeon.

Amptee.	4th Light Cavalry - -	12	3	374	-	-	15	Body Guard - -	12	3	389	Feb. 1857.
	6th ditto - -	18	3	375	-	-	15	Body Guard - -	18	3	390	Aug. 1857.
	2d Battalion Artillery - -	5	88	-	2 1 1 2 1	85 36 19 23 64	-	Trichinopoly - - Tonghoo - - Shuay Gheen - - Singapore - - Mount - -	13	355	-	Jan. 1857.
	Gun Lascars, attached - -	-	-	38	-	-	29 18 11 17 15	Trichinopoly - - Tonghoo - - Shuay Gheen - - Mount - - Singapore - -	-	-	128	Jan. 1857.
	26th Regiment Native Infantry - -	9	2	601	2 1	- 73	84	Seonee - - Mysore - -	12	2	768	April 1857.
	28th ditto - -	7	2	421	3	-	392	Nursingpore - -	10	2	813	Dec. 1856.
	32d ditto - -	14	2	824	-	-	-	- - - -	14	2	824	Feb. 1857.
	33d ditto - -	10	2	601	2 1	- 82	148	Baitool - - Seonee - -	13	2	831	March 1857.
	Andras Troops, Southern Mahatta Country - -	15	3	375	-	-	15	Body Guard - -	15	3	390	Feb. 1 7.

PEGU DIVISION.

Major-General J. Bell, Commandr.
 Captain E. A. Travers, Assistant Adjutant-General.
 Captain H. H. O'Connell, Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Lieutenant W. J. Bell, Aide-de-Camp.
 Major C. Burton, Deputy Judge Advocate-General.
 Surgeon H. G. Graham, Superintending Surgeon.

CAMPS, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.					ON DETACHMENT.					TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respect Stations
STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.	European Non Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	STATIONS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.		
Rangoon	3d Battalion Artillery	3	53	—	3	79	—	Benares	11	378	—	May 1857	
					3	79	—	Tonghoo					
					2	79	—	Kamptee					
					—	65	—	Thyetungo					
					—	11	—	Secunderabad					
	Gun Lascars, attached	—	—	4	—	—	—	32 Benares	—	—	130	May 1857	
					—	—	—	32 Tonghoo					
					—	—	—	30 Kamptee					
					—	—	—	31 Thyetungo					
					—	—	—	239 Bassein					
6th Regiment Native In- fantry	6	2	596	3	—	239	Bassein	9	2	853	April 185		
				—	—	13	Bangalore						
				—	—	7	Palaveram						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
10th ditto	15	2	810	—	—	20	Ellore	15	2	810	March 18		
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
12th ditto	4	2	238	3	—	300	China	14	2	831	April 185		
				—	—	279	Pegu						
				—	—	9	Ellore						
				—	—	5	Palaveram						
				—	—	—	—						
15th ditto	15	2	766	—	—	21	Vellore	15	2	801	Sept. 185		
				—	—	17	Palaveram						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
4th ditto	12	2	781	—	—	15	Palaveram	12	2	804	May 1857		
				—	—	8	Vellore						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
15th ditto	9	2	357	2	—	221	Meeaday	19	2	793	March 18		
				2	—	128	Thabrilla						
				—	—	52	Mengdoon						
				—	—	22	Palaveram						
				—	—	13	Arne						
59th ditto	13	2	649	—	—	19	Trichinopoly	13	2	762	May 1857		
				—	—	47	Palaveram						
				—	—	47	Yaunjett						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
44th ditto	9	2	355	3	—	291	Prome	19	2	801	May 1857		
				1	—	128	Meeaday						
				—	—	15	Vellore						
				—	—	12	Palaveram						
				—	—	—	—						
2d European Light In- fantry	14	439	—	8	422	—	Fort St. George	23	954	—	March 18		
				1	76	—	Shuay Gheen						
				—	17	—	Mount						
				—	—	23	Samulcottah						
				—	—	14	Palaveram						
8th Regiment Native In- fantry	14	0	883	—	—	93	Kyaukkie	15	2	1,013	April 1857		
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
37th Grenadiers	9	2	421	5	—	358	Tonghoo	14	2	780	Jan. 1857		
				—	—	21	Vizagapatam						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
13th Regiment Native Infantry	13	2	556	1	—	60	Mergui	17	2	824	March 18		
				3	—	200	Sittang						
				—	—	8	Palaveram						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
18th ditto	11	2	678	1	—	71	Tavoy	12	2	772	Feb. 1857		
				—	—	23	Vellore						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
46th ditto	11	2	618	—	—	16	Ellore	13	2	837	Jan. 1857		
				2	—	203	Menghee						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
14th ditto	14	2	587	—	—	12	Bellary	16	2	816	Feb. 1857		
				—	—	5	Palaveram						
				2	—	212	Malacca						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
29th ditto	10	2	594	—	—	27	Masulipatam	14	2	801	Feb. 1857		
				—	—	13	Palaveram						
				4	—	167	China						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
38th ditto	12	2	516	—	—	16	Vizagapatam	16	2	740	April 1857		
				—	—	48	Canton						
				2	—	63	China						
				—	—	97	Labuan						
				—	—	—	—						
1st Madras Fusiliers	30	803	—	—	—	—	—	30	803	—	May 1857		
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
17th Regiment Native Infantry	16	2	797	—	—	18	Madras	16	2	815	July 1857		
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
27th ditto	22	2	770	—	—	41	Palaveram	22	2	837	July 1857		
				—	—	25	Vellore						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						
				—	—	—	—						

GENERAL ABSTRACT.

DIVISIONS OF THE ARMY.	DRAGOONS.		LIGHT CAVALRY.		HORSE ARTILLERY.		FOOT ARTILLERY		SAPPERS AND MINERS		EUROPEAN INFANTRY.		NATIVE INFANTRY.		VETERAN BATTALIONS AND COMPANIES.		TOTAL.					
	European Commissioned Officers.	European Non-Commissioned Officers.	Native Commissioned, and Rank.	European Commissioned Officers.	European Non-Commissioned Officers.	Native Commissioned, and Rank.	European Commissioned Officers.	European Non-Commissioned Officers.	Native Commissioned, and Rank.	European Commissioned Officers.	European Non-Commissioned Officers.	Native Commissioned, and Rank.	European Commissioned Officers.	European Non-Commissioned Officers.	Native Commissioned, and Rank.	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.				
Centre Division	1	16	470	4	105	1	24	270	209	84	1	20	405	55	10	3,258	31	174	2,688	1,617	6,709	8,326
Mysore Division	12	9	337	8	152	20	3	72	20	32	1	13	606	65	8	3,376	1	72	72	1,138	3,857	4,995
Malabar and Canara	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	64	13	1	16	549	43	6	2,319	1	1	1	616	2,448	3,064
Northern Division	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	17	90	21	1	1	123	98	16	6,049	4	110	1	249	6,283	6,532
Southern Division	1	14	372	5	102	1	2	85	1	20	1	1	66	59	10	3,347	1	1	280	347	4,085	4,382
Ceded Districts	7	15	405	2	3	55	2	82	1	30	1	3	352	55	8	3,011	1	1	1	627	3,501	4,128
Madrass Troops, Southern Mahratta Country	1	15	375	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18	375	393
Nagpore Force	1	30	749	3	105	1	1	158	1	68	1	1	1	48	8	3,153	1	1	1	365	3,970	4,335
On Service in China	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	28	1	1	1	1	13	1	530	1	1	1	14	563	577
Hyderabad Subsidiary Force	13	10	385	4	6	94	9	163	1	62	1	30	955	72	10	3,970	1	1	1	1,550	4,636	6,186
On Service in Bombay	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	58	58	58
Penang and Straits of Malacca	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	6	2,054	1	1	1	76	2,276	2,352
On Service in Bengal	1	1	1	3	2	44	5	79	80	49	5	20	803	58	6	2,279	1	1	1	985	2,700	3,685
Pegu Division	1	1	1	1	1	1	14	491	57	201	6	14	439	169	26	10,038	1	1	1	1,159	10,742	11,900
TOTAL	34	59	1,444	715	641	15	3	1,001	127	4,675	814	114	4,684	35	254	9,040	8,818	52,095	60,913			

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HEAD-QUARTERS OF CORPS.

DESCRIPTION OF TROOPS.	Regiments.	Battalions.	HEAD-QUARTERS OF CORPS.	DESCRIPTION OF TROOPS.	Regiments.	Battalions.	HEAD-QUARTERS OF CORPS.
Her Majesty's 12th Lancers -	—	—	Bangalore.		16th	—	Mangalore.
					17th	—	Bengal.
	1st	—	Trichinopoly.		18th	—	Vellore.
	2d	—	Sholapore.		19th	—	Bangalore.
	3d	—	Bangalore.		20th	—	French Rocks.
Light Cavalry -	4th	—	Kamptee.		21st	—	Trichinopoly.
	5th	—	Bellary.		22d	—	Secunderabad.
	6th	—	Kamptee.		23d	—	Russelcondah.
	7th	—	Secunderabad.		24th	—	Secunderabad.
	8th	—	Arco.		25th	—	Madras.
					26th	—	Kamptee.
Horse Artillery -	—	—	Bangalore.		27th	—	Bengal.
					28th	—	Hoosungabad.
		1st	Mount.		29th	—	Penang.
		2d	Kamptee.		30th	—	Cuddapah.
Battalions of Artillery -		3d	Rangoon.		31st	—	Vizianagrum.
		4th	Secunderabad.		32d	—	Kamptee.
		5th	Mount.		33d	—	Kamptee.
					34th	—	Trichinopoly.
Corps of Engineers -	—	—	Fort St. George.	Native Infantry -	35th	—	Hurlybar.
					36th	—	Madras.
Sappers and Miners -	—	—	Davluahwaram.		37th	—	Tonghoo.
					38th	—	Singapore.
Her Majesty's Regiments -	43d	—	Bangalore.		39th	—	Thyetnyo.
	74th	—	Bellary.		40th	—	Cuttack.
					41st	—	Secunderabad.
European Regiments -	1st	—	Bengal.		42d	—	Secunderabad.
	2d	—	Tonghoo.		43d	—	Vizagapatam.
	3d	—	Secunderabad.		44th	—	Thyetnyo.
					45th	—	Rangoon.
	1st	—	Secunderabad.		46th	—	Henzadah.
	2d	—	Quilon.		47th	—	Bellary.
	3d	—	Cannanore.		48th	—	Moulmein.
	4th	—	Thyetmen.		49th	—	Kurnool.
	5th	—	Berhampore.		50th	—	Kurnool (Moveable Column)
	6th	—	Rangoon.		51st	—	Pallancottah.
	7th	—	Masulipatam.		52d	—	Mercara.
Native Infantry -	8th	—	Tonghoo.			1st	Madras.
	9th	—	Samulcottah.	Native Veterans -		2d	Arco.
	10th	—	Rangoon.				
	11th	—	Cannanore.		1st	—	Masulipatam.
	12th	—	Rangoon.	Extra Native Infantry -	2d	—	Trichinopoly.
	13th	—	Moulmein.		3d	—	Vellore.
	14th	—	Singapore.				
	15th	—	Thyetnyo.	Sapper Militia -			Madras.

W. G. Woods, Lieut.-Colonel,
Adjutant-General of the Army.

PAT. GRANT, Lieut.-General,
Commander-in-Chief.

SPECIAL RETURN of the MADRAS TROOPS in the Field for the Month of September 1857.

[illegible]

W. G. Woods, Lieut-Colonel,
Adjutant-General of the Army.

PAI. GRANT, Lieut.-General,
Commander-in-Chief.

**NUMERICAL RETURN of the EUROPEAN COMMISSIONED OFFICERS of each REGIMENT of LIGHT CAVALRY, EUROPE
and NATIVE INFANTRY, on the MADRAS ESTABLISHMENT, on the 1st of October 1857.**

CORPS.	PRESENT EFFECTIVE.					Withdrawn for Staff or other Detached Employ.					Absent in Europe, on Furlough, or upon Sick Certificate.					Absent on Leave on the Hill or elsewhere in India, to Sea, to the Cape of Good Hope,							
	Colonel.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants. Cornets or Ensigns.	Colonel.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants. Cornets or Ensigns.	Colonel.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants. Cornets or Ensigns.	Colonel.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.			
NATIVE CAVALRY																							
1st Regiment Light Cavalry	-	1	-	2	7	1	-	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-		
2nd ditto ditto	-	-	1	4	6	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1		
3d ditto ditto	-	1	-	3	5	1	1	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	1		
4th ditto ditto	-	1	-	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	2	-	-	-	1	1		
5th ditto ditto	-	1	-	3	5	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-		
6th ditto ditto	-	1	1	2	9	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-		
7th ditto ditto	-	-	-	2	7	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-		
8th ditto ditto	-	1	1	4	8	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
TOTAL	-	6	3	25	54	4	1	-	2	22	3	-	7	1	2	9	13	1	-	1	2	3	
EUROPEAN INFANTRY:																							
1st Madras Fusiliers	-	-	1	7	15	4	-	2	1	5	-	2	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	-		
2d European Light Infantry	-	-	1	4	14	3	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	2	1		
3d Madras European Regiment	-	1	2	5	15	5	-	-	-	5	5	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1		
TOTAL	-	1	4	16	43	15	-	4	2	6	10	-	4	-	-	10	5	-	1	-	2	2	
NATIVE INFANTRY:																							
1st Regiment Native Infantry	-	1	1	3	6	2	-	-	-	3	2	-	1	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	-		
2d ditto ditto	-	-	1	1	7	3	-	1	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-		
3d ditto Light Infantry	-	-	1	3	6	3	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
4th ditto Native Infantry	-	1	-	2	5	4	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	1		
5th ditto ditto	-	-	1	3	5	2	-	-	-	3	4	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-		
6th ditto ditto	-	-	1	2	6	3	-	1	-	4	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-		
7th ditto ditto	-	1	-	4	5	2	-	-	-	2	4	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-		
8th ditto ditto	-	-	1	3	7	4	-	1	-	3	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-		
9th ditto ditto	-	1	-	4	5	1	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	1		
10th ditto ditto	-	1	1	2	7	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	1	-		
11th ditto ditto	-	-	1	3	6	3	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	1		
12th ditto ditto	-	-	1	4	6	2	-	1	-	3	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-		
13th ditto ditto	-	1	1	3	8	3	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-		
14th ditto ditto	-	-	1	3	7	3	-	-	-	3	2	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-		
15th ditto ditto	-	-	1	5	5	2	1	1	-	1	5	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-		
16th ditto ditto	-	-	1	2	5	3	-	-	-	4	1	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	-		
17th ditto ditto	-	-	1	4	6	4	-	-	-	1	3	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-		
18th ditto ditto	-	-	1	2	5	3	-	-	-	2	4	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-		
19th ditto ditto	-	-	1	4	6	2	-	-	-	3	3	1	1	1	-	1	2	1	-	-	-		
20th ditto ditto	-	-	1	4	6	2	-	-	-	3	3	1	1	1	-	1	2	1	-	-	-		
21st ditto ditto	-	1	-	2	5	3	-	-	1	2	4	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	2		
22d ditto ditto	-	1	1	5	9	1	1	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
23d ditto Light Infantry	-	-	1	3	7	3	-	1	-	3	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-		
24th ditto Native Infantry	-	1	-	3	7	3	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-		
25th ditto ditto	-	1	1	3	7	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	-		
26th ditto ditto	-	1	-	4	1	3	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	-	1	4	-	-	-	1	-		
27th ditto ditto	-	1	1	7	9	4	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-		
28th ditto ditto	-	1	1	2	5	1	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	2	3	2	1	-	-	-		
29th ditto ditto	-	1	1	4	5	3	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-		
30th ditto ditto	-	-	1	4	8	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-		
31st ditto Light Infantry	-	-	1	3	6	3	-	-	-	3	4	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-		
32d ditto Native Infantry	-	-	1	2	5	3	-	-	-	4	2	-	1	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	1		
33d ditto ditto	-	1	-	4	8	-	1	-	-	1	3	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-		
34th ditto Light Infantry	-	-	1	2	8	3	-	1	-	3	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-		
35th ditto Native Infantry	-	1	1	4	7	3	-	-	-	3	2	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-		
36th ditto ditto	-	1	1	3	5	3	-	-	-	2	3	-	1	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	-		
37th ditto ditto	-	-	1	1	8	3	-	-	-	3	3	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-		
38th ditto ditto	-	1	-	2	8	3	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-		
39th ditto ditto	-	-	1	3	7	3	-	-	-	3	3	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-		
40th ditto ditto	-	-	1	2	5	3	-	1	-	2	5	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-		
41st ditto ditto	-	1	-	5	8	3	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-		
42d ditto ditto	-	1	1	2	7	3	-	-	-	3	2	-	1	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-		
43d ditto ditto	-	-	1	3	6	2	-	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-		
44th ditto ditto	-	-	1	2	5	2	-	1	-	3	2	-	1	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	1		
45th ditto ditto	-	1	1	3	7	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	-		
46th ditto ditto	-	-	1	2	7	2	-	-	-	3	4	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-		
47th ditto ditto	-	1	1	5	10	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-		
48th ditto ditto	-	1	-	3	7	3	-	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	-		
49th ditto ditto	-	-	1	6	3	-	-	1	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-		
50th ditto ditto	-	1	-	3	3	1	-	-	-	1	5	-	1	-	1	3	3	-	-	-	-		
51st ditto ditto	-	1	1	4	7	1	-	-	-	1	4	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-		
52d ditto ditto	-	-	1	3	7	2	-	-	-	2	3	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-		
TOTAL	-	26	40	159	332	133	3	11	6	123	126	3	42	7	6	65	101	8	7	8	-	17	11

W. G. Woods, Lieut.-Colonel,
Adjutant General of the Army.

PAT. GRANT, Lieut.-General,
Commander-in-Chief.

PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY.

DISTRIBUTION RETURN of HER MAJESTY'S and the HONOURABLE COMPANY'S TROOPS serving under the Presidency BOMBAY on the 1st July 1857.

PRESIDENCY GARRISON.

Brigadier J. M. Short	-	Commanding.	Surgeon A. H. Leath	-	European General Hospital
Colonel H. Lyons	-	Town Major.	Surgeon F. Manisty	-	Garrison Surgeon.
Captain M. J. Battye	-	Fort Adjutant.	Assistant Surgeon J. Bean	-	Assistant Garrison Surgeon.
Captain F. Wemyss	-	Acting Garrison Engineer.	Surgeon G. M. S. Seaward	-	Medical Storekeeper.
Lieut.-Colonel J. Grant	-	Principal Commissary of Ordnance.	Reverend W. K. Fletcher	-	Senior Chaplain
Captain B. K. Finnimore	-	Senior Deputy ditto.	Reverend F. J. Spring	-	Junior ditto.
Lieutenant T. T. Haggard	-	Junior Deputy ditto.	Reverend J. D. Gibson	-	Junior ditto.
Brevet Major H. J. Barr	-	Military Paymaster.	Reverend C. H. Leigh Lye	-	Acting ditto.
Surgeon J. J. Hamilton	-	Superintending Surgeon.			

CAMPs, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.					ON DETACHMENT.					TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.	REMARKS
STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	STATIONS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.			
BOMBAY	2d Battalion with Gun Lascars and Syce Drivers attached; Captain Worgan commanding	-	180	53	1	107	73	Kurrachee	6	464	212	25 Feb. 1850		
					-	79	9	Ahmednuggur						
					2	98	77	Aurungabad						
	Her Majesty's 86th Regiment, Major Stuart commanding	10	336	-	13	447	-	Aden	28	933	-	17 Dec. 1855.		
					5	150	-	Surat						
	5th Regiment Native Light Infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel Heath commanding.	13	-	943	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	943		1 Nov. 1855
10th Regiment Na- tive Infantry; Major Vincent commanding	12	1	927	-	-	-	-	-	12	1	97	16 Feb. 1857		
11th Regiment Native Infantry; Colonel Shepherd com- manding	10	-	996	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	956	14 Dec. 1855		
Marine Battalion; Captain Barrow commanding	4	-	387	-	-	-	94 37 8 101 308	Mootuer Hat Bushire Bussora Hastadore Marine Duty	4	-	93	-	Permane Head Qu- ters at Bom- bay.	

SOUTHERN DIVISION.—HEAD QUARTERS, BELGAUM.

Major-General F. P. Lester - Commanding.
 Lieutenant H. P. Sykes - Acting Aide-de-Camp.
 Major-Lieut.-Colonel H. J. Pelly - Assistant Adjutant-General.
 Captain J. J. Pollexfen - Assistant Quartermaster-General.
 Captain J. D. Williams - Officiating Deputy Judge Advocate-General.
 Captain W. R. Houghton - Executive Engineer.
 Captain D. O. T. Compton - Acting Military Paymaster.

Captain H. W. Holland - Deputy Assistant Commissary-General.
 Captain U. S. Kendeall - Commanding Artillery.
 Captain T. Biggs - Commissary of Ordnance.
 Surgeon F. Mackenzie - Superintending Surgeon.
 Surgeon T. Waller - Deputy Medical Storekeeper and St. Surgeon.
 Reverend J. Churchill - Chaplain.
 Reverend G. A. F. Watson - Junior Chaplain.

CAMPS, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.				ON DETACHMENT.				TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.	REMARKS.
STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, and Rank and File.		
BELGAUM	3d Company, 1st Battalion Artillery, with No 1 Light Field Battery attached	1	64	74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Depôt, Her Majesty's 64th Regiment	2	83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	15th Regiment Native Infantry; Major Watkins commanding	13	1	816	2	-	156	Vingorla	15	1	972	16 April 1857
	Depôt 20th Regiment Native Infantry	2	1	161	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	29th Regiment Native Infantry; Major Lynch commanding	13	1	1,022	-	-	-	-	13	1	1,022	10 Dec. 1853
	6th Company, 3d Battalion Artillery	1	-	93	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
SHOLAPOOR.	2d Regiment Madras Light Cavalry; Major Sharp commanding	14	2	390	-	-	-	-	14	2	390	
	3d Regiment Native Infantry; Captain Grant commanding	12	1	946	-	-	13	Judee	-	-	-	
							13	Hypurga	-	-	-	
							13	Moodebehall	-	-	-	
DHARWAR							13	Mungoolce	-	-	-	
							7	Churekun	-	-	-	
KOLAPOOR							7	Alnulla	-	-	-	
							7	Toombgee	-	-	-	
DHARWAR	28th Regiment Native Infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel Marlean commanding	14	1	916	-	-	28	Badamee	-	-	-	
							27	Bugulkote	-	-	-	7 Dec. 1855
KOLAPOOR	27th Regiment Native Infantry; Major Rolland commanding	11	1	710	2	-	220	Rutnagherry	13	1	939	10 April 1854

POONA DIVISION.—HEAD QUARTERS, POONA.

Major-General F. Schuler - Commanding.
 Captain C. T. Aitchison - Aide-de-Camp.
 Captain J. Forbes - Acting Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General.
 Captain W. V. Shewell - Acting Dep.-Assistant Quartermaster-General.
 Major H. Boye - Deputy Judge Advocate-General.
 Captain W. D. Graham - Active Executive Engineer.

Captain J. R. Hawkins - Commissary of Ordnance.
 Captain H. J. Willoughby - Military Paymaster.
 Major J. B. Ramsay - Assistant Commissary-General.
 Major C. W. Tremenhare - Superintending Engineer.
 Surgeon C. Morehead - Superintending Surgeon.
 Surgeon T. Larkins - Deputy Medical Storekeeper and Staff Surgeon.

CAMPS, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.				ON DETACHMENT.				* TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.	REMARKS.		
STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.				
SIRKUR	Brigadier J. Hale - Commanding. Captain J. H. Chaupain - Brigadier-Major Lieutenant G. C. Ezeand, Acting Superintendent of Bazzars and Police. Major W. Reynolds - Paymaster of Peshawar. Rev. C. T. Wilson - Chaplain at Kikee. Rev. G. L. Fenton - Senior Chaplain. Rev. M. Boys - Junior Chaplain.	1st Troop Horse Artillery, with Gun Lascars attached; Lieut. Gibbard commanding	7	159	2	—	—	—	7	159	25	17 Nov 1854	En route from Persia	
	4th Troop Horse Artillery, with Gun Lascars attached; Capt. Sealy commanding	6	148	25	—	—	—	6	148	25	21 Feb. 1857			
	Depôt Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders	1	85	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	3d Bombay European Regiment; Lieut.-Col. Liddell commanding	18	753	—	3	108	—	Sattara	21	861	—	14 Mar. 1857		
	Depôt Sappers and Miners	1	5	203	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	Depôt 4th Regiment Native Infantry Rifles	1	—	81	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	6th Regiment Native Infantry; Colonel Stuart commanding	11	—	939	—	—	—	—	11	—	939	22 Oct 1855		
	Depôt 25th Regiment Native Infantry	1	—	221	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	Depôt 26th Regiment Native Infantry	2	—	84	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	Left Wing Her Majesty's 12th Royal Lancers, Lieut.-Col. Tyler commanding	14	324	—	—	—	—	—	14	324	—	—		
SERDUR	Her Majesty's 14th Lt. Dragoons; Major Wilmer commanding	11	281	—	10 1	300 70	—	Anrumbad Sattara	22	651	—	20 Feb. 1857	Head quarters en route from Persia	
	Poona Irregular Horse Artillery; Lt.-Col. Tapp commanding	4	—	484	—	—	120 75 41 21 11	Khandeish Poona Ahmednuggur Tullghaut Bombay	1	—	752	19 Oct. 1856		
	1st Battalion Artillery, with Gun Lascars and Syce drivers attached; Lieutenant Barton commanding	6	114	8	5 5 1	193 87 64	149 32 74	Persia Aden Belgaum	20	458	263	11 Jan 1829		
	2d Company 2d Battalion Artillery	—	79	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	4th Battalion Artillery, with Gun Lascars and Syce drivers attached; Captain Gage commanding	3	9	26	1 2 1 1 1	— — — — —	34 130 102 129 93	Mallgaum Shikarpoor Persia Hydrabad Sholapoor	9	5	751	25 Jan. 1853		
	24th Regiment Native Infantry; Major Duncan commanding	9	—	615	5	—	292	Toka and Kopergaum	14	—	907	5 Jan. 1855		

POONA DIVISION—continued.

CAMPS, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.				ON DETACHMENT.				TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.	REMARKS
STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	STATIONS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.		
Brigadier J. S. Down - Commanding. Captain R. M. Westropp - Brigade-Major. Rev. R. Easum - Chaplain.	Detachment 4th Bat- talion Artillery	1	—	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	19th Regiment Native Infantry; Lieutenant- Colonel Hart com- manding	10	1	553	2	—	335	Dhoolia	12	1	888	17 Feb. 1857
	6th Company 3d Bat- talion Artillery	1	—	89	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lieutenant-Colonel H. Jacob - Commanding. Captain J. G. Scott - Line Adjutant. Surgeon D. A. Carnegie - Staff Surgeon. Rev. P. Anderson - Chaplain.	Detachment Her Ma- jesty's 14th Light Dragoons	1	70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Detachment 3d Euro- pean Regiment	3	108	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	22d Regiment Native Infantry; Lieut- Colonel Jacob com- manding	9	—	1,000	—	—	—	—	9	—	1,000	6 March 1857
Lieutenant-Colonel Troward - Commanding. Captain S. C. Baldwin - Staff Officer. Lieutenant C. H. Boye - Paymaster of Pensioners. Rev. H. H. Bretetof - Chaplain.	Southern Mahratta Irregular Horse; Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm command- ing	4	—	401	—	—	143 97 80 95	Belgaum Dharwar Kolapoor Kulladghur	4	—	816	7 Feb. 1857
	Native Veteran Bat- talion; Lieutenant- Colonel Troward commanding	—	—	—	1	—	171	Bhewndy	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	57	Chiploon	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	23	Hurner	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	24	Kheir	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	7	Bancote	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	7	Goolhagur	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	7	Sowardia	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	7	Kharepatna	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	21	Suagumshwur	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	8	Malgoond	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	7	Lanjah	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	7	Kunkowlee	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	12	Mhar	—	—	—	—		
—	—	—	—	—	7	Tulla	—	—	—	—		
—	—	—	—	—	7	Penn	—	—	—	—		
—	—	—	—	—	4	Ryghur	—	—	—	—		

NORTHERN DIVISION—HEAD QUARTERS, AHMEDABAD.

Major-General H. G. Roberts - Commanding.
 Lieutenant J. T. Newall - Acting Aide-de-Camp.
 Lieut.-Colonel W. R. D. Leith - Assistant-Adjutant-General.
 Captain T. J. Holland - Acting Assistant-Quartermaster-General.
 Major E. Wray - Commissary of Ordnance.
 Captain A. W. Lucas - Sub-Assistant Commissary-General.
 Captain G. E. Ashburner - Acting Deputy Judge-Advocate-General.
 Lieutenant-Colonel C. Lucas - Commanding Artillery.

Lieutenant D. M. Gleig - 2d Class Commissariat Agent and Superintendent of Bazaars.
 Brevet-Major K. Jopp - Military Paymaster.
 Colonel W. B. Goodfellow - Superintending Engineer.
 Lieutenant R. E. F. Catgrave - Acting Executive Engineer.
 Surgeon B. White - Superintending Surgeon.
 Surgeon F. Harrison - Deputy Medical Storekeeper and Stat Surgeon.
 Rev. G. N. Mitford - Chaplain.

CAMPS, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.					ON DETACHMENT.					TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.	REMARKS.		
STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, and Rank and File.	STATIONS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, and Rank and File.					
AHMEDABAD	3d Battalion Artillery, with Gun Bascars and Syce Drivers attached; Lieut.-Colonel Lucas commanding	3	2	151	1	—	32	Rajkote	—	—	—	13	3	637	2 Feb. 1853	
				1	—	34	Surat	—	—	—						
				1	—	57	Baroda	—	—	—						
				1	—	34	Broach	—	—	—						
				4	—	145	Bushire	—	—	—						
				1	—	95	Aden	—	—	—	12	1	984	29 Nov. 1853		
				1	—	89	Sattara	—	—	—						
				—	—	14	Veerungaum	—	—	—						
				—	—	14	Junjoowara	—	—	—						
				—	—	14	Patree	—	—	—						
	2d Grenadier Regiment Native Infantry; Major Grimes commanding	12	1	921	—	—	7	Dundooka	—	—	—	10	1	908	2 Mar. 1857	
			—	—	7	Morassa	—	—	—							
			—	—	7	Prautej	—	—	—							
			—	—	75	Sadra	—	—	—							
			—	—	20	Jaitulpoor	—	—	—							
	7th Regiment Native Infantry; Major Andrews commanding	10	1	799	—	—	14	Dholka	—	—	—	1	—	—		
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
	Detachment 3d Battalion Artillery	1	—	57	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	655	20 Dec 1855	
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
	8th Regiment Native Infantry; Major Thomas commanding	8	—	361	2	—	26	Jumbooseer	—	—	—	—	—	—		
			—	—	—	268	Broach	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
	Detachment 3d Battalion Artillery	1	—	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	1	924	13 Jan. 1854	
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
	Detachment Her Majesty's 86th Regiment	5	150	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
	9th Regiment Native Infantry; Major Evans commanding	9	1	924	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
	Detachment 3d Battalion Artillery	1	—	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
	Depôt 3d Regiment Light Cavalry	1	—	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
	Left Wing 17th Regiment Native Infantry	4	—	383	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
	Depôt 23d Regiment Native Light Infantry	1	1	57	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—						

NORTHERN DIVISION—HEAD QUARTERS, AHMEDABAD—continued.

CAMPS, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.					ON DETACHMENT.				TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.	REMARK
STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	STATIONS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.		
BROACH	Detachment 3d Bat- talion Artillery	1	-	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	1st Grenadier Regi- ment Native In- fantry, Major Hon- or commanding.	10	1	775	-	-	28 49	Kattywar Gogo	10	1	852	16 May 1857	
	Detachment 8th Regi- ment Native In- fantry	2	-	268	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Detachment 2d Regi- ment Light Cavalry	3	-	124	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Her Majesty's 83d Regiment, Lieut- Colonel Kelsall commanding	16	296	-	2 16	118 503	-	Abou - Nusserabad	34	917	-	17 Dec 1859	
	12th Regiment Na- tive Infantry ; Lieutenant-Colonel Foulerton com- manding	7	-	451	5	-	12 442	Abou - Nusserabad	12	-	905	14 Dec. 1855	
	17th Regiment Na- tive Infantry ; Col. Hume commanding	11	-	482	4	-	383	Rajkote	15	-	865	8 June 1857	

ASSEERGHUR FORTRESS.

Colonel A. P. Le Messurier - - - Commanding. • Lieutenant J. Gordon - - - Fort Adjutant.

ASSEERGHUR	Left Wing 6th Sindia's Contingent, Lieut- enant Scott com- manding	1	-	448	-	-	-	-	1	-	448	-	
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ADEN FORCE.

Brigadier W. M. Coghlan - - - Commanding.
 Captain S. Thacker - - - Major of Brigade.
 Lieutenant C. F. Keays - - - Sub-Assistant Commissary-General,
 and in charge of Bazaars

Lieutenant H. St. C. Wilkins - - - Executive Engineer.
 Surgeon J. Craig - - - Superintendent Medical Department
 Rev W. H. Cummins - - - Acting Chaplain.

ADEN	2d Company 1st Bat- talion Artillery	5	87	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	5th Company 3d Bat- talion Artillery	1	-	95	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Detachment Sapper- and Miners	1	-	95	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Wing Her Majesty's 86th Regiment	13	447	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	18th Regiment Na- tive Infantry; Major Westbrooke com- manding	10	-	818	-	-	-	-	10	-	848	29 Jan 1855	

SINDE DIVISION—HEAD QUARTERS, KURRACHEE.

Major-General J. Scott, C.B.	-	Commanding.	Major E. C. Wernold	-	Commissary of Ordnance.
Captain H. Scott	-	Aide-de-Camp.	Captain J. H. Henderson	-	Acting Military Paymaster.
Lieut.-Colonel R. R. Younghusband	-	Assistant Adjutant-General.	Lieut.-Colonel G. Hunt, C.B.	-	Commanding Artillery.
Captain C. Ponsobuy	-	Acting Assistant Quartermaster-General.	Colonel W. Scott	-	Superintending Engineer.
Major W. B. Salmon	-	Assistant Commissary-General.	Surgeon C. F. Collier	-	Superintending Surgeon.
Captain A. B. Church	-	Acting Deputy Judge-Advocate-General.	Surgeon D. Grierson	-	Deputy Medical Storekeeper & Staff Surgeon.
			Rev. W. Carr	-	Assistant Chaplain.

CAMP, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS				ON DETACHMENT.				TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.	REMARKS
STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.		
KURRACHEE. Brigadier R. H. Lowth. - Commanding. Captain G. A. Leckie - Brigade-Major. Brevet-Major C. F. North - Executive Engineer. Lieutenant H. F. Bolton - 1st Class Commissariat-Agent and Superintendent of Buzars.	3d Troop Horse Artillery, with Gun Lascars attached; Major Blake commanding	5	153	25	-	-	-	5	153	25	17 Oct. 1856	
	1st Company, 2d Battalion Artillery, with No. 2 Light Field Battery attached	4	107	73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Depôt 1st Bombay Fusiliers	1	193	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	2d European Regiment Light Infantry, Lieut.-Colonel Stiles commanding	33	934	-	-	-	-	33	934	-	14 Oct. 1856	
	14th Regiment Native Infantry, Major Stewart commanding	10	-	915	-	-	-	10	-	915	9 Dec. 1856	
	21st Regiment Native Infantry; Major McGregor commanding	11	-	850	-	-	-	11	-	850	18 Mar. 1857	
	Depôt 2d Belooch Battalion	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	5th Company, 4th Battalion Artillery, with No. 7, Light Field Battery attached	1	1	129	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	13th Regiment Native Infantry; Colonel Bellasis commanding	11	-	859	-	-	-	11	-	859	26 Oct. 1855	
	Depôt 1st Belooch Battalion	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
HYDRABAD. Brigadier J. E. G. Morris Commanding. Captain A. Carnegie - Acting Brigade-Major. Captain A. Carnegie - Sub-Assistant Commissary-General. Conductor J. Mathieson - Deputy Commissary of Ordnance. Rev. F. Gell - Acting Chaplain.	3d Company, 4th Battalion Artillery, with No. 9 Light Field Battery attached	2	1	130	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	15th Regiment Native Infantry; Lieutenant Rees commanding	10	-	720	-	-	178	-	-	898	21 Nov. 1855	
SHIKARPOOR. Lieut.-Colonel N. P. MacDonnell - Commanding. Lieutenant F. S. Iredell - Acting Line Agent. Lieutenant Macleod - Executive Engineer. Lieutenant T. P. F. Brett - Commissariat Agent.												

PERSIAN EXPEDITIONARY FIELD FORCE.

Brigadier-General J. Jacob, C.B. Commanding.

PERSONAL STAFF:

Captain M. S. Green - Military Secretary and Aide-de-Camp.
 Captain L. Pelly - Political Secretary and Persian Interpreter.
 Lieut. C. Clerk - Acting Aide-de-Camp.

HEAD QUARTERS STAFF:

Brevet-Major W. H. R. Green - Assistant Adjutant-General.
 Lieutenant E. King - Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.
 Captain J. Wray - Deputy Quartermaster-General.
 Captain B. Whish - Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.
 Lieut. J. A. Ballard, C.B. - Assistant Quartermaster-General, Superintendent Intelligence Department.
 Brevet-Major T. T. Christie - Deputy Judge Advocate-General.
 Captain J. T. Annesley - Deputy Paymaster.
 Captain W. F. Gordon - Assistant Commissary-General.
 Lieut. F. P. Mignon - Deputy Assistant Commissary-General.
 Lieut. F. G. Stewart - Sub-Assistant Commissary-General.
 Lieut. E. H. Shewell - Ditto ditto.
 Captain C. P. Rigby - Superintendent of Bazaars.
 Lieut. G. B. Mellersh - Deputy Commissary of Ordnance.
 Brevet-Major J. Hill - Commanding Engineer.
 Captain W. R. Dickinson - Field Engineer and commanding Sappers and Miners.
 Lieut. C. J. Merriman - Ditto ditto.
 Lieut. O. M. Duncan - Assistant Field Engineer.
 Lieut. H. Pym - Ditto ditto.
 Lieut. J. Le Mesurier - Ditto ditto.

HEAD QUARTERS STAFF—continued.

Major W. F. Curtis - Director Land Transport Corps.
 Captain W. W. Taylor - 1st Assistant Director Land Transport Corps.
 Captain W. F. Bowen - 1st Ditto ditto.
 Lieut. Pengelly, Indian Navy - 1st Ditto ditto.
 Lieut. C. E. Boodle - 1st Ditto, and Staff Officer, Bombay.
 Lieut. A. R. Wilson - 2d Assistant Director Land Transport Corps.
 Lieut. D. B. Young - 3d Ditto ditto.
 Lieut. H. C. Collier - 3d Ditto ditto.
 Lieut. R. R. Woodhouse - 3d Ditto ditto.
 Surgeon M. Stovall - Superintending Surgeon.
 Assistant Surgeon W. Davey - Deputy Medical Storekeeper and Staff Surgeon.
 Rev. W. H. Schwabe - Chaplain.

BRIGADE STAFF:

BRIGADE OF ARTILLERY.

Brevet Lieut.-Col. H. W. Trevelyan Commanding.
 2d Lieut. T. H. Turner - Major of Brigade.
 Surgeon A. Burn - In Medical Charge.

FIRST BRIGADE OF INFANTRY:

Brevet Colonel G. Macan - Commanding.
 Captain J. W. Cottell - Major of Brigade.

SECOND BRIGADE OF INFANTRY:

Brigadier R. W. Honner - Commanding.
 Lieut. W. A. Glasspoole - Major of Brigade.

CAMPS, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.

ON DETACHMENT.

TOTAL of the Corps.

STATIONS.	CORPS.	European Officers.			European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.			Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.			European Officers.			European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.			Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.			STATIONS.	European Officers.			European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.			Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.	REMARKS.
		European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.															
	1st Company 1st Battalion Artillery, with No. 3 Light Field Battery attached	4	95	76	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	4th Company 1st Battalion Artillery, with No. 5 Light Field Battery attached	4	98	73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	4th Company 3d Battalion Artillery, with No. 8 Light Field Battery attached	4	1	145	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	4th Company 4th Battalion Artillery	1	-	102	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Bussan	3d Regiment Light Cavalry; Captain Moore commanding	17	1	452	1	-	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	1	475	-	-	-	Rajkote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 Oct. 1856	-	-	
	1st Regiment Scinde Irregular Horse; Lieut. Briggs commanding	4	-	778	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	802	-	-	-	Jacobabad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 Jan. 1857	-	-	
	Sappers and Miners, Captain Dickinson commanding	4	6	219	1	-	95	5	-	31	4	-	5	9	16	558	-	-	-	Aden Deccan, F.P. Poona	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25 Oct. 1856	-	-	
	4th Regiment Native Infantry (Rifle); Major Manson commanding	16	1	835	1	-	81	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	1	916	-	-	-	Poona	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 Nov. 1856	-	-	
	20th Regiment Native Infantry; Major Boynes commanding	16	-	721	2	1	161	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	1	882	-	-	-	Belgaum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 Oct. 1856	-	-	

PERSIAN EXPEDITIONARY FIELD FORCE—continued.

CAMPS, GARRISONS, OR CANTONMENTS.					ON DETACHMENT.					TOTAL of the Corps.			Date of March of Corps to the respective Stations.	REMARKS.
STATIONS.	C O R P S.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.	STATIONS.	European Officers.	European Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	Native Commissioned, Non- Commissioned, and Rank and File.			
BOSNIRE— continued	23d Regiment Native Light Infantry; Major Trovers commanding -	15	1	803	1	1	57	Rajcote -	16	2	860		5 Jan. 1857	
	26th Regiment Native Infantry, Captain De Vitre commanding -	11	1	819	2	-	84	Poona -	13	1	903		26 Dec. 1856	
	2d Belooch Battalion; Captain Hough commanding -	4	-	780	1	-	110 14	Kharrack Kurrachee -	5	-	913		24 Sept 1856	

DECCAN FIELD FORCE.

Major-General A. Woodburn, C.B. Commanding.
 Lieut. S. Y. Howison - Aide-de-Camp.
 Brevet-Colonel C. S. Stuart - 2d in Command.
 Captain J. C. Coley - Brigade-Major.
 Lieut. J. A. M. Macdonald. Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Lieut. D. D. Thain - Sub-Assistant Commissary-General
 Assistant-Surgeon W. J. Stuart - Staff-Surgeon.
 Captain H. O. Mayne - Attached.
 Lieut. J. Somerville - Ditto

KUNGARAD -	4th Company 2d Bat- talion Artillery, with No. 4 Light Field Battery attached -	2	98	77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Detachment Her Ma- jesty's 14th Light Dragoons -	10	300	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Detachment Sappers and Miners -	-	5	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Madras Sappers and Miners; Major Bou- leau commanding -	6	4	120	-	-	-	-	6	1	120		16 June 1857
	25th Regiment Native Infantry; Major Follett commanding -	11	-	730	1	-	221	Poona -	12	-	951		8 June 1857

THE FOLLOWING CORPS ARE ON DUTY UNDER THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY:—

Her Majesty's 64th Regiment. Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders. 1st Bombay European Regiment Fusiliers. 1st Belooch Battalion.



GENERAL ABSTRACT.

DIVISIONS of the ARMY.	Lancers, Dragoons.		Light Cavalry		Horse Artillery.		Foot Artillery.		Sappers and Miners.		European Infantry		Native Infantry		Local and Irregular Corps.				Provincial Battalion		Total.		
	European Officers, Non-Commissioned and Rank and File.	European Commissioned Officers	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Commissioned Officers	European Non-Commissioned Officers	European Commissioned Officers	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Commissioned Officers	European Non-Commissioned Officers	European Commissioned Officers	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Commissioned Officers	European Non-Commissioned Officers	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Commissioned Officers	European Non-Commissioned Officers	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	European Commissioned Officers	European Non-Commissioned Officers	Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned, and Rank and File.	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.
Presidency Garrison -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Southern Division -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Poona Division -	26	675	-	-	-	30	207	-	-	-	-	10	386	94	1	9,707	-	11	-	-	-	-	-
Northern Division -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Asserghur Fortresses -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Aden Force -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sind Division -	-	-	-	-	-	25	173	-	-	-	-	10	447	10	-	835	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rajpootana Field Force -	-	-	-	-	-	23	102	-	-	-	-	16	503	5	-	442	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Persian Field Force -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Deccan Field Force -	10	300	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total -	36	975	59	5	1,838	22	562	98	48	930	1,015	848	15	29	678	120	5,945	371	16	58,577	20	-	-
Deduct Madras and Bengal Troops -	14	554	14	2	390	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Deduct Irregular Corps	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total -	22	651	45	3	1,184	22	562	98	48	930	1,015	848	9	16	558	120	5,946	371	16	58,577	-	-	-

N.B.—European Commissioned Officers on Staff employ and leave beyond the limits of the Presidency not included. Name of Veterans are included in Native Infantry.

(Signed) J. W. A. Y., Major, Deputy Quartermaster-General.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HEAD QUARTERS OF CORPS.

Description of Troops.	Regiment.	Battalion.	Head Quarters of Corps.	Description of Troops.	Regiment.	Battalion.	Head Quarters of Corps.
Left Wing Royal Lancers.	12th	- -	Kurkee.	Hon. Company's Native Infantry.	4th	- -	Persia.
Her Majesty's Light Dragoons.	14th	- -	Ditto.	Ditto ditto -	5th	- -	Bombay.
Light Cavalry Lancers	1st	- -	Nusseerabad	Ditto ditto -	6th	- -	Poona.
Ditto ditto - -	2d	- -	Ditto.	Ditto ditto -	7th	- -	Ahmedabad.
Ditto ditto - -	3d	- -	Persia.	Ditto ditto -	8th	- -	Baroda.
Light Cavalry, Madras.	2d	- -	Sholapoor	Ditto ditto -	9th	- -	Surat.
Punjab Irregular Cavalry.	6th	- -	Jacobabad	Ditto ditto -	10th	- -	Bombay.
Poona Irregular Horse	- -	- -	Seroor.	Ditto ditto -	11th	- -	Ditto.
Sinde Irregular Horse	1st	- -	Persia.	Ditto ditto -	12th	- -	Deesa.
Ditto ditto - -	2d	- -	Jacobabad.	Ditto ditto -	13th	- -	Hydrabad.
Southern Mahratta Irregular Horse	- -	- -	Sattara.	Ditto ditto -	14th	- -	Kurrachee.
Horse Brigade Artillery.	- -	- -	Poona.	Ditto ditto -	15th	- -	Belgaum.
Foot Artillery - -	- -	- -	Ahmednuggur.	Ditto ditto -	16th	- -	Shikarpoor.
Ditto ditto - -	- -	1st	Bombay.	Ditto ditto -	17th	- -	Deesa.
Ditto ditto - -	- -	2d	Ahmedabad.	Ditto ditto -	18th	- -	Aden.
Ditto ditto - -	- -	3d	Ahmednuggur.	Ditto ditto -	19th	- -	Malligaum.
Sappers and Miners -	- -	4th	Persia.	Ditto ditto -	20th	- -	Persia.
C. Company Madras Sappers and Miners	- -	- -	Deccan Field Force.	Ditto ditto -	21st	- -	Kurrachee.
Her Majesty's European Infantry.	64th	- -	Bengal Presidency.	Ditto ditto -	22d	- -	Sattara.
Ditto ditto - -	78th	- -	Ditto.	Ditto ditto -	23d	- -	Persia.
Ditto ditto - -	83d	- -	Deesa	Ditto ditto -	24th	- -	Ahmednuggur.
Ditto ditto - -	86th	- -	Bombay	Ditto ditto -	25th	- -	Deccan Field Force.
Hon. Company's European Infantry.	1st	- -	Bengal Presidency.	Ditto ditto -	26th	- -	Persia.
Ditto ditto - -	2d	- -	Kurrachee.	Ditto ditto -	27th	- -	Kolapoor.
Ditto ditto - -	3d	- -	Poona.	Ditto ditto -	28th	- -	Dharwar.
Hon. Company's Native Infantry.	1st	- -	Broach.	Ditto ditto -	29th	- -	Belgaum.
Ditto ditto - -	2d	- -	Ahmedabad.	Marine Battalion -	- -	- -	Bombay.
Ditto ditto -	3d	- -	Sholapoor.	Native Veteran Battalion.	- -	- -	Dapooloe.
				Belooch Veteran Battalion.	1st	- -	Bengal Presidency.
				Ditto ditto -	2d	- -	Persia.
				Wing Scindia's Contingent.	6th	- -	Asserghur.

(Signed)

J. WRAY, Major,

Deputy Quartermaster-General.

NUMERICAL RETURN of EUROPEAN COMMISSIONED OFFICERS of each Troop and Battalion, of European and Native Artillery, Regiment of Light Cavalry, European and Native Infantry, on the Bombay Establishment.

CORPS	Present Effective.					Withdrawn for Staff or other Detached Employ.					Absent in Europe on Furlough, or upon Sick Certificate.					Absent on Leave to the Hills or elsewhere in India, to Sea, to the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c.									
	Colonels.	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieuts., Cornets, or Ensigns.	Colonels.	Lieutenant Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieut-nants.	2d Lieuts., Cornets, or Ensigns.	Colonels.	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieuts., Cornets, or Ensigns.	Colonels.	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieuts., Cornets, or Ensigns.	
1st Troop Horse Artillery	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2d ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3d ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1st Battalion Artillery	-	-	-	5	4	10	1	1	1	12	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2d ditto ditto	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3d ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	6	6	-	-	-	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4th ditto ditto	-	-	-	4	3	2	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1st Regiment Light Cavalry	-	-	-	3	6	1	-	-	-	1	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2d ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	5	4	-	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3d ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	5	7	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sappers and Miners	-	-	-	1	9	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1st European Infantry (Fusiliers)	-	-	-	1	3	11	-	-	-	9	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2d ditto Light Infantry	-	-	-	1	5	17	-	-	-	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3d European Regiment	-	-	-	1	5	10	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1st or Grenadier Regiment Native Infantry	-	-	-	1	5	2	-	-	-	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2d Grenadier Regiment Native Infantry	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	4	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3d Regiment Native Infantry	-	-	-	2	6	3	-	-	-	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4th ditto ditto (Rifles)	-	-	-	1	5	7	-	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5th ditto Native Light Infantry	-	-	-	1	3	4	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6th ditto Native Infantry	-	-	-	2	4	2	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	7	1	-	-	-	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	2	4	-	-	-	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9th ditto ditto	-	-	-	2	4	2	-	-	-	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	2	6	-	-	-	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	2	5	-	-	-	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12th ditto ditto	-	-	-	3	4	3	-	-	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13th ditto ditto	-	-	-	2	5	2	-	-	-	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	2	4	-	-	-	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	2	8	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	7	2	-	-	-	6	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	2	8	-	-	-	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	1	4	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	2	6	-	-	-	5	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20th ditto ditto	-	-	-	4	9	3	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21st ditto ditto	-	-	-	3	5	2	-	-	-	2	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22d ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	4	2	-	-	-	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23d ditto Native Light Infantry	-	-	-	1	4	8	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24th ditto Native Infantry	-	-	-	1	2	7	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	2	6	-	-	-	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26th ditto ditto	-	-	-	2	8	2	-	-	-	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	2	7	-	-	-	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
28th ditto ditto	-	-	-	2	7	2	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
29th ditto ditto	-	-	-	1	3	4	-	-	-	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Native Veteran Battalion	-	-	-	1	5	3	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1	14	24	111	253	116	5	21	11	136	117	12	38	8	6	57	65	7	1	-	-	4	4	-	-

Quartermaster-General's Office,
Bombay, 1st July 1857.

J. WRAY, Major,
Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Army.

STATEMENT of the NUMBER of EFFECTIVE OFFICERS and MEN of HER MAJESTY'S and the EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMIES in INDIA, in CAVALRY, ARTILLERY, and INFANTRY, by the latest Returns.

EUROPEAN TROOPS.

	Officers	Men.	Total.
BENGAL, 1st January 1857 :			
Her Majesty's Cavalry - - - -	53	1,310	
" Infantry - - - -	422	13,956	
Company's Infantry - - - -	74	2,460	
" Artillery, Horse - - - -	57	999	
" Ditto, Foot - - - -	55	1,899	
	661	20,624	21,285
MADRAS, 1st October 1857 :			
Her Majesty's Cavalry - - - -	34	599	
" Infantry - - - -	54	2,039	
Company's Infantry - - - -	83	2,712	
" Artillery, Horse - - - -	29	478	
" Ditto, Foot - - - -	59	1,411	
	259	7,272	7,531
BOMBAY, 1st July 1857 :			
Her Majesty's Cavalry - - - -	25	648	
" Infantry - - - -	132	3,774	
Company's Infantry - - - -	127	2,903	
" Artillery, Horse - - - -	28	530	
" Ditto, Foot - - - -	44	926	
	356	8,781	9,137
Drafts, or additional Corps sent out since the Date of the above Returns :			
	Officers.	Men	Total.
Her Majesty's Cavalry - - -	191	4,126	
" Infantry - - -	1,205	31,972	
" Artillery - - -	151	3,951	
	1,547	40,052	41,599
Company's Cavalry - - -	2	1,809	
" Infantry - - -	59	1,638	
" Artillery - - -	14	1,407	
	75	4,854	4,929
			46,528
TOTAL -			84,481

Military Department, East India House, }
12th April 1858.

PHILIP MELVILL,
Secretary Military Department.

RETURN of the NUMBER of RECRUITS of the COMPANY'S ARMY now in *England*.

At the Depot at Warley, as per last Return, dated 31st March 1858

Military Department, East India House, }
12th April 1858.

PHILIP MELVILL,
Secretary Military Department

MEMORANDUM showing the Manner in which RECRUITS have been raised for the EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE; the PLACES where they have been principally obtained; and the COST per MAN of RECRUITING, from 1842 to 1857 inclusive.

THE Act Geo. 3. c. 87. is the Act under which the Company are permitted to raise Recruits for their Service.

The Men enlisted are subject to the Provisions of the Mutiny Acts for Her Majesty's Forces whilst they remain in this Country.

The Court appoint their own Officers and Serjeants to enlist the Men. To enable them to do this, the Officers hold Commissions from the Queen, and the Serjeants are enlisted under the Annual Mutiny Act.

The whole of the recruiting is carried on under the Provisions of the Annual Mutiny Act, and Articles for War, and under the Orders of the Authorities of the Horse Guards; the Rules laid down for the Guidance of Recruiting Parties being applicable equally to Her Majesty's and the Company's Officers, unless the Company's Service is specially excepted.

From the Year 1842 to 1845 inclusive, the East India Company raised Recruits at Five Stations, viz., London, Liverpool, Dublin, Cork, and Edinburgh. In those Years 4,333 Men were finally approved for the Service; the London District supplying 52 per Cent.; the Liverpool, 12 per Cent.; the Irish Districts, 22 per Cent.; and the Edinburgh District, 14 per Cent.

In 1846 two new Stations, viz., Bristol and Newry, were established; and from that Date to 1857, inclusive, 22,670 Men have been finally approved for the Service.

The London District supplied 26½ per Cent.

The English Districts*	23½	-	-	{ *Liverpool - 14 Bristol - 9½ }	23½
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Making for England - 50

The Irish Districts supplied†	35¼	-	-	{ †Cork - 17¼ Dublin - 12 Newry - 5½ }	35¼
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The Scotch " " 14¾

The Cost‡ of each Recruit enlisted between 1842 and 1845 (exclusive of Levy Money), was 3*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* That of those subsequently enlisted (also exclusive of Levy Money), was 2*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.*

The average Cost of Men raised, viz., from 1842 to 1857 (also exclusive of Levy Money), has been 2*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* per Man.

The average Amount of Levy Money for the whole Period has been 5*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*, which, added to the average Cost of Men raised, makes a total Cost of 8*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* for each Recruit.

Military Department, East India House,
8th April 1858.

PHILIP MELVILL,
Secretary Military Department.

RETURN of the NUMBER RECRUITED for the EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE in the last Five Years.

Date	Artillery.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Total.
1853 - - -	615	- - -	1,750	2,365
1854 - - -	509	- - -	1,855	2,364
1855 - - -	477	- - -	1,375	1,852
1856 - - -	579	- - -	1,521	2,100
1857 - - -	1,148	1,077	1,692	3,917
TOTAL - -	3,328	1,077	8,193	12,598

Military Department, East India House,
12th April 1858.

PHILIP MELVILL,
Secretary Military Department.

† This Cost includes the Pay and Allowances of the District Recruiting Staff Officers and Serjeants, Clothing for Staff Serjeants, travelling Charges, and Allowance to Recruiting Officers of 1*l.* 1*s.* for each Recruit finally approved.

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COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the BOUNTY given by the QUEEN and the COMPANY during the Period, viz., from 1842 to 1857, and of the STANDARD required.

		The "Bounty and Levy Money" is the same in both Services, and was								
		From 1842 to 1855.			From 1854/5, 1855/6. Crimean War.			1856 and 1857.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To the Recruit.	On being attested - - -	0	2	6	0	5	0	0	2	6
	On intermediate Approval - -	0	7	6	0	15	0	0	7	6
	On final Approval, in Cash and necessaries - - - - }	3	10	0	7	0	0	(Cash) 1	10	0
	Amount of Bounty - - - -	4	0	0	8	0	0	2	0	0
To Superintending Officer.	On intermediate Approval, to cover Expenses of Postage, &c.- }	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
	For attesting - - - -	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
	Surgical Examination - - -	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	4	0
To Bringers	On intermediate Approval -	-	-	-	0	7	6	-	-	-
	On final Approval - - -	-	-	-	0	7	6	-	-	-
To Party	On intermediate Approval -	0	5	0	0	3	0	0	5	0*
	On final Approval - - -	0	10	0	0	4	6	0	10	0*
For conducting Recruits to place of final Approval - - - - - }		0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
TOTAL Levy Money - - - £		5	6	0	9	13	6	3	7	6

* 3s. 6d. out of the 5s., and 4s. out of the 10s. paid to Bringers.

The permanent standard Height for the Company's Artillery is 5ft. 8in.; for the Infantry, 5ft. 6in.

The standard Age for both Corps is from 20 to 25 Years. On any sudden Demand for an increased Supply of Men, the standard Height has been reduced, and Men taken up to 30 Years of Age. The permanent standard Height for the Queen's Recruits of Infantry is believed to be 5ft. 6in. Thus Height is also reduced in Times of emergent Demands for Recruits.

The standard Age is from 18 to 25 Years

Military Department, East India House. }
12th April 1858.

PHILIP MELVILL,
Secretary Military Department.

RETURNS

(IN FURTHER PART)

To the Order of the House of Lords
dated 19th April 1858

Return of the Numbers of Military and Marine Officers on
the Return List of each of the THREE PRESIDENCIES in
January 1858:

Return showing the Numbers of Officers of each of the
ARMIES of BENGAL, MADRAS, and BOMBAY on Footposts on
the 30th April 1851, and in January 1858:

NUMBER of OFFICERS of each Army employed in 1851 and 1857
on Detached Service, Civil and Political, and Military,
respectively:

STATEMENT showing the Numbers of Military Officers of each
PRESIDENCY in Civil Employment and on Detached Duty
in 1851 and 1857, distinguishing their respective Ranks:

An Account of the Military Force employed under each
PRESIDENCY in British India in each Year from 1852 to the
latest Period, distinguishing the Royal Troops from the East
India Company's:

&c. &c. &c.

(The Earl of Ellenborough.)

Ordered to be printed 21st May 1858.

EAST INDIA (MADRAS PRESIDENCY, &c.)



RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 22 May 1857;—for,

COPY “of Two MINUTES recorded by the Governor of *Madras*, dated respectively the 26th day of October 1854 and the 12th day of May 1855; and of Two LETTERS addressed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Government of *Madras*, dated respectively the 2d day of July and the 17th day of December 1856, as to the REVISED SURVEY and ASSESSMENT of the MADRAS PRESIDENCY, and the GODAVERY and KISTNA ANNICUTS.”

East India House,
May 1857.

JAMES C. MELVILL.

L I S T.

Minute by the Right Honourable Lord Harris, dated 26 October 1854	-	-	-	p. 1
Minute by .. - ditto - - - ditto, dated 12 May 1855	-	-	-	p. 12
Letter from Court of Directors to Government of Fort St. George, dated 17 December (No. 17) 1856	-	-	-	p. 14
Letter from ditto to ditto, dated 2 July (No. 8) 1856	-	-	-	p. 21

East India House,
May 1857.

J. S. Mill,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

MINUTE of the Right Honourable Lord *Harris*, on the proposed General Survey and Assessment, dated 26th October 1854.

Minute by Right
Hon. Lord Harris,
26 Oct. 1854.

1. THE documents now in circulation on the general survey and assessment of this Presidency show that the subject has been for some time under contemplation.

2. The necessity for commencing proceedings on the point above mentioned appears to have been considered unquestionable; but though this admission has not been gainsaid, yet no action has as yet been instituted thereon.

3. It is generally asserted (and I see no reason to doubt it) that the measurements of the area are generally incorrect, and that in some parts of the country none have been taken on which reliance can be placed.

4. The assessment would appear to have been fixed with no greater accuracy, and has in some districts been placed so high as to prevent the cultivation of the soil.

5. Much has been published of late respecting the unsatisfactory state of this Presidency, of the poverty of the inhabitants, and of the hopeless position in which they are placed, of the exorbitant taxation, and all this misery has been stated to be the result of British misgovernment.

6. I have serious doubts of the correctness of these assertions.

That the majority of the cultivators of the soil are poor, is certainly true; but that it is almost certain to be the case where the soil is divided into innumerable small holdings, each insufficient to provide for the most ordinary wants of a family of the lowest class.

51—Sess. 2.

A

That

PAPERS RELATING TO THE REVISED SURVEY

Minute by Right
Hon. Lord Harris,
26 Oct. 1854.

That the position of the ryots is not very hopeful, may be attributed to many circumstances; but I am inclined to think that their depressed condition is as much the result of moral as of economic causes.

That the taxation which they have to pay is excessive, may in some instances be the case; but I cannot allow that the amount of public funds contributed by the Presidency is exorbitant; neither am I prepared to admit that the state of the country generally is deteriorating.

7. I believe, on the contrary, from all I can learn, that there is a marked improvement in many districts; though probably not to the extent which might have been attained, had circumstances permitted more active measures for improvements on an extensive scale to have been undertaken by the Government.

That the general state of the country has not become less prosperous is sufficiently shown by this one fact, that though remission of taxation has been made to some extent within the last few years, the general income has not diminished.

8. That the incidence of taxation has been unequally adjusted, there is great reason to suppose; and it is mainly to correct this evil that a new survey and assessment is called for.

9. The subject is one of vast importance to the present and to the future welfare of this Presidency, and too much consideration cannot be given to the principles which shall eventually be laid down for directing the method in which it shall be conducted.

10. For the sake of convenience I propose to take the order adopted by my honourable colleague, Mr. Thomas, in his Minute, as my guide.

11. Mr. Thomas (Mr. T.'s Minute, paras. 1 and 2), after referring to the various documents (North West Provinces Reports, Bombay Reports) of great value and merit, which have either been printed or written on this subject, states that he considers the question now before the Government (paras. 3 and 4) to be limited to a pure revenue survey.

The objects of such a survey (para. 5) being two—first, a correct measurement of the superficial area; secondly, a fair and just assessment on each description of land, this latter object being attained by a classification of the different fields of each village or section of a country founded upon consideration of the natural fertility of the soil, of the advantages or otherwise which accrue from climate, proximity to the villages or to the markets, and other circumstances which give greater value to land.

12. I would here mention a point which I think worthy of notice, inasmuch as it has some bearing upon this subject.

The word "survey" has had in this country a more comprehensive signification given to it than it would naturally bear; it means not only the measuring of the area of the land, but also the fixing a rent or land tax.

I mention this, because I am disposed to think, that in consequence some confusion has arisen, and a good deal of unsatisfactory work has been executed in former years.

13. Correct measurement of the land is absolutely required before an accurate assessment can be decided on; and I am of opinion that the difference between them should be very distinctly drawn and adhered to; for it by no means follows, that the person who is most suited to conduct a survey is also the best fitted for regulating the land tax.

14. Mr. Thomas first takes into consideration the question of the survey. With all that he writes in paras. 6 and 7 of his Minute, I fully concur; it is very desirable that the survey should comprise the *enam* lands, and that the titles to those holdings should be investigated as soon as possible.

15. The suggestion which is made by Mr. Thomas in paras. 8 and 9, is worthy of full consideration; still I am disposed to think, that the survey of the area should be carried on throughout each village, and landmarks distinctly laid down.

It would not be therefore necessary to make any minute sub-divisions into fields of the uncultivated lands.

The classification of the soils of such lands would be undoubtedly premature, except perhaps a certain portion in the vicinity of the cultivation.

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16. I entirely agree with Mr. Thomas in his remarks (paras. 11, 12, 13) on Sir Thomas Munro's system of survey, and there is one point in that system which I think should be specially pointed out to be corrected; viz., that of fixing the assessment not according to the value of the land, but according to the circumstances of the holder.

17. Too much care cannot be taken in making the survey as accurate as possible; and having attained that accuracy, it is most desirable that the measurement should be rendered permanent by substantial landmarks, and by village and district maps.

18. Several copies should be made of the village maps, so that one might remain with the head men of the village, another be lodged with the head of the talook, or district, a third with the collector, and a fourth to be forwarded to the Board of Revenue, and the same course should be pursued with the district maps.

19. I am, on account of a full sense of the importance of the survey, inclined to doubt whether my honourable colleague has laid sufficient stress upon the nature of the survey, and whether in looking to a rapid result, which is certainly most desirable, and urgently required, his remarks in para. 3 might not be construed into the permission of a survey, which might afterwards, and at an early period, require re-adjustment.

20. I have already given an opinion (*vide* Minute, June 23, 1854), to which I am disposed to adhere, that the revenue survey might with advantage be connected with the trigonometrical survey, by which greater accuracy would be attained, and a more permanent work be effected.

21. Rapidity of execution must be attained by the employment of several parties of surveyors in different localities.

22. It has already been decided by Government, in the directions for the survey of the Hoolos Talooks of South Arcot, that no smaller area than that of an acre should be laid down in the maps, and I think that this rule should be adhered to.

This would not prevent smaller sub-divisions, if the inhabitants wished to make them; but it would free the Government surveyors from the trouble and expense of measuring these very minute portions of land.

23. Mr. Thomas proceeds to consider the subject involved under his second head; viz., the assessment.

24. The first point on which he dilates (paras. 14 to 28) is that of the classification.

There can be no question that this subject is encumbered with difficulties, and that it is vain to hope that any minute accuracy can be attained.

It therefore behoves the Government to undertake the work in a liberal and generous spirit.

25. Great authorities can be quoted against the practicability or expediency of attempting a land tax of the nature of that which prevails in India, and doubtless their observations are worthy of deep consideration; but it appears to me, that, whether right or wrong, the system is established and cannot be abolished, and that consequently the great object of the Government must be to endeavour to secure funds sufficient to provide for the efficient performance of the services of the State; at the same time so to adjust the tax as to interfere as little as possible with the industry and the welfare of the inhabitants.

26. I concur almost entirely with the remarks made by Mr. Thomas in paras. from 14 to 28.

I think that it is not advisable to attempt a very minute division of the soils, which involves the necessity of having a great number of classes.

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It would also appear unnecessary to classify the waste lands until it is proposed to bring them into cultivation.

27. But I would remark, that in his observations in para. 18, respecting the possible alteration of the classification by a change of circumstances, respecting roads, markets, &c., I think he rather diverges from the subject of classification of soils, if it is to be strictly adhered to, though I believe his remarks are in conformity with the system prevalent in India.

28. The classification has heretofore been made, I imagine, not strictly and solely with reference to the nature and qualities of the different soils, but it has comprised also, in estimating their values, those adventitious circumstances above referred to, such as propinquity to villages and markets, condition of roads, &c.

29. I am disposed to think that this is an erroneous method of proceeding, and to recommend that the classification should be limited to the powers of the soil and the subsoil, which should, as a matter of course, be examined.

The payments which had been made previously would be more a point for consideration in adjusting the assessment; during which process also, all the adventitious circumstances before alluded to, should be taken into consideration.

30. There is one rule of Sir Thomas Munro's, which should never be lost sight of during the classification; that is, to consult the ryots of the villages respecting the merits of the several fields.

Probably their accounts would not be very correct, and there would be a disposition to under estimate the powers of the soil; but a little experience would soon detect this, and it would not be practicable for them to deceive to a great extent for any length of time.

31. As a general system, I greatly prefer the Bombay method to that of the ceded districts; but I think it would be unadvisable to adhere closely to any previous plan, or indeed to lay down any number of classes which should be strictly followed.

In some districts possibly so many as eight classes would scarcely be required; in others a few more might be necessary, but it would not be expedient to allow the number to exceed ten.

32. So important do I think the simplicity of classification, that I should like to see the distinction between irrigated and unirrigated lands abolished, and a water rate charged in those cases where Government affords the supply.

Great assistance would be found in regulating the charges from the valuable work of Captain Baird Smith, on the irrigation of Lombardy.

The Bombay plan may, in some respects, attempt unnecessary minuteness; but I am of opinion that the very able reports of Messrs. Wingate and Goldsmid cannot be too fully studied by those engaged in a survey.

33. Mr. Thomas's remarks on the system of the North Western Provinces have my full concurrence.

The progress of society must eventually require that each man shall stand on his own merits, and pay for his own land.

That the result of the village system has been partial and unsatisfactory in this Presidency there can be no doubt.

In his report on the village system in Guntoor, Mr. Walter Elliot says:—

“The details vary in every village, and are characterised by one common feature only; viz., that the inequalities are always found in favour of the leading ryots, and to the prejudice of the poorer ones.”

34. At the same time, and together with the classification of the soils, their respective powers of bearing should be determined, which should be demonstrated by fixed quantities per acre of the more ordinary grains of the district.

35. These quantities should be arranged in a liberal spirit, and fully below the actual amount, so as to prevent any probability of an excessive demand.

36. Again, with the different kinds of crops, those only should be named which are more generally cultivated, omitting any of greater value which may possibly be grown on some small portions of land.

37. Mr.

AND ASSESSMENT OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY, &c.

37. Mr. Thomas next urges (paras. 28 to 34) the necessity of a moderate assessment, and shows that if this boon be granted, that the position of the ryot will be highly advantageous as compared with the landholders in Bombay and the North Western Provinces.

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38. I am fully prepared to allow the necessity for moderation in the demand. No act of Government can be more unwise than one which would depress the cultivator of the soil, and deprive him of all hopes of raising his position in society, or of bettering his circumstances. At the same time, I would remark, that there are very different views of moderation afloat on this subject, and it is necessary therefore to be explicit on the point.

39. I am of opinion that the assessment should be fixed in a liberal spirit, with a due regard to the interests of landholders, and allowing a full scope to their industry, without neglecting the just requirements of Government.

40. To make a just settlement, full weight must be given to all the circumstances which bear upon each case; otherwise, if the tax be made so light as to do away with the necessity of any such considerations, the rights of the Government will be sacrificed, and a mere quit-rent will be established, which, after a few years, will be considered a nuisance by both parties, in consequence of the trouble of collection, and the smallness of its value.

41. I look upon the land-tax of India as the grand basis, and the largest item of its taxation; it appears to be that which is the most acceptable, and the most readily borne by the people, and therefore it should be retained in the prominent position which it now holds.

42. I am the more urgent on this point because, from the information which I now possess (and a greater knowledge and experience will probably confirm the view), I am convinced that if the improvements of every kind, viz., in the details of Government, in the courts, in the police, in education, in public works, in the establishment of dispensaries which are now called for, and which are allowed to be required, are to be undertaken, the expenditure of the country must be increased to a very large amount.

43. I think, therefore, that though the assessment should be moderate, it should be calculated on a certain fixed basis, which can be known, and which has reference to those points which are of material importance in the calculation, and which have been already, or which will be hereafter mentioned.

44. In para. 34, Mr. Thomas enters upon the consideration of what is a moderate assessment.

On this important point, he at once rejects the rates fixed by Sir Thomas Munro in the Ceded Districts, which were 33 per cent. of dry grain, and 45 per cent. of wet produce; and he would interdict any officer from taking "a higher proportion than 30 per cent. for wet, and 22 per cent. for dry grain land."

He would further reject all garden rates, as has already been authorised in South Arcot.

45. I quite agree with Mr. Thomas in his objections to the rates fixed in the Ceded Districts, the faultiness of which has been made manifest, by the necessity of having constant recourse to the very objectionable plan of giving remissions.

But I am disposed to think, that a closer approximation to a just proportion might be attained than that proposed by Mr. Thomas, whilst, at the same time, the general process would be simplified.

46. I have already stated my views as to the classification of the land, including the quantities and species of produce which it should be declared to bear.

In the classification I have proposed to get rid of the division between wet and dry land, so that the soil would be classified solely on its merits, leaving the advantages gained by the opportunities for irrigation to be paid by a water rate, to be settled according to rules to be arranged by officers deputed on that service.

47. The question then comes, what proportion of the gross produce of the soil classified as above stated should be claimed by the Government?

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I think it is most important, in order to enable the valuers to have some sure grounds from which they can start, and to enable them to settle that most difficult matter of a fair and moderate assessment, that one or two points should be definitively fixed.

The classification, when determined on, though liable in some cases possibly from time to time to revision, would be one of these :

The proportion to be paid to Government should undoubtedly be the other.

Sir Thomas Munro's proportion varied from 45 per cent. to 33 per cent.; but I believe he considered that it ought not in any case to exceed 33 per cent. Mr. Thomas would range between 30 and 22.

At present, in this Presidency, I hear that it is often 50 per cent., or even more.

It is calculated, I have heard, though all such calculations are not worthy of very great confidence, that 33 per cent. of the gross produce will give two-thirds of the net profit.

Whether this be the case or not I will not pretend to decide ; if it is correct, I think it is a larger amount than the Government should exact.

48. After the best consideration that I can give the subject, I am of opinion that 25 per cent., viz., one-fourth, is the maximum amount which Government may fairly claim on all lands, classified as I have mentioned above, but liable to such deductions in various cases as I shall now mention.

It is possible that any immediate diminution of revenue which might be likely to result from this change in the per-centage might be in many instances provided against by allowing the ryots to take a larger portion of land in proportion to the decrease of assessment.

49. I have now advanced to this position of the procedure.

1st. The classification of the soil, its merits being declared by the amount and quality of produce applied to each class.

2d. The proportion of that produce which is to be claimed as the Government demand.

It is now the time, I think, for the valuer, surveyor, or whatever he may be called, to take into consideration those adventitious circumstances, which cause different fields (though containing soils of exactly similar qualities), to be of more or less value, such as distances from villages, roads, or markets, &c. &c.

Having come to his conclusion on this point, and always retaining the 25 per cent. as the highest Government claim for the most favoured soils, he will fix the amount of gross produce which shall be paid by all others.

50. In para. 35, Mr. Thomas alludes to the existing custom of charging additional rates on garden lands ; the orders of Government have already permitted the abolition of this charge in South Arcot. I quite agree that the abolition should be made universal.

51. The next point is that very important one, of the commutation of that portion of the produce of the land which the landholder has to render to the Government into its money value for the purpose of payment.

Mr. Thomas discusses this subject in paras. 36 to 42. I, without hesitation, give my concurrence to the general principle which he lays down on this subject.

The actual payments made by the landholders ought to vary according to the money value of the productions of the soil.

It is clear that if a fixed settlement be made for any lengthened period of years, that the variation of prices may act most injuriously on the interests of either one party or the other.

This has been the case in many districts of this country, in which the prices which prevailed 30 years or more since, have been retained in payment of the land-tax ; whereas, the reigning prices, those by which the ryot sells his grain, have very considerably diminished.

52. I am aware that it is a very difficult question to decide how the commutation price shall be arranged.

I am of opinion, that it is fairest and most advantageous for both parties that the payments of each present year should be paid according to the average prices of each previous year, prevalent within certain districts of country.

But

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But I believe that this plan could, not very well be carried out, and that it would be under present circumstances more expedient to strike an average of the prices for a certain term of years, which should be the fixed commutation price for a similar term of years, when it should be replaced by another average, taken from the term just passed.

In order to facilitate this process, and also to improve the state of the country generally, it is very important that markets should be established whereat the prevailing prices should be recorded.

There are some very excellent remarks in Lord Tweeddale's Minute on this subject. He says:—

"Amongst the measures for this end, the establishment of public markets appears to me one of the most desirable and important; for I do not see how any fair calculation can be made of the amount in money which the farmer or ryot is to pay as an equivalent for the proportion of produce claimed by the landlord, or by Government, unless the price which the cultivator receives from the corn merchant is publicly known, and fairly recorded in the market.

"A public market has also the greatest effect on agricultural improvement."

I think this term should not exceed seven, or at the most 10 years.

Anything like a severe and lengthened pressure on the ryot in consequence of low prices would thus be prevented, whilst the Government would be secured in a fair and legitimate increase, which might fairly accrue to it by a continued advance of high prices.

I may here explain, that the only occasion in which Government should desire to obtain increased payments, should be in such a case as that referred to above, where there obtains a certain and continued increase of prices caused by a progressive improvement for a lengthened period in the state of the country.

But in order to insure confidence in the security of holdings, and to prevent any alarm of a sudden increase of assessment it should be clearly understood, that no change in the grain apportionment would be made for at least 50 years.

53. Mr. Thomas next alludes (para. 42) to a total remission of the tax in seasons of drought.

I am not prepared to give a decided opinion on this subject, and I think that it would not be desirable for Government to bind itself very distinctly.

It behoves it much more to prevent such distressing occurrences, which appear to occur regularly in cycles of years, by artificial substitutes, such as tanks and annicuts, and systems of irrigation which may be adopted in most districts of the Presidency.

54. The next subject (paras. 43, 44) is one of very considerable difficulty, that of the size of the holdings.

I am persuaded that no very great change can be suddenly effected in this country; neither would it be prudent to attempt it, though I have no doubt that the system which permits large districts of country to be subdivided into a vast quantity of minute holdings, is most baneful in every point of view.

I should, however, look with a very considerable degree of jealousy upon any rule which would go to prevent the industrious labourer without capital beyond the strength which God has given him, from rising in the scale of society, and this would frequently be the case, if a limit were placed on the quantity of land to form a holding, and if a certain amount of capital were required.

As Captain Wingate very justly remarks, "Owing to the laws and customs in regard to inheritance obtaining in this country, and the few opportunities for the employment of capital except in the cultivation of the soil, the land has at all times been very much subdivided, and with these conditions the existence or creation of a large body of wealthy farmers seems scarcely compatible. We may hope, under good management, to see agricultural property very widely diffused, and a very numerous class of small farmers enjoying comfort and independence; but there would seem to be few grounds for anticipating the establishment of a class of wealthy agriculturists, cultivating large farms, under any circumstances in India; and I do not know that this is to be regretted, for the problem, as to the best distribution of national wealth, has been by no means so satisfactorily solved as to enable us, in my opinion, to pronounce decidedly in favour of one of these systems."

There is much value in this sentence; and though I fully believe that a large number of acres can be cultivated more cheaply than a small one, always sup-

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posing the holder to possess a sufficient capital, yet I think that the accumulation of land must be left, in a country situated as this is, to those natural laws, by which the acts of men in society are ordered, and any interference with which generally tends only to produce confusion.

55. This question is to some extent connected with one on which Mr. Thomas has touched in his general remarks at the end of his Minute; viz., the terms on which the holdings are retained in this country.

In the Ryotwar districts, it is generally ruled that the ryot's holding is perpetual so long as he pays the tax; he is at liberty also to abandon certain portions for a time, and while they are not in cultivation he pays no tax on them. He may even do this, I have seen it asserted, with the whole of his land, and still retain possession.

The customs of different districts, I believe, vary on this subject; but I think an attempt should be made to bring about an assimilation.

56. It is certainly a valuable prerogative to the ryot to be allowed this power of abandonment and of consequent freedom of taxation; but this privilege might, I do not know that it is, be carried so far as seriously to interfere with the interests of the country and of the neighbouring landholders.

As a general rule, no one ought to occupy land who has not the means or the industry to cultivate it well; it is an obligation which every man owes to society.

If then a ryot abandons either all or a portion of his land, without just cause, some limit should be placed on the continuance of such a proceeding, more especially if there are others in the vicinity willing to occupy the land, and able to cultivate it.

There is a practice stated to be common in this Presidency, which should at once be abolished, which is the forcing ryots to rent a larger portion of land than they require, and the obliging them to take a certain portion of inferior land in proportion to the quantity of rich soil which they hold.

57. I think also that greater facilities might be granted to the holders of large portions of land, by which the interference of the subordinate officials might be greatly diminished.

For instance:

I would retain the present rule for all portions of land below five acres.

For all above that number, but below 20, I would authorise the collector to enter into arrangements with the holders, by which, without going into the minute payments required for each field, and for the deductions for fallow, &c., they might be allowed to pay a certain amount annually, taking the fallows into consideration in diminution of the tax, but without requiring a yearly settlement.

Again, I would recommend that to all persons desirous of taking or actually holding larger portions of land than 20 acres, leases, if they should desire them, should be granted for terms not exceeding 50 years.

It being clearly understood that a re-adjustment should take place at the expiration of that period.

Thus the holders of land of less than five acres would keep it on the present tenure.

Those possessing more than five, but less than 20, might adhere to the present tenure, or if they should prefer it, would have the opportunity of making a composition.

Possessors of a larger number of acres than 20, might keep to the present tenure, or make a composition, or have a lease.

I think that by this method the wishes of all parties would be met to a very great extent, and that gradually, and in no very long time, there would be a very great diminution of the minute interference of Government subordinates now so prevalent and so much complained of.

The only reservation which it strikes me might be made in the compositions or leases, would be in the case of the value of lands becoming very largely increased from the opportunity offering of letting them for building lots, when it would be fair for Government to receive some portion of the advantage.

58. But it would be requisite to adhere to one rule with great strictness in these arrangements, viz., that in all cases the Government should have to do with

with only one person, who should be responsible for the tax, and in whom all the capital in the holdings should be vested.

The certainty of tenure should be clearly understood to be secured in all these cases, and only contingent on default of payment.

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rington,
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59. Every facility should be given for the easy completion of leases, and of transfers and sales of lands.

Hindrances, delays, difficulties, or heavy expenses on these points, are most hurtful to the industry of every country.

60. Great care should be taken in regulating the periods for the payment of the rent, so that they may be fixed at times most convenient for the landholders.

I may here mention, that in order to simplify proceedings, to diminish the interference of the subordinate officials, and to facilitate the working of public affairs, both in the collectorates and with the Government, I am thoroughly convinced that a radical change is necessary in the method of keeping accounts.

At present they are kept in a language, the Mahratta, alien to the Government, and unknown to the inhabitants; the consequence is, that both the European officers and the people are in the hands of a third party, the Mahratta Brahmins, who doubtless have been and are of great use, from their ability and experience in business, but the system might be altered and their services retained.

61. I am of opinion therefore, that when instructions on this subject of a general survey are issued, which I trust will be at an early date, one amongst them should direct that for the future the accounts shall be kept in English, an abstract copy being made in the vernacular of the district for the convenience of the inhabitants.

62. In para. 46, Mr. Thomas offers a suggestion respecting an early survey and assessment, which is, that instead of waiting for some elaborate and perfect machinery, which might postpone a settlement for years, the junior revenue officers should be directed to commence it at once, and he thinks this is quite practicable if the simplified system of classification which he has proposed be adopted.

63. I fully concur with him in the necessity for an immediate survey. I believe it to be required almost throughout the Presidency, but more particularly in the Northern Circars, and I think measures should at once be adopted for immediate operations.

I have some doubts, however, whether the method proposed by Mr. Thomas would fully answer the purpose.

I must confess to some apprehension lest that, in endeavouring to facilitate the measure, inefficient means should be employed, and errors hence be committed, which would destroy all confidence in the survey, and render nugatory the efforts of Government.

The consequence would be that a fresh survey would again be called for.

I doubt not that some of the junior revenue officers are fully competent to undertake the work, or could in a short time render themselves fully available for the purpose; but it must be remembered that scarcely in any district has the collector a staff sufficient to perform the ordinary duties required of them, and to give them this very laborious addition, which would require constant attention, would, I fear, only tend to delay the routine work at a time when much greater celerity of performance is called for, whilst the character of the survey would at the same time be hazarded.

64. I am, however, quite prepared to support Mr. Thomas's view of immediate action, and to effect this thoroughly, I think that two nuclei for surveying should be formed in addition to that of Captain Priestly's, and on the same scale.

Captain Priestly will soon, it is hoped, be able to send out parties over the southern districts.

Another party should be stationed in the districts between South Arcot and the Kistna, and a third should take the Northern Circars.

If men properly fitted for the work cannot be found in this Presidency, they should be procured from Bombay or the North-Western Provinces.

65. There is one distinction which I would here wish to point out, which I think should not be disregarded.

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Hon. Lord Minto,
26 Oct. 1854.

The measurement of a certain area of land may be most correctly made by a person who may be quite unfitted to fix an assessment, and great care should be taken in selecting persons thoroughly qualified for each purpose.

I am disposed to think that the suggestion (*see his Minute*) made by Lord Tweeddale, of procuring thoroughly qualified land agents from England for the purpose of assessing the land, might be adopted with great benefit. One of these men attached to each surveying party would soon qualify a number of others for these specific duties.

Though they would be at first ignorant of the habits of the people, of the nature of the soils, of the articles of produce, and of their values, these difficulties would soon be got over, and their knowledge of a correct system of valuation would be most important to the perfection of the survey.

I am further of opinion, that a person fully understanding practical geology, and agricultural chemistry, should be attached to each surveying establishment.

66. It should be remembered that, in a country like this, in commencing a thoroughly efficient survey establishment, the completion of the work actually in hand is not all that is required, but that it is important to bring up a number of persons in each district, who may hereafter be of service for the purpose, when waste lands are brought into cultivation.

In fact there will always be required in each collectorate some officers who can at once carry out a survey, and others who can fix an assessment.

On this point there are some valuable suggestions in Captain Erskine's *Manual of Survey for the North-Western Provinces*, in which he proposes a plan for instructing the village officers on those points.

67. I should, however, qualify the opinion I have given above respecting the survey department, by stating, that the last thing I wish for is to cause any delay, and that if good and trustworthy surveyors can be found amongst the junior revenue officers, and that it is thought that they can be so occupied, without impeding the course of public business, I have no intention of opposing their employment.

68. In paras. 47 to 49, Mr. Thomas refers to the discussion which occurs in the papers before the Board respecting the condition of the Goollem Talook in Bellary. On this matter it is unnecessary to offer an opinion, as Mr. Maltby is now making an inspection of that district, and if it be over-assessed, the general orders for the survey will remedy the evil; but Mr. Thomas's remarks remind me that there are two points which I have omitted, and on which I wish to write shortly. These,

- 1st. The occupation of the waste lands.
- 2nd. The formation of grazing farms.

69. It would be advantageous to encourage both these objects on very liberal terms, always requiring, on the part of Government, the right of re-adjustment, after a certain term of years.

The terms for grazing farms must be framed chiefly in conformity with the customs of particular districts, as they vary considerably in all countries.

In Bombay they are let annually to the highest bidder, but in some districts it might answer better to exact a small payment for each head or each 100 head of cattle, or to let for a longer term of years.

70. Every encouragement, by the most liberal and easiest terms, should be given for the first occupation of waste lands.

The following observation of Mr. Mill in his *Principles of Political Economy* should always be kept in mind in respect to this point:

"As, however, differences of fertility slide into one another by insensible gradations, and differences of accessibility, that is, of distance from markets, obviously do the same; and since there is land so barren, that it could not pay for its cultivation at any price, it is evident that whatever the price may be, there must be in any extensive region some land which, at that price, will first pay the wages of the cultivators, and yield to the capital employed the ordinary profit and no more. Until, therefore, the price rises higher, or until some improvement raises that particular land to a higher place in the rank of fertility, it cannot pay any rent. It is evident, however, that the community needs the produce of this quality of land, since, if the lands more fertile or better situated

situated than it could have sufficed to supply the wants of society, the price would not have risen so high as to render its cultivation profitable. This land, therefore, will be cultivated, and we may lay it down as a principle, that so long as any of the land of a country, which is fit for cultivation, is not cultivated, the worst land in actual cultivation (in point of fertility and situation together) pays no rent."

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Hon. Lord Halsbury,
26 Oct. 1864.

71. In all the points on which directions are given and principles laid down on this important subject, full consideration should be given to rights already established, and the circumstances of those in whom they are vested, so that in regulating the titles, or the holdings or the diminution of assessment, all landholders in the several districts, whether ryots or zemindars, or whatever may be their titles or tenures, should proportionably benefit by the concessions which it may be determined on to grant.

72. In conclusion, Mr. Thomas gives his views (paras. 50 to 62) on a point, which is doubtless of great importance, viz., the position or status, or nature of tenure, which the ryot, meaning thereby, I presume, any landholder, is to be supposed to hold, whether that of landlord or tenant or labouring peasant.

73. I quite agree with Mr. Thomas, that the ryot's position is not a very hopeful one, if such a rent (para. 51) is to be exacted from him as will leave him nothing more than the bare wages of a labourer, or if no more is to be left to him than will support his family (para. 52) and keep up his stock, or if he is to be saddled with land which he does not require, and is forced to cultivate it, or at all events (para. 53) to pay tax on it; or again, if he is to be required to pay such a rent as it has been customary for landlords in England to require (para. 54), irrespective of what may be the pecuniary needs of the Government, or if his assessment is to be raised at the end of a term of years in proportion to the improvements which he has made in his holding.

74. But though I agree with Mr. Thomas in his views up to this point, I am not prepared to go the length of placing the ryot in the position of a landlord according to the meaning of the term in England. Neither do I think it desirable that the assessment should gradually become a mere quit-rent, or that the opportunity should be afforded of purchasing a total remission of land-tax.

75. The landlord class of Europe is a result of the conquests of the dark ages, a relic of the feudal system, still flourishing in England alone, in consequence of that profound sagacity which has induced the conquering race to amalgamate with the conquered, and then to govern by yielding, when it could not command by force.

Still, even there, with all the advantages which it possesses, how much land there is neglected and unimproved, in consequence of its remaining in the hands of those who cannot expend capital on it?

How few are the opportunities for the industrious and able poor man to raise himself as a landholder?

76. But I doubt the expediency of endeavouring to create, and the possibility of forming such a class in a country circumstanced as this is, even were it in accordance with the spirit of the age.

I am inclined to think that any attempt to give a status of that nature to the majority of the agricultural class in India would not only fail, but would result in rendering them merely the cultivators or land agents of a monied aristocracy.

77. Before coming to any conclusion on this point, it is necessary to consider, not only what is, but what is likely to be the basis of the financial system of the Government of India; if that point can be decided with sufficient clearness, we may then be in a position so to modify the tenures of land as to make them coincide with sound principles of finance, and at the same time to give full scope to the industry and prosperity of the landholders.

78. I consider that the land of a country belongs to the Government *de facto* and should be held by it, and should be distributed by it amongst the population in such a manner as is likely to cause it to be most beneficially cultivated, both as regards the interests of the cultivators, and of the whole community.

There may be, and we know there are, many hindrances to this principle being even openly allowed, much more to its being fully carried out, in all

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countries, but in those cases wherein the opportunity is afforded of starting from first principles it should not be neglected.

I think this opportunity exists in the ryotwar districts of this country.

79. The foundation of taxation in India consists in its being direct, and in its being derived from land.

To this tax the people readily yield; and it would be, therefore, injudicious to make such alterations in its relative bearings to the whole amount of the public revenue, as might in a short time render it a small item amongst the general contributions to the income of the country.

If another course were to be pursued, it would shortly be necessary, in order to keep up the revenue, to have recourse to the many expedients of indirect taxation, which create constant difficulties and dissensions, and which are frequently unsatisfactory in their results.

80. But not only do I think that such a change would be inexpedient; I am further disposed to think that the healthiest system of taxation may be established on a direct assessment upon land, laid on in a just, a liberal, and a comprehensive spirit.

I think it might be so fixed as to bear the greater portion of the expenses of the State, without interfering with enterprise.

81. In this case the Government would be the great landlord; but it is not therefore necessary for it to extort the full rent value of land, but to modify its demand according to the wants of the public service.

There need be no revision of the assessment, except at very lengthened periods, when such an evident increase should have taken place in the value of the soil, as could not be ascribed to, and therefore could not interfere with, or press hardly upon, the improvements of any one proprietor or generation, but would be the result of the general advancement of the country in welfare and prosperity.

82. What I mean is this: there is a position differing from that of being the tenant of a landlord, differing also from that of landlord as it exists in England; that position is, being tenant of the State on liberal terms, which is in actual existence in this country.

I am of opinion, that it is very important on sound, industrial, and financial grounds, that this position should be perpetuated.

Morally, because I believe it will have the tendency to require each generation to act and work for itself.

Industrially, because it will insure the best cultivation for the whole of the soil; financially, because it will continue a simple and easy mode of taxation, which gradually and almost imperceptibly will augment the public funds, in proportion to the progress made in the country.

83. To secure these results, the assessment must be,

1st. Sufficiently high to make each proprietor look after his affairs, or to hazard the loss of his holding by nonpayment of his dues.

2d. Sufficiently moderate as not to interfere with the employment of capital, or to shake confidence in the certainty of a fair net return for the outlay.

3d. Sufficiently important in amount as at all times to be the chief, or at all events a principal item of the public revenue.

84. I of course do not mean that it should be the only source of public revenue; indirect taxation exists to a certain extent, and should be continued, but I would recommend that the land-tax should retain the important position which it at present holds.

85. There must always be many objections to any system of taxation; there will always exist opportunities for ascribing to the measures of Government the responsibility of misfortunes which are caused by the errors of individuals.

Any scheme which can be devised will, doubtless, be replete with imperfection, and it is likely to be ascribed as a great fault that the system proposed will impede the formation of a large proprietary class. I think this conclusion by no means follows, though the possession of lands in fee simple (which is considered almost a *sine qua non* in England) would not be granted.

I am

I am not sure that any great advantage is to be derived from that species of possession if security of property is otherwise well provided for, and there is always a tendency in that description of tenure to impede those changes which are natural to the variable state of human society, and which should be rendered as easy of accomplishment as circumstances will permit.

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86. Notwithstanding these apparent faults, I am still very confidently of opinion that an opportunity now offers of remodelling the state of affairs in this country, which is favoured in no small degree by the nature of circumstances, and to a greater extent than frequently occurs.

I see nothing to prevent the establishment of a basis of taxation which may be both equitable and moderate, to which the population is accustomed, and which may be made a source of benefit to the country.

By its permanency and security may be given to property, whilst hindrances to improvement will not be perpetuated. The Government only requires full scope to undertake the matter in a liberal and comprehensive spirit, and I think that there is every reason to hope that the result will be successful.

26 October 1854.

(signed) *Harris.*

MINUTE of the Right Honourable Lord *Harris*, on the proposed General Survey and Assessment; dated 12 May 1855.

With respect to Sir H. Montgomery's remark on my suggestion that 25 per cent. should be the proportion of gross produce which Government should receive, I would take this opportunity of stating, that it by no means follows that nearly half the amount of the present land assessment would be sacrificed.

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12 May 1855.

So far as I can learn, I am led to suppose that the quantity of land actually in cultivation considerably exceeds that on which the rates are levied, and that consequently a correct measurement will give a gain to Government on this point.

But that argument is taken apart from the real point for consideration, which is, what is the maximum which Government can demand of the cultivator, leaving him a fair prospect of being remunerated for his labour and of receiving a just interest for his capital?

To exceed this involves ruin to him, and therefore loss to the country.

If one-third of the gross produce is equal to two-thirds of the net profit, I think it is more than should be taken with a just regard to the views above mentioned.

I have no doubt that if fixed at the rate I have mentioned, not only would there be no loss to the general income, but that there would be in a short time a large addition to it, by the large quantity of land which would be taken into cultivation, and by the increased consumption of articles of import, both of which would be caused by the accumulation of capital.

The actual loss or gain to Government will only be known after the survey has been made and the assessment fixed, and I am disposed to think that the general out-turn would be far from unfavourable to Government.

The proportion of 25 per cent. of the gross produce has been fixed on by the French, and there can be no doubt of the result which has followed in their territories. It has been most successful. It should be remembered that even if diminutions of revenue should occur in consequence, in some localities, these would be by no means contemporaneous, as the survey cannot be carried on all over the country, and will, however expeditiously effected, consume a great deal of time.

(signed) *Harris.*

Letter from Court
of Directors to
Government of
Fort St. George,
17 Dec. 1856.

LETTER from Court of Directors to Government of Fort St. George.

Revenue Department, 17 December (No. 17) 1856.

OUR Governor in Council at Fort St. George.

Survey and assess-
ment of the Madras
Presidency.

Para 1. WITH your letter, dated the 11th October (No. 44) 1855, you have submitted to us a Minute of Consultation, dated the 14th August 1855, showing the final result of the consideration which has been given, during the last ten years, to the question of a general survey and revision of assessment in the districts subordinate to your Presidency.

2. You on the same date referred the whole matter for the orders of the Government of India. The vast importance of the subject, and the necessity for dealing with it only with the fullest information, and after the most mature consideration, compelled us to await the communication of the views of that Government before issuing the instructions which you solicit.

3. The minutes of the several members of the Supreme Council have been forwarded to us, with a letter dated the 15th May last (No. 14), in which they give their "strong and unanimous recommendation that the measures proposed by the Madras Government should be generally sanctioned, and that authority should be given to carry them into effect."

4. The urgent necessity of a survey, with a view to the re-assessment of the land revenue in the greater portion of the districts under your Presidency, is, we consider, established beyond the possibility of doubt. We now proceed to review the several recommendations in the order in which we find them stated in your Minute of Consultation of the 14th August 1855.

Paras. 6 and 7.

5. We approve entirely of your proposal that the opportunity of the survey should be embraced for the purpose of instituting an investigation into the tenures on which land is now held rent free. "It is notorious," you observe, "that in every district enams to a large amount are held without any valid title whatever," and although we can scarcely join in your anticipation that an investigation of titles, if "undertaken in a fair spirit and with proper consideration for the presumptive interest which has grown out of a permissive enjoyment of above half a century, will not be objected to," yet we are not on that account disposed to withhold our assent to a measure which is called for by a due regard to the interests and claims of the tax-paying portion of the agricultural community and of the general mass of our subjects.

Para. 34.

6. With respect to the mode of dealing with persons holding enam lands on titles found to be invalid, we agree with you that, "after the long possession which has been tacitly permitted, it would be only fair to deal liberally with these cases, and to forbear to resume immediately; the proceedings should rather be of the nature of those at Bombay, under Act XI. of 1852. Thus," you observe, "the immediate recovery of revenue from this source would not be great, but ultimately it would be very considerable."

Para. 8.

7. We approve your decision that, for the purpose of obtaining greater accuracy, the revenue survey should be connected by minor triangulations with the great trigonometrical survey, a point to which we referred in para. 7 of our despatch of the 18th July (No. 11) 1855.

Para. 9.

8. We have already expressed our approval of the proposed manner of mapping very small fields in paras. 4 and 5 of the above-quoted despatch. We shall hereafter have occasion to recur to the point of the size of fields when discussing the question of the expediency of discouraging small holdings, and the consequent increase of pauper ryots. We shall only remark in this place, as we have already stated in para. 6 of the despatch before referred to, that we believe you are under a misapprehension in supposing that, by the Bombay system, any limitation was placed on the size of fields actually occupied, or any interference practised with existing rights. Neither is it, we believe, a correct statement of the Bombay rule that, "if a field were held in partnership, and one

one of the co-partners died or gave up his part, the other co-partner must take it, or abandon his part also, unless he could find some one to take the vacant share." By the Bombay practice, several small fields held on the same tenure by different occupants are clubbed together to form a larger field, bearing a separate number, and approaching in size as nearly as can conveniently be accomplished to the minimum size permitted for unoccupied land. These small fields continue to be held by their occupants, who, although designated sharers, are not under any joint responsibility, nor are their previous rights in any way interfered with. No further subdivision is permitted; and in the event of one of the small fields or shares becoming vacant by death, default, or otherwise, the ryots holding the other shares or portions constituting the survey field are required to arrange among themselves to take up the unoccupied portion, or to vacate their own shares, so as to leave the whole field to be engaged for by one individual. The obvious and intentional tendency of this rule is to lead to the consolidation of the small holdings into larger ones; and although it may appear somewhat arbitrary, no difficulty has been found, so far as we are aware, in carrying it into practice under the reduced and equalised assessment.

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9. The extension of the survey to enam, as well as Government lands, is highly proper. The detailed survey of the jungle and unreclaimed waste appears to be, at least for the present, unnecessary. The establishment and preservation of boundary marks, and the preparations of field maps, village maps, and talook maps, are essential to the permanency of the work. Para. 10.

10. We agree with you that the best mode of settlement is that commonly termed ryotwar, although it may more correctly be designated khetwar; that the assessment on each field should be defined and fixed, so that the cultivator should know precisely the amount of the Government demand on the land occupied by him. Whether the collection of the revenue from the individual ryots should be made directly by the stipendiary officers of Government, or by some intermediate agency, is a question which we propose to notice in a subsequent part of this despatch. With a moderate assessment, it is to be hoped that remissions, except under rare and exceptional circumstances, will cease to be granted. We have observed, with much satisfaction, that in the recently surveyed districts of the Bombay Presidency remissions have already almost disappeared from the accounts. Para. 11.

11. The discontinuance of the practice of granting remissions will render unnecessary all interference with, or inquiry into, the agricultural operations of the ryot. He will be held liable for the assessment of all the land, whether actually cultivated or not, for which he may have engaged, until he shall have formally relinquished it; and entire freedom will be given to him either to relinquish or to take up fresh land, as his inclination or means of cultivation may dictate to him. Para. 12.

12. In the classification of the soils, we agree with you in the opinion that exact accuracy is unattainable, and that, provided the assessment be sufficiently moderate, the want of it will not for a time be of much practical importance. We therefore concur with you in thinking that the classes should be few, and based on real and distinguishable differences of soil. The officers engaged in the duty of fixing the assessment should always bear in mind that, as you have expressed it, "the right of the Government is not a rent, which consists of all the surplus produce, after paying the costs of cultivation and the profits of the agricultural stocks, but a land revenue only, which ought, if possible, to be so lightly assessed as to leave a surplus or rent to the occupier, whether he, in fact, let the land to others, or retain it in his own hands." Paras. 13 and 14.

13. The suggestion that the distinctive classification of lands according as they are or are not capable of irrigation from a Government source, should be abolished, and that all land should be classified, simply with reference to its soil and its productiveness, without irrigation, a water-rate being charged when Government water is used or is permanently available, is one well worthy of mature consideration. This practice prevails in the North-West Provinces, and although the universal practice under your Presidency is different, the change might, you think, be made without inconvenience on the occasion of a survey, if, on the whole, deemed expedient. Para. 15.

Para. 16.

14. The classification of the soils having been completed, the next process to be undertaken is the valuation of the land. In the former operation the inherent qualities of the land only are considered; while, in the latter, such accidental circumstances as the nearness of the village, facility of communication, and whatever else may affect either the quantity or quality of the produce, have to be taken into account. This may, you consider, be most conveniently effected, as in Bombay, by placing the field or village, as the case may be, in a higher or lower class of assessment, according to the aggregate of such circumstances.

Paras. 17 to 19.

15. The next and final process is the determination of the assessment. You are of opinion that, with certain exceptions, the proportion of the crop actually taken by Government at the present time, except when there have been recent reductions, is not less than 50 per cent. on irrigated, and 35 per cent. on unirrigated land. Under the revised assessment you propose that 30 per cent. of the gross produce should be taken as the maximum of the Government demand under the most favourable circumstances, but subject to reductions in the event of the absence or lower degree of any of the accidental advantages referred to in the preceding paragraph. These reductions would, you apprehend, bring down the share taken by Government to about 25 per cent., or one-fourth of the gross produce.

16. We consider that this part of your scheme is the one most open to objection, and moreover that it is inconsistent with the principle laid down in para. 13 of your resolution, that the right of Government is not even to the whole rent, but only to a share of the rent. In lands of a high degree of fertility, possessing easy means of communication, and in the neighbourhood of good markets, 30 per cent. of the gross produce may fall considerably within the limit of the rent or net produce; in lands less fertile and less favourably situated, a much smaller share of the gross produce might considerably exceed it. The natural and inevitable consequence, as it appears to us, of apportioning the assessment to the gross produce, is to favour the most fertile lands, and to press with increasing severity on the poorer lands in an inverse ratio to their fertility.

17. In a natural state of things, when the demand for agricultural produce is such as to render it necessary to bring all the available land under the plough, the least fertile land in cultivation would be that the gross produce of which would merely furnish the wages of labour and the profits of the stock employed in cultivating it, leaving no surplus out of which any rent or assessment could be paid. If, as under our revenue system, an assessment, however small, is imposed, such land must of necessity, all other circumstances remaining the same, be abandoned, and cultivation will recede until it reaches the point at which the gross produce is just sufficient to provide for the payment of the assessment, in addition to the wages of labour and the profits of stock.

18. The fact that the holdings are generally of very small extent, that the labour is performed in most cases by the ryot and his family, and that the agricultural capital employed is of exceedingly small amount, does not, we apprehend, interfere with the operation of the principles to which we have adverted. The produce of the land must at least be sufficient to feed and clothe the labourer and his family, and to replace the cattle and agricultural implements as they become worn out; and, besides this, a surplus must remain for the payment of the assessment imposed by the State.

19. We are therefore of opinion that the assessment should be proportioned to the net, and not to the gross produce. This course was followed in the North-Western Provinces of Bengal, when the proportion demanded by the Government as its land revenue was taken at two-thirds of the net produce. You observe that, although this share of the net produce would bear various proportions to the gross produce, according to circumstances, on the whole it may be assumed to be equal to about 30 per cent. on the gross produce. Admitting this assumption to be sufficiently correct for practical purposes, we must observe that the question is in no respect one of averages. It may be true that 30 per cent. of the gross produce of a whole district may be equivalent to two-thirds of the net produce; but the object of your proposed operations is to apportion the assessment fairly on the individual fields composing the district according to their varying degrees of value, and this object will not be attained by making the gross and not the net produce of each field the basis of assessment.

Directions to
settlement officers,
N. W. P. para. 5a.

AND ASSESSMENT OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY, &c.

20. It may be argued that the net produce cannot be ascertained, or even estimated with any near approach to accuracy. No attempt to estimate the net produce has been made in the revised settlements of Bombay or of the North-West Provinces, in the latter of which it is declared, that the operation of determining the assessment is "not one of arithmetical calculation, but of judgment and sound discretion." We are well satisfied that absolute accuracy cannot be obtained; but in endeavouring to fix the assessment on the basis of the net produce or rent, we apprehend that you would be pursuing a course founded on correct principles, although but imperfectly attainable in practice. For the attainment of this object, as of many others contemplated in the revised settlement, it is probable that much useful information may be gathered by consulting the most intelligent and influential inhabitants of the villages in course of assessment. The main point to be regarded is, that the assessment should be fixed at a rate sufficiently moderate to allow for errors of judgment on the part of the settling officer. If this be attended to, the effect of any inequalities which may occur, will only be to render the lower assessed fields more valuable than those on which a higher assessment is imposed; but in all cases the share of the net produce left to the cultivator, after defraying the assessment and the expenses of cultivation, will still be sufficient to render his land a desirable property.

Directions to settlement officers, para. 51.

Directions to settlement officers, N. W. P. paras. 53 and 54.

21. The proportion of the produce to be taken as revenue being determined, the next step, you observe, is to decide the principle on which to convert it into money. You propose that the assessment of each field should be fixed in terms of so much grain, and that the grain should be converted into money at the average price of the preceding seven or ten years (according to the period that it may be thought advisable to take), and that the prices so fixed should endure for a term of the same length, at the expiration of which they would again become liable to readjustment on the same principle. You are also of opinion, that the grain assessment should not be fixed in perpetuity, but declared unalterable for a period of 50 years.

Paras. 20 to 23.

N.B.—It is also suggested, that the mode practised in this country for the commutation of tithes into a rentcharge, might perhaps be beneficially adopted, viz., to take the conversion price of each year at the average price of the preceding seven years.

22. We entertain great doubts of the expediency of these proceedings. We think that the rates, as we propose them to be assessed, should be sufficiently moderate to allow for all ordinary fluctuations in the prices of grain, and that all needlessly frequent alterations in the amount of the ryot's payments should be avoided. The grain assessment having been determined and converted into money at a fair and moderate rate, we should prefer that the assessment so fixed should be declared unalterable for a term of 30 years (as in Bombay and the North-West Provinces), at the expiration of which period both the amount of the grain assessment, and the rate of its conversion into money, would be subject to readjustment, according to existing circumstances.

23. In these paragraphs you have discussed the means which it may be possible to adopt to diminish the evils arising from the existence of very small holdings, and consequently of a class of ryots scarcely, it at all, above the grade of paupers. The economical disadvantages of a minute subdivision of holdings are very generally admitted, both under your Presidency and that of Bombay. The two main causes of minute holdings you state to be, first, the practice of equal partitions of property among heirs; and secondly, the facility with which men, without any capital or any interest in the soil, have been allowed to obtain land.

Paras. 24 to 27.

24. From a statement appended to the Board's Report on the Land Revenue Administration for 1853-54, it appears that out of a total number of puttahs (excluding joint puttahs) of 14,09,729, no less than 8,34,100 were for sums below 10 rupees, and give an average assessment of $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees for each holding.

25. You observe that, "under the new settlement in Bombay, an attempt has been made to check the evil by positive restrictions on the size of holdings, and similar measures have been proposed" for your Presidency. We have already called your attention to the Bombay rules, and to the effect which, without interfering with existing interests, it is hoped they may exercise eventually on the size of holdings. The small fields which now constitute separate and distinct occupancies may ultimately become consolidated into one survey field, and

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no land now uncultivated will be allowed to be taken up in a smaller quantity than a survey field. No further subdivision will be permitted, and although under the law of equal partition, the interest in the land may be divided among the members of the family of a deceased occupant, the integral field will be held liable for the revenue assessed on it, in the event of default on the part of any or all of the joint-tenants.

26. Although the Bombay rules may not be applicable in all respects to the circumstances of your Presidency, we conceive that it will not be impracticable to establish regulations which, while differing in form, may still tend to the same end. It is easy to conceive that under the Hindoo law of inheritance, holdings (we do not under this term refer to single fields, but to all the fields in the occupation of one individual) may be so split up into minute portions, that the produce of each shall be barely sufficient to maintain the cultivator and his family, leaving no surplus out of which to pay any assessment. We consider that the Government has a clear right to take measures to prevent the occurrence of a state of things which will ultimately dry up the source from which the revenue on which it mainly depends, is derived. In the exercise of this right, they may justly declare that the fields actually occupied and cultivated at the time of the survey, falling within a certain defined limit, shall not be further subdivided, but that whatever division of interests may hereafter arise under the law of equal partition, the whole field will continue liable for the whole revenue fixed upon it; that persons desirous of engaging for fresh land, will not be permitted to take it except in fields of a definite size, unless, together with that of the fields which they may already occupy, the assessment of the whole holding shall not fall below any amount which you shall hereafter determine. You might also declare that the holder of any small portion of land falling into arrear (a circumstance which will probably occur not unfrequently when the grant of remissions, except under a general calamity of season, ceases to form a part of the revenue system) shall not be allowed to have a fresh puttah, but that it shall be added to the holding of any person willing to engage for it, provided the whole holding does not fall below the prescribed size. We would also suggest that no ryot, desirous of contracting his cultivation, should be allowed to do so by giving up land which would reduce his holding below the prescribed limit.

27. We cannot doubt that rules framed in accordance with the principles indicated in the preceding para. would have the beneficial effect of preventing further subdivision of holdings, and ultimately of getting rid of a large proportion of the very small ones which now exist, and further, that they might be carried into effect without any objectionable interference with private rights.

28. In para. 27 you have referred to the rights of meerassidars over the waste lands of their villages, and you observe, that "under moderate assessment land will become valuable, the rightful holders will occupy it themselves, subletting it, or part of it, and will no longer quietly submit to its being given away to those who have no rightful interest in it." The question involved in this paragraph, is one of very considerable importance, and it would appear that you now propose to deal with it in a manner at variance with the practice which has hitherto prevailed. We desire that, in the disposal of waste land, you will be guided by the principles laid down in para 55 of our despatch of the 28th July (No. 8) 1841, and paras. 31 and 32 of despatch, dated 3d July (No. 17) 1854, and which are more fully enunciated in your Minutes of Consultation of the 1st March and 24th July 1849.

Circular Orders of
the Board of Revenue,
para. 321.

29. We see no reason to change the opinions respecting the rights of meerassidars which we entertained when those paragraphs were written. Wherever, as in Tanjore, any remains of meerassy-right have survived to the present time, and have an actual existence, we do not desire that it should be interfered with; but where, as in the greater portion of your Presidency, it has fallen into desuetude, and has only been known in name ever since we have obtained possession of the country, we think that it would be unwise and inexpedient to make any attempt for its revival.

30. When applications for waste land are made by strangers, they should be communicated to the resident cultivators of the village, whether claiming to be
meerassidars

meerassidars or not, and the option should be given to them of engaging for it, finding security for the payment of the assessment should they, or any of them, think fit to do so; they would, of course, be at liberty either to cultivate the land themselves, or to sub-let it; but the payment should be strictly enforced, in order, on the one hand, to prevent transactions in the nature of land-jobbing; and, on the other, to deter the villagers from engaging for land merely for the purpose of excluding others who might be desirous of holding it direct from Government, but who objected to take it as their sub-tenants. In cases where the resident ryots should refuse to engage for the waste lands of their village, Government may exercise the right of granting them to the persons applying, who would then hold the same position, and possess the same rights in all respects as the other ryots of the village.

Min. Cons.
24 July 1849.

31. In these paragraphs you refer to the practice of yearly holdings, and you state that "it seems desirable to adopt measures to introduce a more permanent occupancy." "Under the present system," you observe, "a ryot is held to be entitled to hold his land so long as he pays the demand on it. The Government cannot oust him to give the land to another; but he is free to throw up the land whenever he pleases. Practically, under this system, many fields are held permanently, although the ostensible title is only the annual puttah."

Paras. 28 and 29.

32. The means by which you propose to give this greater permanency appear to be, first, by converting the annual puttah into a perpetual one, or at least, for so long as the ryot shall not desire to contract or to increase his holding; and, secondly, by allowing ryots occupying "holdings of some considerable size," to compound for a fixed annual payment, either for a term of years or otherwise, making certain allowances for waste, for fallow, for bad seasons, &c.

33. The objection to the latter of these plans appears to be that, although ryots would probably be willing to engage for their holdings for a sum somewhat below the aggregate amount of the assessment on the fields composing it, and would continue to pay it so long as the seasons were favourable, yet, in a year of failure, when scanty crops might be combined with low prices, there would be no means of keeping them to their engagements. The contract, in short, would be altogether and solely for the advantage of the ryot, and under a moderate assessment, such an arrangement seems unnecessary either to induce extended cultivation, or to secure permanence of occupancy.

34. The first plan, however, appears highly desirable, and we observe with satisfaction that it has already been partially brought into operation. In their Report on the Revenue Administration for 1853-54, the Board of Revenue say that they propose "establishing the rule that each ryot is answerable for his holding of the preceding year, unless within a fixed time he presents a writing, detailing any fields which he wishes to resign, or any new land which he wishes to occupy. All these representations," they state, "are to be promptly settled; and on their completion, the cultivation returns of the year showing the land under occupancy will be drawn out. The Board have already sanctioned this change of system in Nellore and South Arcot; and now that the assessment is in process of being placed on a modified and sounder basis, they hope that the ryotwary system will gradually receive its intended development, and display a series of estates held by substantial proprietors with little annual charge." Under this arrangement, the interference of the native revenue officers will be reduced to the lowest possible amount, and, in fact, no interference will be called for except at the cultivator's own request.

Letter dated
4 July 1855,
para. 21.

35. The extent to which it is proposed in this paragraph, that the revenue survey and assessment should be carried, seems to be judicious. It will include all land usually cultivated, and all that has been cultivated within memory, or according to the village accounts, as well as such as may seem likely to be brought under the plough, under the operation of an improved revenue system. Jungle, and utterly unreclaimed waste, will not be surveyed in detail, the total area only being determined.

Para. 30.

36. These paragraphs are devoted to the consideration of the probable effects of the proposed measures on the revenue of your Presidency. You are of opinion that they will be followed gradually, but surely, by a great extension of cultivation, and you anticipate with confidence that the result, "instead of a falling off,"

Paras. 31 to 35.

off, will be an accession to the revenue, while, as respects the payers and the public, the gain will be enormous, the revenue will be derived from sources double or treble those upon which it is levied now, and will be paid with corresponding ease and absence of privation."

Madras Selections,
No. 22, papers relating to the revision of assessment in South Arcot.—
Note *ad finem*.

37. We are disposed to concur in these expectations, and the probability of their realization is borne out by the actual results of the revisions of assessment under the Presidency of Bombay, as well as by the effects of the introduction of reduced rates into the district of South Arcot.

38. It must, however, be borne in mind that the large augmentation of agricultural produce, which may be expected to ensue on the reduction of the assessment, will, if confined to grain for local consumption, and especially if ready means for transporting it to distant markets are not simultaneously provided, probably lead to a considerable decrease in the price, and that the ability of the ryot to pay the lower assessment, may be in reality no greater than that which he now possesses under a higher one. It is therefore of the utmost importance that encouragement should be given to the production of sugar, cotton, and other articles suited for exportation; and that, as we have already remarked in our despatch of the 8th November (No. 23) 1854, when referring to the expected increase of produce consequent on the construction of extensive works of irrigation, ready means of inter-communication between the several districts should be afforded. Although not specifically stated in the resolution which we have been reviewing, we presume that provision will be made in the new arrangements for the formation of district road funds, on a principle similar to that established in South Arcot, which was approved in para. 20 of our despatch, dated the 18th July (No. 11) 1855.

Paras. 36 to 44.

39. The agency proper for effecting the survey and assessment, and the cost of both operations, have next to be considered.

40. You propose that the survey should be conducted under the superintendence of a surveyor-general, who should be an officer of scientific acquirements, and who should receive a salary of 1,000 rupees per mensem, in addition to the ordinary pay and allowances of his rank. Under this officer you would place at least four deputy surveyors-general, with staff pay at the rate of 650 rupees per mensem, each in charge of a separate geographical division of the operations. The total cost of the survey, assuming the area to be subjected to it at 38,000,000 acres, or 60,000 square miles, you estimate at 38,40,000 rupees, and the time that it would occupy at 22 years.

41. You are of opinion that the assessment and settlement, including the classification and valuation of the land, should be entrusted to a different agency. You accordingly propose that a revenue officer of experience should be constituted superintendent of settlement, with a salary (to avoid frequent changes of incumbency), not less than that of a member of the Board of Revenue, with deputies under him at 1,000 rupees per mensem, one of whom it would probably be found expedient to have following each deputy surveyor-general. Estimating the extent of land to be brought under settlement at 38,000,000 acres, and the cost at 10 rupees per hundred acres, the total amount will be 38,00,000 rupees, which, added to the cost of the survey, will give an aggregate sum of 76,40,000 rupees.

Paras 44 and 45.

42. You observe that the amount is large, but that as it will be spread pretty equally over a period of 15 or 20 years, it will amount to no more than a charge of from one to one and a half per cent. on the annual revenue. The information which you have requested from the Government of India, as to the salaries and establishments of the settlement officers in the North-West Provinces, and the nature of their duties, will, when received, probably lead you to modify in some respects the scheme of establishments which you have suggested; when this shall have been finally settled, you propose to submit detailed statements for the sanction of the Government of India. We will here remind you, that much information is possessed by the Bombay Government regarding establishments, both of survey and assessment; and amongst other competent authorities, we refer you especially to the reports of Major Wingate and Mr. Goldsmid on this subject.

45. We

43. We fully concur in your opinion that the cost about to be incurred is not more than commensurate with the importance of the objects sought to be attained by it; and we therefore give our sanction to the expenditure required. We would only remind you that the work should be pushed on as fast as efficient establishments can be organized, not only that the people and the Government may the sooner benefit by the projected measures, executed with caution and judgment, but also from motives of economy, as it is obvious that the expense of superintendence need not be increased in a ratio proportionate to the increase of the work, whether of survey or assessment, which must be performed in the field.

Letter from Court of Directors to Government of Fort St. George, 17 Dec. 1856.

44. In his minute, dated the 18th March 1856, Mr. J. P. Grant has pointed out that, from the circumstance of the settlement being ryotwar, it does not necessarily follow that each individual ryot should pay his dues direct into the public treasury. In our despatch, dated the 31st January (No. 1) 1849, we suggested the expediency of your requesting information from the Government of Bengal, as to the mode, in which the settlement of Cuttack had been conducted, with the view of ascertaining whether any of the principles there adopted could be made applicable to the Northern Circars. This system was examined by Mr. Walter Elliot, who appears to have arrived at the conclusion that a system similar, at least in some respects, to that of Cuttack, might be introduced with advantage into those districts. Mr. J. P. Grant also expresses a similar opinion, observing that "nothing could have worked better than the last settlement of Cuttack." We do not wish to issue any positive instructions on this point; but we think that the recommendation of Mr. Elliot, together with some other suggestions offered by Mr. Grant in his minute before referred to, should receive your careful and deliberate consideration.

Minute, 8 June 1854.

Minute, 13 March 1856, para. 9.

45. In conclusion, we have to express our entire satisfaction at the liberal and enlightened spirit in which this important subject has been discussed, and at the lucid and able manner in which your conclusions and recommendations have been placed before us in your Minutes of Consultation of the 14th August 1855. As you will now be in possession of our general sanction to the expenditure involved in the execution of this great measure, and of our view of the principles on which it should be conducted, we have only to state, in full concurrence with the sentiments recorded by your Government, that we should "deeply regret if any further delay were permitted to intervene in entering on a work which has been accomplished, or is in course of execution in all the other divisions of the British Indian Empire, which is universally admitted to be urgently required" in the Madras Presidency, "and which is, indeed, absolutely necessary wherever a land-tax constitutes the chief part of the public revenue, because it affords the only sound data for judging of the value of the land."

Para. 43.

We are, &c.
(signed) W. H. Sykes,
R. D. Mangles,
&c. &c.

London, 17 December 1856.

LETTER from Court of Directors to Government of Fort St. George.

Public Works Department, 2 July (No. 8) 1856.

Our Governor in Council at Fort St. George.

Para. 1. THE letters and paragraphs referred to in the margin, report your further proceedings in connexion with the Godavery and Kistna Annicuts, up to February 1855, since which date no information on the subject appears to have been transmitted to us. We should wish to be informed of the reason of this omission.

Letter dated 24 April (No. 25) 185
Ditto 13 Dec. (No. 77) 185
Ditto 15 Dec. (No. 80) 185
Ditto 24 Mar. (No. 15) 185
paras. 15 to 18.

2. It would appear that the sum sanctioned for the Godavery Annicut and its subsidiary works (21,50,000 rupees) has already been exceeded, but to what precise

Letter from Court
of Directors to
Government of
Fort St. George,
2 July 1856.

precise extent is not stated, the estimates which have from time to time been sanctioned for particular portions, as the undertaking advanced, being scattered over your proceedings, and nowhere brought together in a comprehensive view. We shall accordingly await the receipt of the full report on the whole subject of this annicut, which the Board of Revenue was required to furnish by your Minutes of Consultation of the 17th June 1854.

3. We think that the refusal of the late Governor in Council to entertain the project submitted to him for continuing the channel of irrigation and navigation which leads from that portion of the Godavery Annicut which had been completed to Samulcottah, by extending it northwards from Samulcottah to Toonee, on the borders of the Rajamundry and Vizagapatam districts, at an estimated cost of 2,34,304 rupees, was justifiable, on the ground that the proprietors, through whose lands the channel was proposed to be carried, would have reaped the immediate profits arising from the expenditure of so large a sum of money, and that there would have been left to Government the irksome task of recovering from those proprietors a fair compensation for the labour and capital so expended.

4. In that instance, as well as in all similar cases, projects of this description should be carefully considered after full communication with the landholders, whether zemindars paying a fixed perpetual jumma (pesheush) or on tenures still more favourable, such as those of persons holding their lands, either at quit-rents or altogether rent free. It was indeed observed by the late chief engineer Colonel A. T. Cotton, the projector of the great works on the Godavery River, that the Government retained in its hands the power of withholding water from all parties who refused to pay an equitable rent or rate for its use, and that, therefore, the demand for an equitable rent on that account, could not be viewed in the light of increased taxation, as it was quite optional for the parties interested to make a choice between the cost and the profits arising from the employment of the canal water in irrigating their crops.

5. But we must observe, that Colonel Cotton has availed himself of every opportunity to impress upon your government the absolute necessity of clearly defining, by a careful survey and valuation, the lands which have reverted to Government by the insolvency of zemindars, both of the ancient or modern classes, as a necessary preliminary to the introduction of a satisfactory rate for a regulated supply of water, independently, however, of either the quality of the soil or the crops annually or periodically grown.

6. With regard to the question as to the terms on which "private individuals are to be allowed to partake in the advantage of public improvements," we notice that in Rajahmundry an arrangement was in the first instance authorised, under which a *teerwajastee* was provisionally imposed at the rate of one rupee per *pootee* on all wet lands receiving additional water, and of two rupees per *pootee* on dry lands converted into wet, the Commissioner and Collector being of opinion that "the moderate assertion and admission of the principle having been thus established, sufficient had been done in the first instance in overcoming a difficulty which promised to provoke much resistance and opposition." A *pootee* in Rajahmundry being understood to be about eight acres, we are inclined to concur with you in thinking this rate inadequate, and that its imposition in the first instance may tend to throw great difficulties hereafter in the way of settling a rate of assessment which shall be liberal "to the cultivator," and at the same time, "just to the Government." We desire to be informed of the result of the instructions which you addressed to the Commissioner on this subject, under date the 5th November 1853.

7. We observe with satisfaction the statement in Mr. Walter Elliot's report on the revenue administrations of the Northern Circars, for Fusly 1262, dated the 28th August 1854, that measures had "been taken for the systematic application of an irrigation tax on lands, both on full and favourable assessment, which would come into operation from the commencement of Fusly 1264 (1854-55)," and that you had called for a special report on the measures there alluded to, remarking, that the question was one of great and obvious importance, and that its early settlement was essential.

8. With

8. With reference to this subject, we would call your particular attention to the interesting and instructive report prepared under our orders by Major Baird Smith, of the Bengal Engineers, on the irrigation of Northern Italy, printed in 1852, which shows in the most convincing manner the importance of an early definition of all local rights in the lands, independently of the right of Government to demand a proper remuneration for the irrigation of their fields.

Letter from Court
of Directors to
Government of
Fort St. George,
2 July 1856.

9. We observe, with much satisfaction, that the Kistna Annicut received no damage from the extraordinary floods which occurred in July 1853, and that the river in the following season was so unusually low as to offer great and unexpected facilities for carrying on the works in progress. The annicut in its present state (September 1854) is represented to "exceed in dimensions any work of the kind previously constructed in the same relative circumstances," and its condition is stated to be very satisfactory. The amount expended on it up to the end of June 1854 was 5,69,867 rupees, leaving a balance out of the sanctioned estimate of 1,96,674 rupees; but as some change in the original plan of construction was in contemplation, it appears probable that the estimate will be to some extent exceeded.

Kistna Annicut.

10. We entirely approve your instructions to the Commissioner in the Northern Circars, in regard to the prompt settlement of all claims to compensation on the part of mauniemders, whose lands have been occupied for public purposes during the progress of the annicut works.

11. We approve the manner in which the instructions contained in our despatch of the 28th June (No. 15) 1854, have been carried out, as reported in your letter of the 15th December (No. 80) 1854.

12. You will perceive by our despatch, dated the 27th May last (No. 6), para. 29, that we took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the reports of some proceedings connected with the Godavery and Kistna Annicuts, to convey to you our authority to undertake such subsidiary works as are the necessary development of these important undertakings, without first obtaining the sanction of the Government of India for the requisite expenditure, all cases in which you shall see reason to exercise this authority being immediately reported to that Government and to us.

We are, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Sykes,*
R. D. Mangles,
&c. &c.

London, 2 July 1856.

(True copies.)

East India House, May 1857.

J. S. Mill,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

EAST INDIA. (MADRAS PRESIDENCY, &c.)

PAPERS relating to the REVISED SURVEY and
ASSESSMENT of the MADRAS PRESIDENCY, and
on the GODAVERY and KISTNA ANNICUTS.

(*Mr. Seymour.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
2d May 1857.

51—Sess. 2.

Under 402.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL.

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 7 July 1853 :—for,

COPIES “of any further CORRESPONDENCE between the Court of Directors
of the East India Company and the President of the Board of Control,
respecting the BILL for the future Government of *India*.”

East India House, }
11 July 1853. }

JAMES C. MELVILL.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 12 July 1853.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE.

— I. —

LETTER from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India
Company to the President of the Board of Control.

I.
Letter from Chair-
man and Deputy
Chairman to
President of the
Board of Control,
1 July 1853.

Sir, .

East India House, 1 July 1853.

1. IN accordance with the intimation conveyed to you in our letter dated the 2d ultimo, and in furtherance of the resolution of the General Court of Proprietors, of which we, on the 22d ultimo, transmitted to you a copy, we are requested by the Court of Directors to submit the following observations regarding some parts of the plan for the future government of India, which appear to them to be liable to serious objection.

2. To treat, in the first instance, of the Home Government. You are already aware of the decided opinion of the Court of Directors that the changes affecting the constitution of their body are neither necessary nor expedient. We will now briefly explain the main grounds of this opinion, premising that the principle of the pending measure being the continuance of the government of India in the East India Company, the details should be framed in view to increasing rather than diminishing the efficiency and independence of its executive.

3. Her Majesty's Ministers have admitted the constant attention paid by the Court of Directors to the interests and progressive improvement of India, and have expressed their desire to preserve the independence of that body. Throughout the lengthened inquiry which has taken place, no evidence has been adduced to show a necessity for the change now proposed to be made in the constitution of the Court. On the contrary, the Committees of Parliament, in closing their inquiries under the head of “Government,” did not hesitate to call attention in the Report of the Lords' Committee, to “the general tendency of the evidence as favourable to the present system;” and in that of the Commons “to the favourable tenor of the evidence with respect to the operation of the Act of the 3 & 4 Wm. 4, cap. 85, so far as it regards the administration of the government of India by the East India Company, as trustees under the control of the Crown.”

4. The Court submit that the changes now in contemplation are inconsistent with the opinions expressed, as well by the Committees of Parliament as by yourself on behalf of Her Majesty's Ministers. These changes are, first, the introduction into the Court of a certain number of Directors nominated by the Crown; and secondly, the reduction of the total number of Directors, including the nominees, to 18.

5. The proposed principle of nomination does not seem to us to admit of partial application, without danger of either dividing the Court into two sections, with conflicting views and feelings, or producing the still greater evil of habitual subservience in the Court to the will of the Minister, exercised through his nominees. In this point of view we earnestly deprecate the distinction sought to be made between selection and election in the choice of Directors.

6. But if it could be admitted to be desirable to entertain a proposal for such a class distinction, the Court submit that the choice of the selected members should not be vested in the Crown. You have well expressed the anxiety of Her Majesty's Government to "preserve unimpaired the freedom of the Court from all undue political influence, on which" you justly "believe that its efficiency for executing the high trust reposed in it so essentially depends;" and yet the plan of Government contemplates the selection of Directors by the Crown, with no other specific qualification than that of having passed some years, at however remote a period, in the public service in India. There must always exist a sympathy between the nominee and the authority by which he is nominated, and as it frequently happens that persons, after return to England from Indian service, form political connexions and obtain Parliamentary position and influence, the Court entertain the strongest apprehension that the principle of nomination by the Crown must tend to a very intimate relation between the nominees and the Ministry, which cannot fail seriously to impair the independence of the body to which they will belong, and to introduce for the first time the influence of political party into the local administration in India. This apprehension is strengthened by the consideration that it is proposed to allow the nominees to sit in Parliament, and also to subject the tenure of their seats in the Direction to the will of the Crown periodically exercised.

7. It would, in the opinion of the Court, be far safer, and be more consistent with the independence and efficiency of the body, if the duty of selecting the nominees were entrusted to the Court of Directors, subject to the approbation of the Board of Commissioners; but this suggestion is offered merely as an alternative to nomination by Her Majesty's Government. The Court of Directors are of opinion that the system of nomination is in itself objectionable, and that the system of election is that which should be exclusively maintained. Any difficulties arising from the canvass of the constituency might, we believe, be materially mitigated, and a plan devised for limiting the candidates to such as might be previously approved by the Court and the Board. Thus, the great object of securing the services only of persons who are admitted to be well qualified, might be accomplished, without interfering either with the constitution of the Court or the principle of election.

8. With respect to the plan for reducing the number of Directors, we must first observe, that, as affecting the independence of the Court, the reduction proposed is not from 24 to 18, but from 24 to 12, the other six being nominees of the Crown.

9. It is important to remind you, that in 1833 a proposal was made to reduce the number of Directors, upon the plea of the diminution of business caused by the discontinuance of the Company's trade. This proposal was relinquished in deference to the opinion which was then entertained, that a reduction of number was calculated to interfere with the independence of the Court, and also upon the ground that it was necessary to retain a sufficient number of Directors to constitute the committees, through whose agency the details of the business were conducted.

10. We would suggest for your consideration, that the reasons which led to the abandonment of the proposal in 1833, are in greater force now. The duties devolving upon the Court have increased in extent and importance, and are much larger than they ever were, even in the days of the Company's trade.

The

The division of the Court into committees continues, and it is only through such an arrangement that the supervision and control by the Home authorities of the acts and proceedings of the Indian Government can be efficiently exercised.

11. Taking into consideration the magnitude of the British empire in India, the varied circumstances of its vast population, the extent and number of the Native States embraced within the area of the government of the paramount power, or bordering on its frontier; the extent, and in many respects, the different character of the native armies of the three Presidencies; having reference moreover to the variety of revenue systems which obtain in India, and to the large operations of finance as connected with the Government at home and abroad, which require to be undertaken from time to time; and adverting to the fact that the duties of the Court are continuously performed, from day to day, throughout the whole year, without any vacation, it must, we believe, be apparent that to secure the presence in the Court of Directors of the requisite personal knowledge and experience on all affairs relating to this, the largest and most important of the British possessions, the present number of Directors is necessary.

12. We earnestly trust that this part of the plan will be reconsidered by Her Majesty's Ministers, and that the number may be continued at 24.

13. The Court of Directors will not descend to any ground of argument having reference to personal considerations. They content themselves with expressing their persuasion that Her Majesty's Ministers would be glad, if the plan could be so modified as to obviate or mitigate the painful necessity which the present Bill would impose upon the members of the Court, of themselves being made the instrument for severing the connexion which has hitherto bound them together.

14. Referring to that part of the plan which relates to appointments to the civil service of India, we think it right to point out to you, that by making an appointment dependent exclusively on a candidate's own efforts instead of on nomination if found qualified, the proposed change may have an injurious effect on the feelings and subordination of the Company's servants. Without attempting to controvert the obvious advantage of competition as a general principle, we must be permitted to doubt whether the proposed system will work satisfactorily. Our apprehension is, that practically the plan will fail. In support of this apprehension, we would point to the difficulty of so constituting a Board of Examiners, and of framing such rules of examination as shall insure success to the really best qualified, and not to the most favoured, or to those who have merely "crammed" for the examination; and we would also remark, that book knowledge only will be tested by such an examination, while this is far from being the only qualification required for entrance into the civil service.

15. But, admitting that the principle of competition were adopted, the Court would suggest the expediency of introducing the change gradually, as it is only experience which can show whether it will tend to the great object of improving the qualifications of our servants, or whether, without accomplishing that object, it may not result in practically giving the nomination to the examiners.

16. The Court observe, that it is intended to vest in the Board the sole power, not only of appointing examiners, but also of framing the regulations under which they are to act. So long as the nominations remain with the Court, there is an obvious propriety in committing exclusively to the Board the power of regulating the examinations; but if the nominations are to be placed beyond the influence of the Court, we submit that the regulations should be framed by them, subject to the Board's control.

17. The arrangements as respects the military seminary will, we trust, be revised. We cannot understand upon what ground it can be wished to disturb a system which, in the opinion of all competent authorities, so fully accomplishes every object that can be desired for the public service, a result, moreover, attributable to competition within the institution.

CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THE BILL

18. With respect to the changes proposed in the Indian department of the Government, there are some points to which the Court feel it necessary to call your attention.

19. Sections 15 to 18 of the Bill relate to the eventual creation of a new Presidency in India, and provide for the government of Agra, of Bengal, and of the territory that it may be proposed to form into such new Presidency, being conducted by a Lieutenant-governor until the new Presidency shall be formed; but the Court think that it is now established, that the preferable form of government for the portion of any substantive presidency which may not have its separate army and separate civil service, is that of Lieutenant-governor, whose authority shall be defined by the Governor-general in Council, and be subject to modification as circumstances may suggest. We would especially bring to notice that the sections, as at present drafted, make no provision for the retention, in the hands of the Governor-general in Council, of the management of the army of Bengal, and of the local administration of the presidency town, with its institutions. The Court suggest that the Bill should contain a clause permitting the Governor-general in Council to make such arrangements.

20. The enlargement of the Legislative Council in India is greater and more expensive than the Court would deem necessary. They admit the expediency of some enlargement, but the addition of seven paid members seems to be excessive. One from each of the establishments of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, with one selected by the Governor-general, would, in the Court's opinion, be ample; and the persons so selected, with the ex-officio members proposed by the Bill, would constitute a Council sufficient to legislate for India. The Court also think, that the Council so constituted, if it be permanent, would be the best tribunal to judge of the measures proposed by the Law Commission since 1834, and that they would have ample time for the purpose; and thus the expense of a separate Commission in England might be avoided. But the Court would suggest, that if the enlarged Legislative Council thus created were to hold periodical sessions, the temporary detachment of members from the other Presidencies would be productive of less inconvenience from the withdrawing of their services from administrative duties, while it would very materially reduce the expense.

21. The Court observe, that the new arrangement is to be continued, "during the pleasure of Parliament," though, under the Act of 1834, the pecuniary interests of the Company as a corporation will continue to be identified with the financial prosperity of India until 1874.

22. The Court will be glad to be favoured, at as early a period as possible, with the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government upon the points embraced in this letter, in order that they may consider the expediency of presenting a petition to the House of Commons, and of further consulting the General Court, whose concurrence, as you are aware, is necessary in any arrangement for the future government of India through the East India Company and their executive.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Russell Ellice.*
J. Oliphant.

The Right Hon.
Sir Charles Wood, Bart, M. P.
&c. &c. &c.

— II. —

LETTER from the President of the Board of Control to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company.

Gentlemen,

India Board, 5 July 1853.

I HAVE had the honour of receiving your letter of the 1st instant, transmitting to me the observations of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on the proposed plan of Her Majesty's Government for the future administration of India; and, in compliance with your request, I lose no time in replying to your communication.

II.
Letter from the President of the Board of Control to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, 5 July 1853.

It was perhaps to be expected, that the General Court of Proprietors and the Court of Directors, should deprecate any change in their constitution and powers and privileges; but I regret to find such strong objections stated on their part to almost every part of our proposals. It, of course, depends upon the wisdom of Parliament what shape the Bill shall ultimately assume; but it is obvious that the Government would not have properly performed its duty if it had proposed the Bill in any other shape than that which it believed to be best calculated to ensure the good government of India.

They had hoped for a greater concurrence of opinion from the Court of Directors; but your letter renders it incumbent upon me to convey to you not only the reasons for the particular changes to which you have stated objections, but also the general views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the future administration of Indian affairs.

I may, in the first place, be permitted to remind you of the totally altered position in which the East India Company now stands from that which it has occupied on every former occasion of legislating for the Government of India. Then, they were a company engaged in large commercial concerns, and possessing a large commercial capital in India and elsewhere. Now, their commercial character has ceased, their commercial concerns are substantially closed, the dividends of their stock are indeed secured on the Indian territorial revenue; but beyond this, they have no necessary connexion whatever with India. It may be advisable, that as the instruments of the past government of India, they should again be made available for its future administration, but they have no claim to be continued, except in so far and in such shape as may be conducive to the good government of our Indian territories.

On the other hand, it is obvious, that the attention of Parliament is likely to be more and more called from year to year to Indian affairs. The circumstances of the more rapid and increased communication with India, and the greater number of Europeans visiting that country, are alone quite sufficient to produce this result: and it must be expected that the administration of India will occupy a larger portion of the time and consideration of Parliament.

To Parliament, however, it is not the Court of Directors, but Her Majesty's Ministers, who are responsible for all that is done in regard to India, and with this practical increase of responsibility, a corresponding increase of power becomes necessary, especially in the selection of the persons by whom that administration is to be carried on, of which the ultimate responsibility rests on themselves.

It has indeed, as you must be aware, been strongly urged by many persons, that the present anomalous form of Home Government should be entirely abolished, and that for it should be substituted a simpler form, more in accordance with that which exists as to all the other dependencies of the Crown, and that with the avowed responsibility, the action of the responsible Minister of the Crown should be made more direct and immediate.

It is only right to look forward to the possibility of such a course being adopted at some future time, and it would have been unwise in Her Majesty's Ministers not to have borne in mind this contingency in the measures which they have now proposed to Parliament.

In their opinion, whatever may be the case hereafter, the time is not come for any such extensive change, and they have deemed it advisable to maintain the Court of Directors as an independent body, and an integral part of the Government of India.

CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THE BILL

Her Majesty's Government have freely admitted the progress which has been made in India during the last 20 years. They concur in the opinion which has been expressed by the Committees of the Houses of Parliament as to the favourable tenor of the evidence with respect to Indian administration in recent years; and without entering into any question as to the share which the Home or the Indian portion of the Government may have had in what has been done, I have felt it to be my duty to defend the Government of India against the exaggerated charges which have been brought against it.

It is entirely in accordance with these views that Her Majesty's Ministers have thought it advisable to preserve the present form of Government.

It does not, however, appear to them, that any view entertained by the Committees of the two Houses favourable to the general character of the Indian Government, or any opinion which has been expressed by myself or any one of my colleagues, implied that it was incapable of improvement. And whilst we preserve the essential elements of the present form of Government, we should not have done our duty if we had neglected this opportunity of introducing such changes into the constitution of the Court, as well as into other parts of the Indian Government, as, we believe, will render it more competent to conduct with advantage the administration of Indian affairs.

I will now proceed to state to you, as concisely as I can, the reasons for the main changes to which the Court of Directors has objected.

The two first points are, the reduction in the number of Directors, and the introduction of persons nominated by the Crown.

In regard to the first point, I would remind you, that both in 1813 and in 1833, it was the opinion of the ablest statesmen that the number might be advantageously reduced to 12. In the dissent of Mr. Tucker, one of the ablest of the then Directors, he stated his opinion that 16 Directors might well conduct the territorial business. It is true, that in 1833 the number of the Court was left at 24, but at that time the commercial concerns of the Company had to be wound up, which operation has now been entirely accomplished.

Considering the Court of Directors in the only light in which it can now be viewed, that of an Executive Council of Government, Her Majesty's Government have been surprised at learning that any person should recommend so large a body as 24: whilst, judging from all experience in other similar cases, a much smaller body would be more likely to perform, satisfactorily, the duties intrusted to it. In retaining so large a number as 18, Her Majesty's Government were actuated more by a regard to the number at present existing than to that really required for the performance of the duty.

They were not unmindful either of the consideration to which you refer—of the independence of the Court— but they entertain too high an opinion of the gentlemen whom they trust to see in the Direction, to believe that, even in much smaller numbers, they would forfeit that character of honourable independence which has always distinguished the Court of Directors.

In regard to the second point, Her Majesty's Government consider it to be conceded on all hands, that some measure should be adopted for introducing more readily into the Court that class of Indian servants who have, according to the almost uniform tenor of the evidence, been very generally excluded by the necessity of a long, and, in some cases, an expensive canvass.

It is very doubtful whether any change can be introduced which will effectually remedy the evils of the canvass; and the introduction of one-third of the members of the Court by nomination of the Crown from Indian servants of a certain standing, was adopted after much consideration, as the mode most likely to ensure the best selection of the individuals, as well as their independence in the Court.

If they were to be selected by the Court itself, beyond the obvious objection to all self-elected bodies, the persons so chosen could hardly avoid feeling themselves dependent upon the majority of their colleagues to whom they owed their seats. It is clear, that any person, however high his qualification for the office might be, who happened to be disagreeable to a bare majority of the Court, could never obtain a seat in the Direction; and if party spirit happened, as in some former times, to run high in the Court, the majority of the day would be able to perpetuate their own power, and overwhelm their opponents by introducing only their own partisans.

It

FOR THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

It seemed to Her Majesty's Government, therefore, that this mode of selection would necessarily affect the independence of the individuals selected, and might produce an effect upon the Court itself most prejudicial to its usefulness and power.

Nor do they see that the nomination by the Crown is open to the objections stated in your letter. It must be exercised by persons responsible to Parliament and to public opinion for the exercise of their discretion. It is limited to persons having served 10 years in India, who have been very much removed from the influence of the party politics of this country. With the increased responsibility of Ministers for Indian affairs, it is our conviction that they would have no interest so strong as that of selecting the ablest men amongst the persons experienced in Indian affairs.

If the whole body were nominated at once by the Crown, as was proposed by Mr. Wynn in 1833, or even a third of the Court, as now proposed, and permanently, it might create an undue influence in the hands of that political party in the state which made the nomination; but with the opportunity of changing one-third of the number of nominated members every two years, if their conduct should be open to the charge of being actuated by party spirit, it is certain, considering the frequent change of Ministers in this country, that any political party capable of taking the Government would be able to prevent an undue preponderance of power in the hands of its opponents.

The condition of the nominated members has been assimilated in all respects to that of those who are to be elected, and Her Majesty's Government feel the most perfect confidence that their high feeling of duty, their habitual regard for the welfare of India, and the habits of duly intercourse with their elected colleagues, will effectually prevent the nominated members of the Court from either being dependent on the Government, or forming a separate party in the Court.

Her Majesty's Government are not unaware of the personal sacrifices which some of the Directors may be called upon to make, especially in performing the painful duty of selecting those who, according to the proposed scheme, are to form the future Court. That mode was adopted as the one most likely to ensure the best selection of the future Directors. Her Majesty's Government still believe it to be a better mode than other alternatives which have been suggested, the most obvious one being, that the General Court of Proprietors should elect the 15 or 12 Directors who are to remain.

I will only say with regard to your observations on the proposed system of entry by competition at Haileybury and Addiscombe, that Her Majesty's Government is perfectly aware that other qualifications are required beyond mere book learning for both the civil and the military services in India; but they are not aware that there will be any greater difficulty in ensuring the presence of those qualifications under the proposed, than under the present system. Nor do they understand how the nomination can be said to be vested in the examiners in any other sense than that the selection of the best-qualified candidates is necessarily to be made by them, as is that of the candidates for the highest honours at our universities.

In respect to your observations as to the power to erect Presidencies in India, I will only observe that we have not acted as in 1833, in positively creating a new Presidency, but have merely taken the power to do so.

We are well satisfied with the administration of affairs by the Lieutenant-governor of the North Western Provinces; but in so vast an empire as India, it is impossible to foresee what changes may occur, and with an indefinite period for the continuance of the Act, Her Majesty's Ministers thought it wise to provide the power of making any arrangement which future experience and further knowledge might render advisable.

The Commission for the purpose of revising the drafts of laws and incomplete projects of the Law Commission, is proposed only as a temporary measure for this sole purpose. We have the advantage of the presence in this country of many of the gentlemen who took the most active part in that Commission, and it is not intended that it should cause any material expense, nor is it possible that this indispensable work could be either so well or so cheaply accomplished in any other manner. There are, besides the arrangement of the incomplete projects of the late Law Commission, many reforms in the Indian Regulations, which will require no inconsiderable degree of attention; and beyond what may

be attained by the temporary labours of this Commission, Her Majesty's Government believe that there will be still very much labour required, and much to do in revising and consolidating the laws and regulations in India.

It is with a view to this object, as well as to the current business of legislation, that instead of proposing a separate Law Commission in India, they have proposed an enlargement of the Legislative Council, and they rely upon the exertions of the legislative councillor, and the unofficial members of the Council, to perform this most important and necessary duty. They are impressed with the belief that the presence of members from different parts of India, acquainted with the various habits and native laws and customs of the widely-differing regions of that country, is quite essential for this purpose; and they believe also, that in this duty they will find full and adequate employment.

I observe that you have stated the extra number of paid members at seven. There is no reason why so many should be appointed, unless there is an actual necessity for it. The Bill provides for the appointment of one member from each Presidency and Lieutenant-governorship. At present, therefore, there would be one for Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the North Western Provinces, but there would be no absolute necessity in Bengal for appointing a person without other employment, where a civil servant resident at Calcutta, already in the enjoyment of a salary, might be named. In this case, there would be only three paid councillors, and if the fifth province is created, the number of legislative councillors receiving salaries, merely as such, would only be raised to four.

A power is taken to appoint two others if the Governor-general should find the numbers inadequate for the work; but this can only be done with the sanction of the Home Government. Her Majesty's Government, however, consider the due performance of the duties of the Legislative Council, and its being filled by competent persons, to be of such paramount importance, that no consideration of saving a few thousand pounds ought to interfere with obtaining the services of a sufficient number of competent persons.

Her Majesty's Government trust that this explanation of the views by which they have been actuated in framing the proposals for the future government of India, will tend to remove the objections stated by the Court of Directors. They have been, and still continue, most sincerely anxious that the government of India should be carried on with the willing co-operation of the Court, and of all the persons taking a part, be it greater or less, in the administration of Indian affairs, and they rely on the sense of public duty, by which they are confident that every Director will be actuated, to prevent any inconvenience arising from any partial or temporary difference of opinion.

But Her Majesty's Government would have been alike forgetful of their duty and of the mighty interests in this country and in India, for the present and future welfare of which they are responsible, if they allowed themselves to be deterred by any considerations from the course which they believe to be the best calculated to ensure the good government of our Indian empire.

Russell Ellice, Esq.
Major Oliphant.

I have &c.
(signed) *Charles Wood.*



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL.

BENGAL
HURKARU
PRESS

COPIES of further CORRESPONDENCE between
the Court of Directors of the East India
Company and the President of the Board of
Control, respecting the BILL for the future
Government of *India*.

(*Mr. Hume.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
12 July 1853.

EAST INDIA AND CHINA ASSOCIATION OF LIVERPOOL.

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 6 March 1857 ;—for,

“ COPIES of any MEMORIALS received by Viscount *Palmerston*, in 1847 and 1848, from the East India and China Association of Liverpool, together with the ANSWERS returned thereto.”

— No. 1. —

The Chairman of the Liverpool East India and China Association to Viscount *Palmerston*.—(Received October 12.)

My Lord,

Liverpool, 10 October 1846.

As Chairman of the East India and China Association of Liverpool, I am requested to call your Lordship's most serious attention to the intelligence brought by the last China mail, whereby it appears that the lives and property of the British merchants resident in Canton, were, for several hours, on the evening of the 8th July last, placed in extreme jeopardy, from the violence of a mob assembled within the boundaries of the foreign factories.

This Association does not doubt that the subject has received your Lordship's usual prompt consideration ; but, deeply interested as its members are in the China trade, they cannot refrain from expressing their alarm at the unprotected state of our commerce at Canton. As all the accounts admit the ill-feeling of the populace there against Her Majesty's subjects, and the utter want of power or inclination of the Chinese authorities to suppress these outbreaks of violence on the part of their own subjects, it is evident that the British merchants must look to their own Government solely for protection ; and this Association would strongly urge on your Lordship's consideration the absolute necessity of a British naval force being, in future, always stationed close to the Canton factories, which would prove the most effectual means of preventing further disturbances.

I have, &c.

(signed) *William Nicol*.

— No. 2. —

Mr. *Addington* to the Chairman of the Liverpool East India and China Association.

Sir,

Foreign Office, 13 October 1846.

I AM directed by Viscount *Palmerston* to acknowledge the receipt of the letter dated the 10th instant, signed by you on behalf of the Liverpool East India and China Association, referring to the late disturbances at Canton, and requesting that further protection may be afforded to Her Majesty's subjects residing at Canton, by the presence of a British naval force stationed near the factories at that place ; and I am to state to you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government have already taken such measures in this respect as will insure, so far as it is in their power, a full protection to the lives and properties of British subjects.

I am, &c.

(signed) *H. U. Addington*.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EAST INDIA AND

— No. 3. —

The Chairman of the Liverpool East India and China Association to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 13.)

My Lord,

Liverpool, 10 July 1847.

On the 10th of October last I had the honour of addressing your Lordship on behalf of this Association, on the subject of disturbances which had taken place at Canton a short time previously, urging upon your Lordship's consideration the absolute necessity of a British naval force being in future always stationed off the Canton factories for the protection of Her Majesty's subjects; and in reply I was honoured with a communication, dated on the 13th of that month, stating that Her Majesty's Government had already taken such measures in that respect as would insure, so far as in their power, a full protection to the lives and properties of British subjects.

Had these precautionary measures been adopted, this Association is of opinion that the recent hostile proceedings on the part of Sir John Davis at Canton might have been avoided, and in any event the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects would have been protected from the imminent risk to which both were exposed from an exasperated mob, for an interval of six hours which elapsed from the attack in the Bogue Forts being known at Canton until the arrival of Her Majesty's troops.

The occasional appearance only of an armed steamer at Canton, in the opinion of this body, is so far from creating the favourable impression which would result from the permanent presence of a vessel of war, that it tends rather to keep alive the exasperation of the populace, and seems calculated to invite acts of hostility in her absence. A protective force should never, therefore, in the opinion of this body, be withdrawn from Canton, especially since it has become evident that it is not any aggression on the part of the Chinese Government which we have to fear, but the sudden outbreaks of the lawless bands with which Canton abounds.

The late proceedings must have appeared to them an unprovoked attack in time of peace, and our immediate retirement a precipitate retreat, which, coupled with the further exposure of the weakness of their own Government, has rendered this irritation so strong that we fear it is but too probable an early mail may bring news of another serious outbreak.

Our earnest desire is to see the Pottinger treaty fully carried out, but the late movement will, we apprehend, have retarded rather than facilitated this object. All the important concessions made in consequence of the recent hostile demonstrations, were really embodied in the Treaty alluded to; but their practical enforcement is rendered more difficult from the increased rancour of the populace, and the weakening of the moral power of the mandarins over their own people, by which alone they rule.

As British subjects we would also wish to protest against the unjustifiable principle of an hostile aggression being made on a part of an empire far removed from the seat of government, in violation of solemn Treaties, without even the customary forms which the laws of nations recognise, and the feelings of humanity demand.

We cannot refrain on this occasion from expressing our regret that there has not been a more firm, consistent, and dignified policy pursued by Sir John Davis towards the Chinese during the last three years, and which has now resulted in an act of aggression as rash and injudicious as the former policy had been throughout weak and vacillating.

We further avail ourselves of this opportunity to draw your Lordship's particular attention to the proceedings of the Hong Kong Government during the same period, by which the once rapidly-increasing and promising trade at Hong Kong, instead of being fostered has been entirely driven away, and the buildings and improvements at Victoria, on which immense sums of money have been expended, have become valueless.

I am instructed, in conclusion, to urge upon your Lordship respectfully, but firmly (if in consideration only of the large amount of revenue yielded to the Crown by this important trade), that British subjects shall be no longer left to their own resources for the protection of their lives and property, but that a
powerful

powerful war-steamer should in future always be stationed in the close vicinity of the British factories at Canton, and such measures be otherwise adopted as shall ensure a more respectful feeling in the minds of the Chinese towards the British nation.

I have, &c.
(signed) *William Nicol.*

— No. 4. —

Mr. *Addington* to the Chairman of the Liverpool East India and China Association.

Sir,

Foreign Office, 14 July 1847.

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, containing a representation on behalf of the East India and China Association of Liverpool, of which you are the chairman, respecting the late events at Canton.

Lord Palmerston directs me to state to you, in reply, that he is sorry to say that he is obliged to differ from almost all the opinions which you express in your letter on behalf of the Association.

With regard, indeed, to the course which Sir John Davis has pursued for the three years preceding the late transactions, Lord Palmerston considers that he is not called upon to express an opinion one way or the other. That course, whatever it may have been, was prescribed to him by his instructions from the Home Government, and Lord Palmerston must take for granted that he may infer, from Sir John Davis having continued in office, that he executed his instructions to the satisfaction of those who were at the time the responsible advisers of the Crown; and if the East India and China Association disapproved of that course, it would have been more practically useful for them to have stated their objections to it at the time, and to the proper quarter, than to have now conveyed to Lord Palmerston their retrospective censure of the conduct of a preceding Administration.

With regard, however, to the conduct of Sir John Davis during the last few months in pursuance of instructions from Lord Palmerston, or, in accordance with what Sir John Davis conceived to be the spirit of those instructions, as applicable to the events of the moment, his Lordship has only to say, that the measures very properly, very promptly, and very successfully taken by Sir John Davis, were not "unjustifiable in principle;" were not "a violation of solemn Treaties;" were not adopted "without the customary forms which the laws of nations recognise, and the feelings of humanity demand; and that they were neither "rash" nor "injudicious." On the contrary, there is no principle of international law more established, and more justifiable, than that which authorises the resort to force in order to extort redress which negotiation has failed to obtain.

The measures carried into execution by Sir John Davis were not "a violation of solemn Treaties," but were employed to obtain the execution of solemn Treaties; and this the China Association, with a singular forgetfulness of their own assertions, and with a remarkable inconsistency of argument, virtually acknowledge, by the complaint which they make that "all the important concessions made in consequence of the recent hostile demonstrations were really embodied in the Treaty alluded to." If the demands which were made, and the concessions extorted, consisted of things which the Treaty stipulated, the British Government were justified in demanding them, and it was those who had refused or evaded those demands, and not those who made them, who were guilty of "a violation of solemn Treaties."

The Association complain that these measures, which they miscall "a hostile aggression," were directed against "a part of an empire far removed from the seat of Government;" but Lord Palmerston is at a loss to understand the particular force of this objection. The geographical position of Canton with respect to Peking is a matter which neither Sir John Davis nor the British Government have any power to alter. The aggressions were on the part of the

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EAST INDIA AND

Chinese, and not on the part of Sir John Davis. Redress had been demanded by him, and his demands had been the subject of protracted but unsuccessful negotiation. The wrongs were local, and the very distance between the place where they had happened and the seat of the Imperial Government left Sir John Davis no alternative but either submission or the employment of force on the spot itself. He had no means of making any application to Peking except through the Governor of Canton, and that Governor had declined to afford redress. Even the China Association would not, Lord Palmerston concludes, have recommended that the thousand men who sailed from Hong Kong should have been sent to Peking; and there was nothing left, therefore, for Sir John Davis to do but to take the steps which he did take, or to sit down quietly under a denial of justice; and, whatever may be the opinion of the China Association on this matter, Lord Palmerston thinks that Sir John Davis chose the proper alternative.

The Association, however, say that the course was "rash and injudicious." If it was rash, its rashness was shared by the military and naval officers who were consulted beforehand by Sir John Davis; but their high professional character exempts them from the imputation, thus lightly cast upon them by the Association, of having exposed the lives of the officers and men under their command in a "rash and injudicious" enterprise; and, with all due deference to the Association, Lord Palmerston may be allowed to think that the opinion of those military and naval officers, formed on the spot upon a military and naval undertaking, is entitled to more weight than the judgment which the Commercial Association, sitting in Liverpool, have passed upon that undertaking. Moreover, the opinion of those officers was justified by the full and complete success which crowned the operation. And Lord Palmerston directs me here to observe, that when the Association object to these measures as repugnant to the feelings of humanity, they seem to forget that there never was a military and naval operation in which not only the common feelings of humanity, but the still higher qualities of generous forbearance and noble disinterestedness and self-denial, were more splendidly displayed by every man engaged, from the highest to the lowest; and if the Chinese are not in their moral constitution essentially different from the rest of the human race, the admirable good conduct of the British soldiers and sailors on this occasion must produce as forcible an impression on their minds as the proofs which have been afforded of the irresistible superiority of Englishmen in naval and military matters have no doubt created on their prudential fears.

The Association seem to be dissatisfied that the concessions obtained by this expedition did not go beyond the full and faithful execution of the Pottinger Treaty; but they forget that Sir John Davis could have had no warrant, without fresh and specific instructions from his Government, to insist upon more; and that the Governor of Canton could not, of his own authority, have granted anything which would have been contrary to, or a departure from, the Treaty which had been ratified by the Emperor.

The Association are of opinion that "a powerful war-steamer" should be always stationed in the close vicinity of the British factories; but though they seem not to be aware of the circumstance, yet the fact is that there is not depth of water opposite to, nor in the close vicinity of, the factories for a "powerful" war-steamer. A small steamer, of such size as the depth of water will allow, will, from time to time, and whenever necessary, be stationed there; but, though Lord Palmerston is of opinion that the presence of such a ship of war in that position would tend to prevent any attack upon the factories, his Lordship cannot persuade himself that a steamer so placed would have prevented the maltreatment of two sailors by the mob in the interior of the town of Canton, or the outrage committed on Colonel Chesney and his companions at Fuh-shan, 18 miles higher up the river.

I am, &c.

(signed) H. U. Addington.

— No. 5. —

The Vice-Chairman of the Liverpool East India and China Association to
Viscount *Palmerston*.—(Received August 23.)

My Lord,

East India and China Association,
Liverpool, 20 August 1847.

I HAVE had the honour of laying your Lordship's reply to my letter of the 10th of July, in reference to the recent proceedings at Canton, before a meeting of this Association; and I am desirous to submit to your Lordship some further remarks explanatory of some portions of that letter, which your Lordship appears to have misunderstood.

In doing so, I beg to express my regret if any part of it should have incurred your Lordship's animadversion. Our remarks were dictated by no wish on our part to reflect upon your Lordship's, or any former, Administration; but simply by a sincere desire to benefit the important trade in which we, and our fellow-merchants at Canton, are so deeply interested; and I may also add, that the correspondence between your Lordship and the authorities at Hong Kong and Canton, published since our letter to your Lordship was written, has, in some degree, modified some of the views we then expressed.

In asking from your Lordship that a powerful war-steamer might be permanently stationed off the factories at Canton, we could not, of course, be supposed to require impossibilities. We simply wished that the most powerful steamer which the depth of water would admit of, should always be stationed there, to serve as a refuge to British subjects from any sudden outbreak of the populace. And when we recollect the fleet of corvettes and steamers which took their station off the town, prior to the attack of Captain Elliot in 1841, we must confess we are at a loss to understand why there should be any possible obstacle to a steamer, sufficiently large for the service, being stationed there now.

We must also again repeat to your Lordship, as expressed in our former letter, our conviction that the merely "occasional visits" of a steamer are calculated to irritate, rather than to overawe, the unruly rabble of Canton, and even to invite an attack upon our countrymen during her absence; and we are fully satisfied that, to have the desired effect, a steamer should at all times be stationed off the factories.

To this point, therefore, I am again desirous most earnestly to invite your Lordship's serious consideration, as forming the only basis upon which, in the existing state of our intercourse with Canton, the confidence of the British community there can be restored and maintained.

And, further, the Association believe that, had Sir John Davis, from the time of his arrival in China, firmly and decidedly insisted upon the Pottinger Treaty being fully carried out; and, in particular, that had the vessel of war therein stipulated for, been constantly moored off the factories; the populace of Canton would never so far have outrun the control of their own Government as to endanger, as recently they have done, our entire trade with that place. We admit that some acts of aggression might have been perpetrated, but the fear of immediate chastisement would have prevented any open or general outbreak of ill-will.

With regard to the late warlike proceedings at Canton, we quite agree with your Lordship as to the manner in which they were executed, and feel great pleasure in bearing testimony to the gallant conduct, generous forbearance, and noble disinterestedness of the British forces employed in these operations, as well as to the military skill and courageous energy exhibited by the commanders on that occasion.

In characterizing the expedition as "rash and injudicious," we alluded to the imminent jeopardy to which it subjected British life and property at Canton, and to the inexpediency and inutility of the attack itself as proved by its results, and not in any way to the gallant execution of it. We complained, and we think

justly, that the lives and property of our fellow-countrymen at Canton should have been left for hours totally unprotected from the attacks of the infuriated rabble of that city. We complained of a want of judgment in the political conduct of the expedition, inasmuch as, by exposing to the mob of Canton the weakness of their own Government, it still further diminished the power of the mandarins to afford protection to our countrymen, without providing for the presence of any British force to supply its place; and we complain of its inutility, as having thus failed in its ostensible object of giving greater security to life and property at Canton, or in removing any of the practical difficulties to the execution of the Treaty of Nankin. So far, indeed, from accomplishing either of these most desirable objects, it seems rather to have retarded their accomplishment. The Pottinger Treaty stipulated, for instance, that British subjects should at once have permission to enter the city of Canton. Sir John Davis stipulates that that permission shall be postponed for a further period of two years. Notwithstanding that, your Lordship admits that "he had no warrant" to alter the provisions of that Treaty.

It is with much regret, also, that we observe that the opinion expressed by us in our former letter to your Lordship, as to the probable consequences of the expedition, are but too likely to be realised. According to advices received by the last mail, all trade at Canton had ceased; the rich "shroffs," or bankers, having lost all confidence in the good faith and peaceable intentions of the Hong Kong Government, and fearing further aggressions similar to, and as unexpected as the last, had withdrawn their capital from the trade, and it is difficult to foresee when their former confidence will be restored.

The exasperation of the people is extreme. It appears from their placards that a conspiracy was being formed, and that active measures were being taken, to drive our merchants from the country. The troops left at Canton have already come into collision with the mob, and, though the presence of the "Pluto" steamer off the factories will probably serve as a refuge to our fellow-countrymen in case of any serious outbreak, it is impossible, without painful anxiety, to contemplate the probable results of such an occurrence.

With regard to your Lordship's remark that, "if the East India Association disapproved of the course of policy adopted during the last three years by Sir John Davis, it would have been more practically useful for them to have stated their objection to it at the time, and to the proper quarter, than to have now conveyed to your Lordship their retrospective censure; I am desired to say, that it was impossible for them to complain of the mal-administration of Sir John Davis before time had been allowed him to prove by his acts whether he were indeed fitted for the responsible situation in which he had been placed, and on no slight grounds should we have thought it right to have made so serious a charge.

In making our former remarks on this subject, we were but recording, along with our own, the loudly-expressed opinion of our fellow-merchants in China—we believe, without one exception; and the commercial bodies of London and Manchester fully coincide in the opinions which the merchants of Liverpool connected with the China trade now feel bound to repeat to your Lordship.

Cordially as we would approve of all necessary steps being adopted on the part of the Hong Kong Government to enforce the fulfilment of our Treaty with the Chinese, we still think that a firm and consistent course of policy would be more beneficial than any sudden and capricious aggression. We feel that though under particular circumstances a resort to force may be a necessary alternative, it should be the last.

We admit also that the temporary interruption or interference with commercial interests should never be allowed to stand in the way of the enforcement of the respect due to the British flag; but we would wish to see every means of firm and conciliatory policy first proved to be ineffectual, before an appeal to arms again interferes with the vast interests involved in this important trade. And we cannot, we must confess, assent to the principle, that because "wrongs were local, the very distance between the place where they had happened, and the seat of the Imperial Government" left "no alternative but either submission,

or the employment of force on the spot itself." This doctrine, we humbly submit to your Lordship, might be found extremely inconvenient in practice, if promulgated and adopted in the civilized world.

The anxiety which we feel for the result of the late events in China may be accounted for when your Lordship remembers that, besides a very large amount of property, we have relations and friends exposed to the very serious dangers the residents in Canton are now incurring whilst engaged in the peaceful fulfilment of their commercial duties, and we feel that even should the British residents escape, the valuable property they would leave behind them would offer a powerful temptation to the mob to attempt the destruction of the factories; the inevitable result of which would be a resumption of former hostilities, and the consequent interruption of trade for an indefinite period.

In conclusion, we beg leave further to submit to your Lordship, that these views are not mere idle or impertinent speculations: many of the members of this Association having resided in China and become personally acquainted not only with the Chinese character, but with the position of matters generally in that country, consider themselves to some extent qualified to express an opinion on our difficulties at Canton. And it is the dread we entertain lest similar aggressions, equally unexpected by the British community at Canton, and against which no foresight or prudence on their part could guard, should again jeopardize their lives and properties, that has actuated us in the firm, but I trust respectful, expression of the opinions which we have felt it our duty to place before your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Charles Turner.*

—No. 6.—

Mr. *Addington* to the Chairman of the Liverpool East India and China Association.

Sir,

Foreign Office, 26 August 1847.

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, containing a further representation on behalf of the East India and China Association of Liverpool, in answer to the communication which I was directed by Lord Palmerston to make to you in my letter of the 11th of July.

I am now to state to you in reply, that differing as Lord Palmerston does with the Association in the opinions and expectations which they have expressed, his Lordship is content to leave to time and to events to decide whether the anticipations of the Association as to the future results of the measures lately adopted by Sir J. Davis in the Canton River will be verified or not; but Lord Palmerston must beg to advert to one fundamental difference between their reasoning and the principle upon which Her Majesty's Government have acted. The Association seem to consider the mob of Canton to be the power with which we have to deal, whose feelings should be deferred to, and whose will must be considered as paramount. Her Majesty's Government, on the other hand, consider the Government of Canton to be the authority to be dealt with, whether negotiation or coercion be required; and Lord Palmerston cannot think that it would be wise or becoming to abstain from enforcing rights, or to refrain from exacting redress for wrongs, out of fear of displeasing the mob of Canton.

The Association are mistaken in imagining that Sir John Davis made, by his last agreement, any concession in regard to the right given to British subjects to enter the city of Canton; but to those who look upon the mob of Canton as the supreme authority of the city, and who believe that mob to be systematically hostile to foreigners, it cannot be of much importance at what time a right is to be conceded which prudential considerations would induce such persons to be very cautious of exercising.

With regard to the stationing a ship of war opposite the factories, the Association must surely see that it does not follow that the same choice of small vessels should be at the command on the China station, at the present time, as existed when a large armament was collected in that quarter for warlike operations on a great scale; and it appears to Lord Palmerston to be best to leave it to the judgment and discretion of the Admiral on the station, in communication with Sir John Davis, to make such arrangements on this head as may appear to him most proper.

Lord Palmerston abstains from adverting to other topics in your letter which suggest very obvious remarks, because there does not appear to his Lordship to be any necessity for prolonging this correspondence.

I am, &c.
(signed) *H. U. Addington.*

—No. 7.—

The Vice-Chairman of the Liverpool East India and China Association to
Viscount *Palmerston*.—(Received 23 February.)

East India and China Association,
Liverpool, 22 February 1848.

My Lord,

It is with feelings of the most painful description that we now address your Lordship, in reference to the lamentable occurrences at Canton, of which the present mail brings advices, affording, as they do, a melancholy and fatal confirmation of the apprehensions we have from time to time submitted to your Lordship's attention; apprehensions which we feel assured your Lordship must now, equally with ourselves, deeply regret had not been deemed worthy of the consideration due to the suggestions of parties speaking from practical knowledge and personal experience.

It cannot now, my Lord, be denied, that the exasperation produced by the late attack on the Bogue Forts, and a retreat which did not overawe, but confirmed the Chinese in their conviction of their own superiority, have been the cause of the inhuman torture and subsequent murder of six of Her Majesty's unoffending subjects; four of whom at least, there is strong presumptive evidence to prove, might have been saved had the "Pluto" steamer been at Canton. And we contend, and think the evidence supports us in the assertion, that the atrocious act we now deplore might have been prevented had the war steamer not have been withdrawn from that station.

In the name of our common humanity, therefore, we make our earnest appeal to your Lordship's recognised promptitude and energy to take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of such appalling disasters.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Robert C. Crosbie.*

—No. 8.—

Mr. *Addington* to the Vice-Chairman of the Liverpool East India and China Association.

Sir,

Foreign Office, 29 February 1848.

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22d instant, relative to the lamentable intelligence which was received by the last mail of the murder of six British subjects in the neighbourhood of Canton.

Viscount

Viscount Palmerston directs me to state to you, in reply, that he deeply laments the melancholy event to which you call his attention, but that he does not see how that event could have been prevented by the presence of a steam vessel off the factories at Canton.

As the communications between Sir John Davis and the Chinese Government on this matter were still going on at the date of the last advices received from China, Viscount Palmerston can say nothing to you as to the course which Her Majesty's Government may deem it advisable to adopt to prevent the recurrence of the like disaster; but his Lordship cannot refrain from expressing to you his regret that when the British residents at Canton were, as appears by a communication addressed to him by them, fully aware that considerable danger of insult and attack would be incurred by any British subjects who might enter Chinese villages, the leading members of the mercantile body did not use their natural influence with the young men attached to their establishments to induce them to desist—at least, for a time—from excursions which were known to be attended with so much personal risk. ,

I am, &c.

(signed) *H. U. Addington.*

EAST INDIA AND CHINA ASSOCIATION
OF LIVERPOOL.

CORRESPONDENCE between the FOREIGN •
OFFICE and the EAST INDIA and CHINA
ASSOCIATION of LIVERPOOL in 1846, 1847,
and 1848.

(*Lord Hotham.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
13 March 1857.

REGULATIONS

FRAMED BY

THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA,

FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR APPOINTMENT to the CIVIL SERVICE
of the EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Presented pursuant to Act 16 & 17 Victoria, Cap. 95.

CIVIL SERVICE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

1. In July 1857 an Examination will take place of Candidates for Appointments to the Civil Service of the East India Company. Notice will be hereafter given of the Days and Places of Examination.

2. Any natural-born Subject of Her Majesty who shall be desirous of entering the Civil Service of the East India Company will be entitled to be examined at such Examination, provided he shall, before the 1st of May 1857, have transmitted to the India Board, Cannon Row, Westminster,—

- (a) A Certificate of his Birth, showing that his Age on the 1st of May 1857 will be above Eighteen Years and under Twenty-three Years.
- (b) A Certificate, signed by a Physician or Surgeon, of his having no Disease, Constitutional Affection, or Bodily Infirmary, unfitting him for the Civil Service of the East India Company.
- (c) A Certificate of good Moral Character, signed by the Head of the School or College at which he has last received his Education; or, if he has not received Education at any School or College since the Year 1854, then such Proof of good Moral Character as may be satisfactory to the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.
- (d) A Statement of those of the Branches of Knowledge herein-after enumerated in which he desires to be examined.

3. The Examination will take place only in the following Branches of Knowledge:—

English Language and Literature:—

Composition	-	-	-	-	500
English Literature and History, including that of the Laws and Constitution	-	-	-	-	1,000
					1,500
Language, Literature, and History of Greece	-	-	-	-	750
" " " Rome	-	-	-	-	750
" " " France	-	-	-	-	375
" " " Germany	-	-	-	-	375
" " " Italy	-	-	-	-	375
Mathematics, pure and mixed	-	-	-	-	1,000
Natural Science; that is, Chemistry, Electricity, and Magnetism, Natural History, Geology, and Mineralogy					500
Moral Sciences; that is, Logic, and Mental, Moral, and Political Philosophy	-	-	-	-	500
Sanscrit Language and Literature	-	-	-	-	375
Arabic Language and Literature	-	-	-	-	375

6,875

4. The Merit of the Persons examined will be estimated by Marks, according to the ordinary System in use at several of the Universities ; and the Number set opposite to each Branch in the preceding Paragraph denotes the greatest Number of Marks that can be obtained in respect of it.

5. No Candidate will be allowed any Marks in respect of any Subject of Examination unless he shall obtain in respect of that Subject One Sixth of the Number of Marks set against that particular Subject.

6. The Examination will be conducted by means of printed Questions and written Answers, and by vivà voce Examination.

7. After the Examination shall have been completed, the Marks obtained by each Candidate in respect of each of the Subjects in which he shall have been examined will be added up, and the Names of the Twelve Candidates who shall have obtained a greater aggregate Number of Marks than any of the remaining Candidates will be set forth in Order of Merit ; and those Twelve Candidates will be appointed to the Civil Service of the East India Company in the Presidency of Bengal, provided they comply with the Regulations in force at the Time for the said Service.

8. The Commissioners for the Affairs of India will be ready to receive, at any Time previous to the 1st of May 1857, the Testimonials of Persons desirous of being appointed to the Office of Examiner ; but no such Appointment will be made until after the Date above mentioned.

9. All Papers relating to the above-mentioned Examination are to be sent, and all Inquiries are to be addressed, thus :--

“ E. I. C. Civil Service
“ Examination.”

“ The Secretary,
“ India Board,
“ Westminster.”

India Board, }
3d February 1857 }

HENRY DANBY SEYMOUR.

REGULATIONS

FRAMED BY

THE COMMISSIONER FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA
FOR THE EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR AP-
POINTMENT TO THE CIVIL SERVICE OF THE EAST
INDIA COMPANY

Pursuant to Act 16 & 17 Victoria, Cap. 95.

Ordered to be printed 20th February 1857.

EAST INDIA (OPIUM).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 21 July 1856;—*for*,

- I. RETURN “of the CHARGES to the *East India* Government incurred in the Growth and Monopoly of OPIUM, specifying Salaries of all Descriptions, the Cost of Manufacture, of Sales, of Transport to *Calcutta*, Warehouse Rent and other Expenditure, for Ten Years, including the last Year in which Returns are complete:”
- II. “Like RETURN, showing the Amount of ADVANCES under the following Heads,— Outstanding Balances, including Interest, at the Commencement of year; Sums received in Cash on account of Balances; Sums struck off as irrecoverable; Contract Price paid to Cultivator; Advances during the Year; and outstanding Claims at the End of the Year:”
- III. “Like RETURN of LOSSES incurred on bad or insecurely packed Opium, including Drawbacks allowed to Purchasers:”
- IV. “Like RETURN of the Value of the HOUSES, STOCK, &c., available to Government, if the Monopoly were abolished:”
- V. “Like RETURN of the CHARGES to the *East India* Company on the Opium manufactured in NATIVE STATES, and transmitted to Ports of Exportation in the Company’s Territories:”
- VI. “And, like ABSTRACT RETURN of the Gross and Net RECEIPTS received by the Company’s Treasury.”

East India House, }
19 February 1857. }

JAMES C. MELVILL

Note.—This is not a perfect Return. The Returns called for in the Second, Third, and Fourth paragraphs of the Order will be presented as soon as received from the Government of India.

(*Sir Erskine Perry.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
20 February 1857.

L I S T.

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East India House, }
19 February 1857. }

J. S. MILL,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

RETURNS relating to the Growth, &c., of OPIUM.

SEPARATE REVENUE LETTER from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated 30th July (No. 8), 1856.

WE transmit herewith copy of an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated the 21st instant, calling for certain information in regard to the administration of the Indian opium provinces; and we desire that you will cause us to be supplied with the means of making a full Return to the Order, in time for presentation to the House at the commencement of the next Session of Parliament.

We are, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Sykes,*
R. D. Mangles,
&c. &c.

London, 30 July 1856.

Home Department, Separate Revenue.

No. 44 of 1856.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Honourable Court's despatch, No. 8, of 1856, dated the 30th July, and of the enclosed order of the House of Commons, dated the 21st idem, calling for certain information in regard to the administration of the Indian opium revenues.

2. In compliance with the above requisition, we transmit herewith a copy of a letter, No. 606, dated the 27th ultimo, which we have received from the Government of Bengal, together with a copy of its enclosures, among which will be found a statement of the receipts and charges on account of the manufacture and sale of opium for the years 1845-46 to 1854-55.

3. The further information promised by the Board of Revenue will be forwarded to your Honourable Court on receipt.

4. We observe that the Bombay Government have communicated to your Honourable Court direct a copy of the statement prepared by the officiating Commissioner of Customs, Salt, and Opium, at that Presidency, affording the information required in the two last paragraphs of the Order of the House of Commons as regards opium manufactured in the Native States of India.

Revenue Letter from Bombay to Court, No. 83 of 1856, dated the 3d November.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Canning.*
J. Dorin.
J. Low.
J. P. Grant.
B. Peacock.

Fort William, 5 December 1856.

RETURNS RELATING TO THE GROWTH

No. 606.

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Mis. Revenue,
Opium.

* No. 1425, dated
24th September;
No. 1653, dated
10th November.

Sir,

Fort William, 27 November 1856.

With reference to your letters noted in the margin,* I am directed to forward herewith a copy of a letter, No. 696, dated the 19th instant, from the officiating Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, together with a statement of the receipts and charges on account of the manufacture and sale of opium, for the years 1845-46 to 1854-55.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. Grey*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

No. 696.

From the Officiating Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Opium.
W. Dampier and
H. Stainforth,
Esqrs.

* No. 516 of the
27th September.
No. 578 of the
12th November.

Sir,

Fort William, 19 November 1856.

I AM directed by the Board of Revenue to acknowledge the receipt of your letters marginally noted,* calling for a return of the charges incurred during the last ten years in the growth and monopoly of opium, to answer a requisition of the House of Commons, dated the 21st July 1856.

2. The points on which the Honourable House first desires information appear to be the following: cost of manufacture, sales, transport to Calcutta, and price of raw material. All these will be found given in the accompanying statement prepared in the Accountant's Office.

3. Other returns are called for in the 2d, 3d, and 4th paragraphs of the House's Order, but the information required for their preparation can only be obtained from the opium agents, who have been again addressed on the subject, and desired to submit their replies forthwith.

I have, &c.

(signed) *C. S. Belli*,
Officiating Junior Secretary.

(True copy)

(signed) *W. Grey*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal

MONOPOLY

I P T S.

ABSTRACT OF THE GROSS AND NET RECEIPTS.

M. Receipts.	TOTAL.		Percent.	GROSS RECEIPTS.		Deduct Cost and Charges.		NET RECEIPTS.	
	Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.
706 7 11½	-	-	12 -						
203 6 4	-	-	12 5	2,66,77,039	8 6½	67,91,161	15 11	1,98,82,577	8 7½
113 4 6	-	-	12 -						
716 - -	-	-	8 11	2,78,03,323	1 7	68,11,997	12 11	2,09,61,421	7 8
108 10 6½	-	-	12 -						
472 8 6½	-	-	5 2	2,72,56,318	6 6½	98,04,127	15 9½	1,74,51,890	6 8½
383 0 3½	-	-	12 -						
101 7 11½	-	-	7 8	3,54,70,331	2 9	1,08,13,197	6 3½	2,46,27,136	12 5½
037 8 2½	-	-	13 4						
024 8 0½	-	-	13 10	3,57,16,726	3 -½	1,00,30,231	3 11½	2,51,83,494	15 1½
966 15 5½	-	-	1 10						
011 13 9	-	-	11 3	3,41,21,968	10 10	1,02,49,392	3 9	2,33,72,576	7 1
451 10 4½	-	-	8 1						
446 9 -	-	-	8 4	3,77,37,696	13 1½	1,02,89,891	5 -	2,74,47,805	8 1½
042 5 10	-	-	9 6						
479 7 10½	-	-	15 4	3,87,20,925	11 1	1,13,31,800	2 7	2,73,89,125	8 9
0154 8 -	-	-	9 10						
5870 5 7	-	-	14 8	3,72,20,999	- 4	1,30,76,007	10 3½	2,32,11,991	6 -½
7,611 1 1½	-	-	12 -						
2,589 10 7½	-	-	13 -	3,71,11,374	10 4½	1,50,36,884	13 10½	2,18,74,489	12 6
	3,68,00,100	11 9							

(E. E)

(signed) G. G. Mackintosh,
Accountant to the Government of Bengal.

EAST INDIA (OPIUM).

RETURNS of the CHARGES, &c., to the *East*
India Government incurred in the Growth and
Monopoly of OPIUM.

(*Sir Erskine Perry.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
20 February 1857.

EAST INDIA (TENURES OF LAND).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 9 June 1857 ;—for,

A RETURN “ showing under what TENURES, and subject to what Land Tax,
• LANDS are held under the several Presidencies of *India*.”

East India House, }
18 June 1857. }

JAMES C. MELVILL.

RETURN showing under what TENURES, and subject to what Land Tax,
LANDS are held under the several Presidencies of *India*.

It is presumed that the Order of the Honourable House is intended to apply only to those tenures which are held directly under the Government, and not to those sub-tenures which may be created at the pleasure of landowners.

Land throughout India is generally private property, subject to the payment of revenue, the mode and system of assessment differing materially in various parts.

Considerable tracts however are exempted from the payment of any revenue, such as Jaghire, Lakhiraj, Maaffee, Enam, and other similar lands, mostly under grants made by the native governments which preceded us, and which have been subsequently confirmed by the British authorities. Others, such as estates held on Mocurreree or Istimreree titles, are subject to a fixed annual payment, not liable under any circumstances to be increased.

BENGAL.

In the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, the land is held by zemindars, on payment of an annual sum fixed in perpetuity, the estates being liable to be sold in default of payment, under the provisions of Act I. of 1845. The only land at the disposal of Government consists of estates which have been thus sold, and purchased on the public account. The rate of land tax cannot be given, but it is believed to amount, on the average, to about half the rental.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

The system pursued in the North-West Provinces is briefly described in the following extract from the “ Directions for Revenue Officers,” promulgated under the authority of the late Lieutenant-governor, Mr. Thomason.

First. All the inhabited part of the country is divided into portions with fixed boundaries, called mehals or estates ; on each mehal a sum is assessed for the term of 20 or 30 years, calculated so as to leave a fair surplus profit over and above the net produce of the land ; and for the punctual payment of that sum the land is held to be perpetually hypothecated to the Government.

Secondly. It is determined who are the person or persons entitled to receive this surplus profit. The right thus determined is declared to be heritable and transferable, and the persons entitled to it are considered the proprietors of the land, from whom the engagements for the annual payment of the sum assessed by the Government on the mehal are taken.

Thirdly. All the proprietors of a mehal are, severally and jointly, responsible in their persons and property for the payment of the sum assessed by the Government on the mehal. When there are more proprietors than one, it is determined according to what rule they shall share the profits, or make good the losses on the estate. If the proprietors are numerous, engagements are only taken from a few of the body, who on their own parts, and as representatives of the rest, undertake to manage the mehal, and to pay the sum assessed upon it.

The rate of assessment was in the first instance limited to two-thirds of the net produce* of each mehal or estate, but, on the revision which is about to take place on the expiration of the 30 years which formed the first term of settlement, it has been determined* to restrict the demand of the State to one-half of the average net assets.

In some districts, such as Goruckpore, the Deyrah Dhoon, and Kumaon, there are large tracts of land in which no private rights exist, and which are consequently at the absolute disposal of the Government. These are granted to applicants on favourable terms, such as those mentioned in the following notification, which was issued in September 1855:

1. Grants of land for the tea cultivation in the Kumaon and Ghurwal districts of the Kumaon province, will be made on the following conditions, on application to the Senior Assistant Commissioner of the district.

2. Each grant will be of not less than 200 or more than 2,000 acres; more than one grant may be taken by one person or company, on the applicants satisfying the local authorities, acting under the usual control in the Revenue department, of their possessing sufficient means and capital to undertake an extended cultivation and manufacture of tea.

3. One-fourth of the land in the grant will be given free from assessment in perpetuity, on fulfilment of the conditions below stated.

4. The term of first lease will be for 20 years; for the first four years the grant will be rent free; in the fifth year, one anna per acre will be charged on three-fourths of the assessable portion of the grant; two annas per acre in the sixth year; three annas in the seventh year, and so on, one more anna being added in each year, till, in the last year, the maximum rate is reached of one rupee per acre. The full assessment on a grant of 2,000 acres will thus not exceed 1,500 rupees per annum.

5. The following are the prescribed conditions of clearance:

At the close of the fifth year from the date of grant, a twentieth part of the assessable area; at the close of the fifteenth year, half of the assessable area; and at the close of the last year three-fourths of the assessable area is to be cleared and well stocked with tea plants.

6. In the 21st year, on the fulfilment of the above conditions, the proprietary right in the grant and the right of engagement with Government shall vest in the grantee, his heirs, executors or assignees, under the conditions generally applicable to the owners of estates in Kumaon; and the rate of assessment on the lands in the grant, in whatever manner cultivated, shall never exceed the average rate on grain crop lands in the same locality.

7. On failure of payment of the prescribed assessment in any year, or of any of the above conditions (the fact of which failure shall after local inquiry, conducted by the Senior Assistant Commissioner, be finally determined by the Sudder Board of Revenue), the entire grant shall be liable to resumption at the discretion of the Government, with exception to the portion of the assessable area which may be *bonâ fide* under tea cultivation, and to a further portion of land which shall be allowed in perpetuity free of assessment to the extent of one-fourth of such cultivated area. The portions so exempted will remain in the possession of the grantee, subject to the usual rates and rules of assessment in the district.

8. Grantees

* By net produce is meant the surplus which the estate may yield after deducting the expenses of cultivation, including the profits of stock and wages of labour.

8. Grantees shall be bound to erect boundary pillars at convenient points round the circuit of a grant within six months from its date, failing which, such pillars will be put up by the Government officers, and the cost thereof shall be recoverable from the grantee in the same manner as the regulated rate of assessment.

9. No claim to the right and interest in the grant on any transfer by the original grantee, will be recognised as valid unless on registry of the name of the transferee in the office of the Senior Assistant Commissioner.

10. So long as Government establishments for the experimental growth and manufacture of tea shall be maintained in the Provinces, supplies of seeds and plants will be given gratis to grantees, on application to the Superintendent Botanical Gardens, North-Western Provinces, as far as may be in his power.

MADRAS.

The tenures of land under the Madras Presidency are thus described in a report recently received from that Government.

The revenue systems in force in the Madras Presidency are the zemindary, village joint rents, ryotwar, oolungoo.

The zemindary system is also termed the Mootahdary, the former designation being usually applied to old ancestral estates, and the latter to those created under the Regulations of 1802.

Under this system estates, of greater or less extent according to circumstances, are held by the proprietors direct from the Government, on payment of a fixed annual sum or "peishcush." This payment was fixed on the creation of the estate by a calculation of its actual proceeds at the time, and for some years previously, a deduction, generally of from 33 to 15 per cent., being made therefrom to cover the expenses of management, and to constitute (with the future revenue of the whole of the culturable lands then waste), the emoluments of the zemindar or proprietor.

The prominent defects of this system consist in the entire alienation of the waste lands from the State, and the degree of dependence in which all classes are practically placed under the zemindar. The powerful influence of the latter is also injuriously experienced in matters of police.

The zemindary tenure prevails chiefly in the Northern Circars, though there are large proprietary estates in other districts, as Madura, Nellore, North Arcot, &c.

In the village-renting system the villagers stand in the zemindar's position, and jointly hold from the Government. The village is rented to the whole body, or a section of them, for a term of years, and they make their payments direct to Government, managing their affairs independently, and allotting the lands for cultivation among themselves.

Under this system the middle-man between Government and the people is dispensed with, but there still remain the serious defect of joint responsibility, and the want of clearly defined individual property in the land.

Under the ryotwar system every registered holder of land is recognised as its proprietor, and pays direct to Government. He is at liberty to sub-let his property, or to transfer it by gift, sale, or mortgage. He cannot be ejected by Government so long as he pays the fixed assessment, and has the option annually of increasing or diminishing his holding, or of entirely abandoning it. In unfavourable seasons remissions of assessment are granted for entire or partial loss of produce. The assessment is fixed in money, and does not vary from year to year, except in those cases where water is drawn from a Government source of irrigation to convert dry land into wet, or one into two-crop land, when an extra rent is paid to Government for the water so appropriated; nor is any addition made to the assessment for improvements effected at the ryot's own expense. The ryot, under this system, is virtually a proprietor on a simple and perfect title, and has all the benefits of a perpetual lease without its responsibilities, inasmuch as he can at any time throw up his lands, but cannot be ejected so long as he pays his dues; he receives assistance in difficult seasons, and is irresponsible for the payment of his neighbours.

The assessment is fixed on each field, and the mode in which this was done is as follows : a certain portion of the produce was first set aside from the gross produce as a joint contribution of the ryot and Government for the pay of village officers, and the remainder divided in certain proportions, the share allotted to Government being commuted into money at the average value of the produce for a period of years antecedent to the settlement.

Unfortunately the share of Government was generally fixed too high, and the result of this over-assessment, increased as its pressure has been by the fall in the value of produce since the settlement was made, has never allowed the system a fair trial. Various restrictive rules also led to much interference with the ryots, though they were far from being a necessary consequence of the system. These restrictions are now being removed, and the reductions recently made or in progress, and the correct survey, classification, and re-assessment of the land now in progress, will do away with these disadvantages, and it may be expected that the superiority of a system which encourages industry and enterprise by being based on individual proprietorship will be more clearly evinced.

The "Annual Settlements" under ryotwary are often misunderstood, and it is necessary to explain that they are rendered necessary by the right accorded to the ryot of diminishing or extending his cultivation from year to year. Their object is to determine how much of the assessment due on his holding the ryot shall pay, and not to re-assess the land. In those cases where no change occurs in the ryot's holding, a fresh puttah or lease is not issued, and such parties are in no way affected by the annual settlement, which they are also not required to attend.

The greater portion of the Presidency is under ryotwary, and a correct understanding of its principles, when properly carried out, is therefore particularly desirable. To revert from ryotwar to the zemindary tenure would be to place a middle-man between Government and the people, to strike off from 15 to 33 per cent. of the existing revenue, and to alienate the waste lands which now afford Government the means of lightening the heavy assessments now prevailing. To have recourse to village rents would be to annul individual property in the land, and to make the community responsible for every member's shortcomings.

The ryotwary system essentially prevails universally, for the zemindar and village renter, equally deal with their tenants on this principle, and every system, be its name what it may, must, in the end, resolve itself into ryotwar.

The oolungoo-renting system prevails only in Tanjore and Tinnevely, and is not general in either ; its peculiarity consists in the Government demand being dependant on the current price of grain. On the introduction of the system, a standard grain assessment was fixed on each village, and also a standard rate, according to which the grain demand was to be commuted into money ; but it was, at the same time, arranged, that if current prices in any year rose more than 10 per cent. above the standard commutation rate, or fell more than 5 per cent. below it, the Government and not the ryot was to receive the profit and to bear the loss. The profit up to 10 per cent. remains with the land-owners, who also bear all loss by fall of price as far as 5 per cent. The advantages of the system are that the Government participates with the ryot in the benefit of high prices, while the latter is relieved from loss when prices are much depressed ; its disadvantage consists in the difficulty that is experienced in obtaining accurate and fair returns of the current prices which are taken throughout the year.

BOMBAY.

Under the Bombay Presidency, "the revenue management" may be described in general terms as "ryotwaree," implying that, as a general rule, the occupants of Government lands settle for their land revenue, or rent, with the Government officers direct, and not through a middle man. It should be understood, however, that throughout the Presidency, instances not unfrequently occur in which the Government revenues of entire villages are settled for by individual superior holders, under various denominations, or by a co-partnership of superior holders ; as instances of the former, the Khottee villages of the Konkan, and the talookdarree

Talookdaree estates of Guzerat may be adduced, while the latter are exemplified in the Bhagdaree and Neerwadaree tenure of the Broach and Kaira Collectorates.

In Sind, not many years ago, the revenue throughout was collected in grain by actual division of the crop; the grain was then sold by reserved auction, at artificially high, and sometimes even at famine, prices by the Government, as the great grain dealers of the country. The natural condition of the market, thus directly interfered with by the Government, was yet further forced by the circumstance of the Commissariat drawing the grain required for the troops at *nominal* prices from the Government grain stores. Great progress has been made in superseding this objectionable system by cash assessments, which have been already introduced into several districts of the Province. In the Shikarpoor Collectorate generally, but in Larkhana particularly, the advantages of a light and fairly distributed cash assessment have been most marked and beneficial. The tax payers are contented, and the Government demand is readily responded to.

A revision of assessment is now in progress throughout the Presidency, by which the amount payable on each field is determined according to its quality, and the amount so fixed is not liable to alteration for a term of 30 years.

PUNJAB.

In the Punjab one and the same man is usually absolute proprietor and generally the sole cultivator, though he may occasionally lease out a few fields to tenants. He is saddled with no rent. He has to provide for the cost of cultivation and for the Government demand; the rest of the produce he may devote to the maintenance of his family and the accumulation of his capital. But these men, while maintaining their individuality, do yet belong to village communities. A village is not inhabited by a certain number of ryots, each unconnected with the other, but by a number of persons of common descent, forming one large cousinhood, having their own headmen, accustomed to joint action and mutual support.

The British Government has from the first decided on levying the tax by money payments assessed for a term of years. The peasant proprietors compound with the State for a fixed period, such assessment and compounding being technically termed a Settlement. But the proprietors do not engage *individually* with the Government, but by *villages*. The brotherhood, through its headmen or representatives, undertakes to pay so much for so many years; and then, having done this, they divide the amount among themselves, assigning to each man his quota. Primarily each man cultivates and pays for himself, but ultimately he is responsible for his co-parceners and they for him; and they are bound together by a joint liability. The Punjab system, therefore, is not ryotwaree, nor zumeendaree; but the *village system*. In the Hills, and occasionally elsewhere, the zumeendaree system, and near Mooltan, something approaching to the ryotwaree system, may be found. But the village system is the prevalent one, especially in the most important districts.

The average rate of assessment per acre, per annum, in the Cis-Sutlej States, is 1 r. 2 a. 4 p., or 2 s. 3 ½ d.; in the Trans-Sutlej States, 1 r. 15 a. 7 p., or 3 s. 11 ¾ d.; in the Upper Barce and Rechna Doabs, 1 r. 6 a. 5 p., or 2 s. 9 ¾ d.; in the Upper Chuch Doab, 1 r. 2 a. 7 p., or 2 s. 3 ¾ d. It will be observed that the rate diminishes as the settlement progresses westward, the country being poorer; the same result will occur in the southern districts. It is estimated that a peasant proprietor cultivates, on an average, eight acres, and, at a mean rate of assessment (say 1 r. 4 a. per acre), would pay 12 rs. or 1 l. 4 s. per annum to the State. From this point of view, the amount would not seem heavy. Again, from searching and accurate inquiry in the Settlement Department, showing the exact yield and value per acre of every kind of crop, it has been ascertained that the Government demand does not exceed one-fifth of the gross value of the produce in rich tracts, and one-sixth, or one-eighth, or even less, in poor tracts.

More complete information as to the system of revenue administration pursued in the North-west Provinces and in Bombay, will be found in the papers printed by order of the Honourable House on the 20th August 1853 (No. 999). Papers on the subject of the revision of the assessment of the Madras Presidency have also been printed as No. 51 of the present Session.

East India House, }
June 1857. }

J. S. Mill,
Examiner of India Correspondence,

EAST INDIA (TENURES OF LAND).

RETURN showing under what Tenures, and subject to what Land Tax, Lands are held under the several Presidencies of India.

(*Mr. William Ewart.*)

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
22 June 1857.*

112—Sess. 2.

Under 102.

EAST INDIA (LAW EXPENSES).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 12 February 1857;—for,

RETURNS “ of all SUMS expended by the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and
Charged, or to be Charged, on the Revenues of *India*, for Law Proceedings
in *England* during the Years 1855 and 1856 respectively :”

“ And, showing the EXPENSE incurred by the EAST INDIA COMPANY in
opposing a Private Bill, intituled, ‘ The Nawáb of *Surat* Treaty Bill,’
before a Committee of The House of Commons, and the Number of
Counsel engaged.”

East India House, }
26 February 1857. }

JAMES C. MELVILL,
Secretary.

RETURN of all Sums expended by the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and Charged,
or to be Charged, on the Revenues of *India*, for Law Proceedings in
England, during the Years 1855 and 1856 respectively :

								£.	s.	d.
1855	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,886	3	3
1856	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21,751	6	10

Note.—The above includes 6,500 *l.* advanced to the Executors of Colonel D. O. Dyce Sombre,
for Law Expenses in support of his Will, which will be repaid, subject to taxation, out of his
Estate.

H. S. Lawford.

RETURN showing the Expense incurred by the EAST INDIA COMPANY
in opposing a Private Bill, intituled, “ The Nawáb of *Surat* Treaty Bill,”
before a Committee of The House of Commons, and the Number of
Counsel engaged :

							£.	s.	d.
Expenses incurred	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,541	1	7
Number of Counsel	-	-	-	-	-	-	Three.		

H. S. Lawford.

EAST INDIA (LAW EXPENSES).

RETURNS of Sums Expended by the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and Charged, or to be Charged, on the Revenues of *India*, for Law Proceedings in *England*, during the Years 1855 and 1856 respectively ; &c.

(*Mr. Otway.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
5 March 1857.

EAST INDIA (JUDICIAL ESTABLISHMENTS, &c.)

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 5 February 1857 ;—for,

COPY “ of the CIRCULAR of the Governor-General in Council, dated 28th February 1856, calling for Opinions on the REPORTS of the ROYAL COMMISSION ON JUDICIAL ESTABLISHMENTS in *India* :”

“ EXTRACTS from a MINUTE of the Lieutenant-Governor of *Bengal*, dated 30th April 1856, on the Administration of CRIMINAL JUSTICE, and on the Age and Inexperience of the Magistrates :”

“ And, COPY of MEMORIAL from the MISSIONARIES to the Government of *Bengal* on the State of that Province, with the Reply of Government.”

East India House, }
16 February 1857. }

JAMES C. MELVILL.

Note.—This is not a perfect Return to the Order. A copy of the “Circular Order of the Governor-general, dated the 8th February 1856,” and the “Extracts from Minute of the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, dated 30th April 1856,” cannot be furnished, as those papers have not been received at the East India House. An extract from a Letter from the Government of India, dated 15th May (No. 42) 1856, stating the substance of the Circular above alluded to, is transmitted.

(*Sir Erskine Perry.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
17 February 1857.

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East India House, }
16 February 1857. }

J. S. MILL, .
Examiner of India Correspondence.



P A P E R S
ON THE
EAST INDIA JUDICIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

EXTRACT Judicial Letter from Government of *India* to Court of Directors ;
dated 15 May (No. 42) 1856.

1. We have received your despatch in the Legislative Department, No. 13, dated the 5th December last, in which you advise us of the despatch of 20 copies of the First Report of the Indian Law Commissioners, appointed in pursuance of sect. 28 of 16 & 17 Vict., c. 95, and request us to lose no time in taking the same into our consideration, and communicating to you our sentiments thereon.

2. These instructions of your Honourable Court have received our attention; we have furnished copies of the Report to the Governments of Bengal and the North-western Provinces, and to the Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and invited their opinions upon it, as well as those of the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and of the Judges of the Supreme Courts at those Presidencies. As soon as we receive the replies of these several authorities, or sooner if they are not furnished within reasonable time, we shall ourselves report thereon to your Honourable Court, as desired.

No. 1336.

From the Secretary to the Government of *Bengal* to the Secretary to the Government of *India*, Home Department.

Sir,

Fort William, 19 September 1856.

I AM directed to forward, for the consideration and orders of the Supreme Government, the papers noted in the margin.*

* Memorial of the Missionaries residing in and near Calcutta, dated 2 September 1856.

I have, &c.

Copy of a Minute by the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor, dated 18 September 1856.

(signed) *W. Grey*,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

To the Honourable *F. J. Halliday*, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of *Bengal*.

The MEMORIAL of the undersigned MISSIONARIES of the Gospel.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Memorialists are Missionaries residing in or near Calcutta, and are connected with various Christian Churches.

That your Memorialists are in the habit of meeting every month for conference respecting such matters as relate to the progress of the Gospel in this country, and that Memorialists have frequently and carefully considered at these meetings the social as well as the spiritual condition of the people, and have had many opportunities of judging, both from personal observation and from intercourse with residents in the mofussil, what that condition really is.

That if your Memorialists believed that the people were suffering from no evils but such as are being removed, or that their unhappy moral character

was the sole cause of their calamities, your Memorialists would not come forward to address the Government on the subject. But your Memorialists have long entertained the conviction that the circumstances of the case call on them to overcome all repugnance to bearing their public testimony on behalf of the people; and it was with this conviction that your Memorialists sent to the Houses of Parliament, prior to the inquiry into Indian Affairs in 1852, a Petition which was laid before the Committees of the two Houses, and in which they thus stated their views :—

“ That your Petitioners have reason to believe that there is a vast amount of social disorganisation and of consequent suffering in the whole country. Much of this your Petitioners can trace to the fearful superstitions of the people, to their ignorance, and to the debasing effects of a popular mythology, which presents as objects of worship, deities, which are examples of every vice, and which ascribes sanctity and divine honour to a priesthood which is the principal curse of India. But speaking particularly of this great Presidency of Bengal, your Petitioners would represent to your Honourable House the existence of evils which it falls properly within the scope of Government to meet and to control. The evils resulting from the religions of the country your Petitioners believe have been greatly diminished since the commencement of Christian missions; and they willingly accord to the Government of India the praise of having abolished Satis, and checked Infanticide, Thuggism, and the once prevalent practice of Self-immolation. Your Petitioners do not now hear of the terrible occurrences with which their predecessors were familiar, of women drowning themselves publicly at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna; of others sitting in pits to be smothered by heavy baskets of sand; and of devotees yielding themselves to death in the presence of multitudes, by means which require the active participation of heartless accessories. A more just apprehension of their duty by the judicial officers of Government has restrained such suicides, by dealing with the accessories as guilty of murder, and the enactment of several wise and salutary laws has restrained the other classes of crimes which your Petitioners have mentioned. Your Petitioners believe, however, that these results must, in a large measure, be ascribed to the growing influence of Christian missions, which have been blessed, no less in raising the standard of piety and justice among the Europeans in India, than in the enlightenment of the consciences of the natives. But there are other evils, with which the Government as such has to contend, and which your Petitioners regret to declare appear to be on the increase. Your Petitioners greatly fear that it will be found, on inquiry, that in many districts of Bengal, neither life nor property is secure; that gang robberies of the most daring character are perpetrated annually, in great numbers, with impunity; and that there are constant scenes of violence in contentions respecting disputed boundaries, between the owners of landed estates.

“ That your Petitioners submit to your Honourable House that the radical cause of these evils is the inefficiency of the police and the judicial system. Your Petitioners find that the sole protection of the public peace, in many places, is a body of policemen (called village chowkedars), who are in fact the ministers of the most powerful of their neighbours, rather than the protectors of the people. The body of peace officers appointed and paid directly by the State will, on inquiry, be found to be entirely insufficient for the great districts for which they are provided; but, few as they are, they also will be found to be oppressors of the people. The records of the criminal courts, and the experience of every resident in the districts of Bengal, will bear testimony to the facts that no confidence can be placed in the police force (either the regular force or the village chowkedars); that it is their practice to extort confessions by torture; and that, while they are powerless to resist the gangs of organised burglars, or dacoits, they are corrupt enough to connive at their atrocities.

“ That your Petitioners believe that a strict and searching inquiry into the state of the rural population of Bengal would lead your Honourable House to the conclusion that they commonly live in a state of poverty and wretchedness, produced chiefly by the present system of landed tenures and the extortion of the zemindars, aggravated by the inefficiency and the cruelties of the peace officers, who are paid by the chowkedarry tax or by the Government.

“ That

“That your Petitioners believe that a well-organised police, with a more extensive and more effective judicial system, would do much to check the outrages that arise from disputes about land. But your Petitioners must also ascribe much of the evil which these outrages produce to the causes by which primarily such disputes are occasioned. Your Petitioners must declare that, from the want of a complete survey of the estates of the country, of a Registration Act to settle titles, and of laws to obviate the infinite mischief of the universal system of secret trusts, there is so much uncertainty about the landed tenures and boundaries in Bengal, that capitalists generally dread to purchase such property, and those who do, too frequently keep bodies of clubmen to take and keep by force the extent of land to which they deem themselves entitled. Between contending proprietors, amidst scenes of constant conflict, and a prey to the corruption and the oppression of the police, the tenant is reduced, not merely to beggary, but also, in many cases, to a state of the most abject and pitiable servitude.”

That a separate petition, signed by 1,800 Christian inhabitants of Bengal, was presented to Parliament in 1853, in which they stated that the “police of the Lower Provinces totally fails as respects the prevention of crimes, apprehension of offenders, and protection of life and property; but it is become an engine of oppression, and a great cause of the corruption of the people;” “that torture is believed to be extensively practised on persons under accusation;” and that “all the evil passions are brought into play, and iniquities of all kinds, both by people and police, are resorted to;” and this petition also bore strong and emphatic testimony to the wretched condition of the people, and the unsatisfactory state of the judicial system.

That your Memorialists noticed, with extreme regret, that the Parliamentary inquiry into Indian affairs was brought to a close, before this subject of the social condition of the people was opened.

That since that period, many circumstances, and particularly many recent publications have deepened the conviction of your Memorialists, that the social condition of the people of Bengal is deplorable in the extreme, and that the representations in their petition fell short of the truth.

That your Memorialists have perused with the deepest interest, a Minute by your Honour, on the Police and Criminal Justice in Bengal, in which the existing system is most faithfully and powerfully described. Your Memorialists have noticed particularly the following statements: that “for a long series of years, complaints have been handed down from administration to administration, regarding the badness of the mofussil police under the Government of Bengal, and as yet, very little has been done to improve it;” that, “throughout the length and breadth of the country, the strong prey almost universally upon the weak, and power is but too commonly valued only as it can be turned into money;” that “it is a lamentable but unquestionable fact, that the rural police, its position, character, and stability as a public institution, has, in the Lower Provinces, deteriorated during the last 20 years;” that “the criminal judicatories certainly do not command the confidence of the people;” that, “whether right or wrong, the general native opinion is certainly that the administration of criminal justice is little better than a lottery, in which, however, the best chances are with the criminal, and this is also very much the opinion of the European mofussil community;” that “a very small proportion of heinous offenders are ever brought to trial;” that “it now appears that half of those brought to trial are sure to be acquitted;” and that “peculiar and accidental circumstances, partly temporary and partly arising out of the constitution of the civil service, have, at this moment, made the inexperienced condition of the magistracy more observable than it has ever been before, while it seems certain that the evil during several successive years is likely very seriously to increase;” and your Memorialists attach great weight to these remarkable and important declarations.

That your Memorialists, when the Government of the Marquis of Dalhousie approached its close, expressed, in their address to his Lordship, their sense of his extraordinary exertions in the execution of his arduous duty, and of the wisdom, decision, and success which had marked his career; but your Memorialists were aware, that the pressure of many other urgent subjects, had prevented that distinguished statesman applying his powerful and vigorous mind to

the social condition of the people of Bengal, and your Memorialists were so deeply impressed with the importance of this subject, that they took the liberty of directing his Lordship's attention to it, in the hope that, if it should ever be discussed in the British Parliament, he would bring to bear upon it his ability and influence. Your Memorialists stated in their address :

“The conviction that even after returning to England, and commencing afresh to take an active part in the labours of the Imperial Legislature, your Lordship will always endeavour to promote the welfare of India, encourages us to give expression to the wish that your Lordship's special attention might be directed to the lamentable condition of the peasantry of Bengal, to the causes of that condition, and to the best means of ameliorating it. We take the liberty of alluding to this subject, not merely because we know, both from our own experience and from the testimony of other missionaries, that the present working of the zemindari system is one of the most powerful obstacles to the spread of Christianity in this country, but also because we are convinced that it is a great and growing evil, particularly when considered in connexion with the general character both of zemindars and ryots. It encourages the concealment, and consequently the commission of crime ; it impedes the administration of justice ; and whilst it emboldens the rich to set the law at defiance, it leads the poor to despair of obtaining redress, even against the greatest wrongs that may be inflicted upon them. We have reason to believe that a spirit of sullen discontent prevails even now among the rural population, from an impression, that Government is indifferent to their sufferings. The zemindari system may be convenient as a fiscal measure ; but on the other hand, the experience of 60 years proves that it tends to demoralise and pauperise the peasantry, and to reduce this fair and fertile land to a condition similar to that under which Ireland suffered so grievously and so long. We do not presume to offer any practical suggestion to a statesman like your Lordship ; we are aware that the subject is as perplexing as it is distressing ; but we are not without a hope that your Lordship's sagacity and experience may succeed in devising a remedy, even for this all but hopeless evil. We only venture to make the additional remark, that the representations of zemindars and indigo planters, however correct an exposition they may be of their own interests and wishes, cannot be expected to be otherwise than one-sided, and therefore do not fairly and fully set forth the wrongs and wants of the peasantry.”

That your Memorialists would now look to His Lordship the present Governor-general in Council, and the Legislative Council of India, at this season of peace and financial prosperity, to deal with these important matters with adequate earnestness, and with a view to comprehensive and complete reforms. Your Memorialists feel themselves bound to declare that they view with alarm as well as sorrow the continuance of the evils which they have so long deplored, and the effects of which are seen in the demoralisation and the sufferings of the people, and that they believe that measures of relief can with safety be delayed no longer ; as, from the information they have acquired, they fear that the discontent of the rural population is daily increasing, and that a bitter feeling of hatred towards their rulers is being engendered in their minds.

That a Bill called an Affray Bill was read a first time in Council about three years ago, the object of which was to render liable for affrays, not merely the ignorant clubmen who are hired, or the dependent tenants who are compelled to take part in them, but those also for whose benefit they are undertaken, and without whose connivance they would not occur ; and that your Memorialists believe that the official information by which the necessity for that measure was proved to the Government in 1853, would satisfy the present Government that practices are common in the mofussil of reckless lawlessness and violence, and that there is such an indifference to human life and suffering, as indicates a fearful state of demoralisation and anarchy.

That, with a view to ulterior measures, your Memorialists are earnestly desirous that a Commission may be appointed, consisting of men of independent minds, unbiassed by official or local prejudices, to institute a searching inquiry into all the causes that now affect the condition of the population, especially into the state of the police and the judicial system ; the powers and influence of the zemindars and planters, and how those powers are used ; the resources and earnings of the labouring classes, and the proportion which these bear to
the

the rent that they are compelled to pay; the harassing exactions and oppressions to which the poor are subject; the landed tenures; the extension of the Government sales of ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs among a people once celebrated for temperance; the actual extent to which education is provided for the masses; and the best means of alleviating the sufferings and elevating the condition of the people.

That your Memorialists are encouraged to hope for the appointment of this Commission, by the readiness with which the Government of Madras issued a Commission to inquire into the practice of torture, the impartiality with which its proceedings were conducted, and the satisfaction with which that measure was regarded by the Legislature and the people of Great Britain.

That your Memorialists, therefore, pray that your Honour will forward this Memorial to the Governor-general in Council, and will recommend to his Lordship in council to issue a Commission of the character indicated by your Memorialists, for the purposes they have ventured to specify, and with such additional objects and duties as your Honour's experience and familiar knowledge of this Presidency may suggest.

That your Memorialists earnestly pray that your Honour and his Lordship in Council may, in this measure, and in all the arduous duties of the Government of this country, be guided by wisdom from Him by whom kings reign and princes decree justice.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

(signed) *A. F. Lacroix*, London Missionary Society.
George Pearce, Baptist Mission.
Alexander Duff, Free Church of Scotland.
Timothy Sandys, Church Missionary Society.
D. Ewart, Free Church of Scotland.
J. Long, Church Missionary.
J. Wenger, Baptist Mission.
G. G. Cuthbert, Church Missionary Society.
Edward Storrow, London Missionary Society.
William White, Church of Scotland Mission.
J. Vaughan, Church Missionary.
John Pourie, Free Church Missionary.
John Trafford, Baptist Missionary Society.
Lal Behari De, Free Church of Scotland.
John S. Beaumont, Free Church of Scotland.
Behari Lal Singh, Free Church of Scotland.
Edward B. Underhill, Secretary of Baptist
 Missionary Society, London.
G. E. Yate, M.A., Kidderpore.
James Thomas, Baptist Missionary Society.
Joseph Mullens, London Missionary Society.
Charles Bennett Lewis, Baptist Missionary Society.
William Henry Hill, London Missionary Society.
James Ogilvie, Established Church of Scotland.
Thomas Gardiner, Free Church of Scotland.
Carapiet Chater Aratoon, Baptist Missionary Society.

Calcutta, 2 September 1856.

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Halliday*.

THIS is a Memorial which has been submitted to me by certain Christian missionaries concerning the state of the provinces subject to the Government of Bengal, with a request that I will lay it before the Right Honourable the Governor-general in Council.

Memorial from certain Christian Missionaries, on the state of the rural population.

2. It will be seen that the Memorialists declare their belief that "in many districts neither life nor property is secure, that gang robberies of the most daring character are perpetrated annually in great numbers, with impunity, and that there are constant scenes of violence in contentions respecting disputed boundaries between the owners of landed estates."

3. The Memorialists ascribe these evils to "the inefficiency of the police, and the judicial system," regarding the former of which they inveigh against the village chowkeydars and the stipendiary thannah police as corrupt, oppressive, and incompetent.

4. The working of the zemindari system is considered by the Memorialists as one of the most active causes of evil. It encourages, they say, the concealment, and consequently the commission of crime. It impedes the administration of justice; and whilst it emboldens the rich to set the law at defiance, it leads the poor to despair of obtaining redress even against the greatest wrong that may be inflicted on them. "It tends," the Memorialists add, "to demoralise and pauperise the peasantry, and to reduce this fair and fertile land to a condition similar to that under which Ireland suffered so grievously and so long."

5. From all this it has resulted, in the judgment of the Memorialists, that the rural population of Bengal commonly live in a state of poverty and wretchedness, produced chiefly by the present system of landed tenures, and the extortion of the zemindars, aggravated by the inefficiency and the cruelties of the peace officers, who are paid by the chowkedarry tax, or by the Government.

6. And besides the causes above assigned, the Memorialists attribute much of the lawlessness of which they complain to "the want of a complete survey of the estates of the country, of a Registration Act to settle titles, and of laws to obviate the infinite mischief of the universal system of secret trusts," from which wants arise constant conflict and violence, and the tenant is reduced, not merely to beggary, but also in many cases to a state of the most abject and pitiable servitude.

7. In effect the Memorialists declare the social condition of the people of Bengal to be "deplorable in the extreme," and affirm that a spirit of sullen discontent prevails among the rural population, from an impression that the Government is indifferent to their sufferings, that the discontent is daily increasing, and that a bitter feeling of hatred towards their rulers is being engendered in their minds.

8. This being, in the opinion of the Memorialists, the actual state of things, they go on to express their earnest desire that a Commission may be appointed consisting of men of independent minds, unbiassed by official or local prejudices, to institute a searching inquiry into all the causes that now affect the condition of the population, and "especially the following eight subjects:—"

1st. "The state of the police and the judicial system."

2d. "The powers and influence of the zemindars and planters, and how those powers are used."

3d. "The resources and earnings of the labouring classes, and the proportion which these bear to the rent that they are compelled to pay."

4th. "The harassing exactions and oppressions to which the poor are subject."

5th. "The landed tenures."

6th. "The extension of the Government sales of ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs among a people once celebrated for temperance."*

7th. "The actual extent to which education is provided for the masses;" and,

8th. "The best means of alleviating the sufferings and elevating the condition of the people."

9. Notwithstanding the authority which cannot but attach to the respected names appended to this memorial, and notwithstanding the estimation with which the motives and purposes of these excellent and useful missionaries must certainly be regarded, it is impossible for any one who has had the large and frequent

* The Memorialists do not seem to be aware that there is no such thing as a Government sale of ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs. The Government largely taxes the sale of such articles, with a view to discourage it. The Government sells nothing of the kind except opium, which is a small matter, subsidiary to the general monopoly, and evidently not the article to which the Memorialists allude.

frequent opportunities which I have enjoyed of acquainting myself by personal intercourse with all classes, native and European, in and out of the service, and thereby acquiring a knowledge of the real state of things, to admit, as a correct representation of facts, the picture which is drawn in this Memorial of the general condition of the rural population of Bengal.

10. It is a picture, founded doubtless on some isolated facts, which have occasionally come to the knowledge of missionaries in the mofussil, and it also represents some circumstances which might, and no doubt sometimes do happen in the present state, not only of the law, which admits of speedy alteration, but also of national morals, education, and public opinion, which cannot be speedily amended by the Government, but must await the comparatively slow advance of general civilisation and improvement. But it is not, in my judgment, by any means an accurate representation of the state of the actual relations between landlord (or planter) and tenant, and of the condition of the rural population over the most part of the territory to which it purports to apply; and, above all, I must take leave to express my absolute dissent from the statement made, doubtless in perfect good faith, that the people exhibit a spirit of sullen discontent on account of the miseries ascribed to them, and that there exists among them that bitter hatred to the Government which has filled the Memorialists, as they declare, "with alarm as well as sorrow."

11. Great stress is laid by the Memorialists on the inefficient condition of the police, and the defects of the judicial system. They call, first and foremost, for inquiry into these, in preference to all other subjects of investigation, and they designate them, and with perfect truth, the radical cause of the social evils of which I am far from denying the existence, though I am not disposed to look upon them as so dark and deplorable as they appear in the painting of the Memorialists. But why appoint a commission to inquire into such matters as those? They have been inquired into repeatedly, and their defects thoroughly examined and exposed. Measures for the improvement of both the police and the judicial system are now, as is well known, under the consideration of the Executive Government, and likely soon to be presented to the Legislature. The time present is, as regards those things, not the time for investigation but for action, and anything that is likely to delay action on those points will impede the very consummation which the Memorialists so greatly desire. Nothing would so surely or so long delay the completion of the necessary improvements in the police and in the judicial system, as a commission for a new inquiry into those subjects, and on that ground alone further inquiry is to be deprecated.

12. But it is certain, no less from the statements of the Memorialists themselves than from the obvious nature of the case, that reform in these two important points will go a great way towards removing the evils which undoubtedly affect the condition of the rural population. This is a country in which, owing to imperfect civilisation, scanty knowledge, and a low standard of morality, to habits of selfish domination in one part of the population, and of slavish submission in another part, might is at all times very apt to be made right. It is a country, therefore, in which the poor will greatly need, for their protection against the rich, a strong and incorrupt police, and a pure, simple, and accessible judicial system. As soon as the police is put on as reasonably sound a footing as the condition of the country allowed, and as soon as the judicial system has been simplified, cheapened, and rendered easily accessible, the greater part will have been done of all that a Government can at present do in this country, towards the protection of its power against its richer subjects; and when the law of landlord and tenant is amended, a subject on which I have been recently occupied in inquiry, and regarding which a project of law will shortly be placed before the Legislative Council, I know not what more will remain in the way of legislative improvement to meet the fullest wishes of the Memorialists, and of all who, like the Memorialists, are benevolently intent on raising and bettering the material condition of the Bengal agriculturalist.

13. That the Government is actually engaged in measures for this purpose is notorious. They may perform the duty well or ill, as fast as can be expected, or with unreasonable delay; whatever be the case, no one can say that the Memorialists, and others having the same good purposes as the Memorialists, ought not to assist by information and suggestions, and to stimulate and quicken

by earnest appeal and exhortation. On the contrary, all they can do in these ways must be useful, and can seldom fail to be acceptable. At all events it must tend to improve the forthcoming measures, and to accelerate their completion. And when they shall have been completed, with the aid of all well-informed and public-spirited persons like the Memorialists, we shall, I hope, have done all that present circumstances place within our power towards giving to the ryot a just and fair rule of conduct for the mutual relations between himself and the zemindar; a police capable of protecting him against violence and aggression; and a judicial system suited to his position, his wants, and his means, and available, without unreasonable delays and impediments, to afford him redress against his most powerful oppressors. But to appoint a commission to inquire into these matters, is certainly not the way to hasten the accomplishment of the business in hand, but to retard it.

14. It must be obvious, I think, that while some of the questions on which the Memorialists propose to employ Commissioners of Inquiry, are such as require at present no investigation, others are such as no investigation would be likely to bring to a profitable or satisfactory termination. Upon "the state of the police and judicial system," inquiry has been pushed to a sufficient extent; and action, the consequence of inquiry, is what is now most urgently called for. Upon "the actual extent to which education is now provided for the masses," no inquiry could give fuller information than has resulted from the investigations of Mr. Adam; in consequence of which it has been provided, in the educational measures dictated by the Home Government, and only just coming into operation here, that the education of the masses in the vernacular shall be a large and important part of the care and the expenditure of Government. In this, as in the previous subject named by the Memorialists, investigation seems to have been suggested just when the time for investigation has passed away, and when it would be more to the purpose to assist and accelerate the measures actually in progress, than to impede them by proposals for inquiry. And what sound practical purposes could possibly be served in the present state of the case by sending commissioners to open up such subjects of investigation as "the powers and influence of the zemindars and planters, and how those powers are used," or the resources and earnings of the labouring classes, and the proportions which these bear to the rent that they are compelled to pay; or, again, "the harassing exactions and oppressions to which the poor are subject?" The great matter in hand for the classes affected by these questions, is to have a good police, a good law of landlord and tenant, and a good judicial system; and when these are secured, the rest (so far as the state of morals and civilisation permit) will follow of itself. And for morals and civilisation we can but look to the results of education, now well known to be in active prosecution by Government, and to the exertions of the Memorialists, and the other similar public benefactors.

15. Of the other subjects of inquiry proposed by the Memorialists, one, that relating to the Excise revenue, seems, as I have said, to have been suggested under a mistaken view of facts. There are no such things as "Government sales" of "ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs;" and it is not possible that the taxing heavily of a given commodity should increase* its consumption, except by encouraging smuggling, which is not the statement made, or in fact the thing aimed at by the Memorialists. The other two subjects of inquiry are the "landed tenures," and "the best means of alleviating the sufferings and elevating the condition of the people;" of which the first, however interesting, seems to me to have but a remote bearing on the matter in hand; and the other

* The Board of Revenue, in a recent letter to Government, have written on this subject in the following terms.—"To whatever causes the increase of the consumption of intoxicating liquors in this country (a fact which is universally admitted) is attributable, the Board unhesitatingly deny that the imposition of a tax upon the community can have anything to do with it. They quite agree with Mr. Atherton, that, far from fostering or encouraging, in the slightest degree, a habit so pernicious to the health, and injurious to the welfare of its subjects, it should be the duty of every wise Government, by all just means, to suppress it; but they believe that prohibitory legislation on such a subject would be ineffectual, and that all that the Government can do is, to impose as heavy a tax on spirits as is practicable, without leading to illicit manufacture."

other is a profound and extensive question, the solution of which is not more desirable in India than in any other country, but which has in no country been sought, and in none surely is likely to be attained, by the labours of any commissioners who could possibly be selected for the purpose.

16. Lastly, I should apprehend that even if it were thought proper to enter upon these delicate, intricate, and extensive investigations, it would be a matter of extreme difficulty to select such an agency as should fulfil the conditions imposed by the Memorialists, and at the same time be satisfactory to the various classes liable to be affected by their Report, or to the Government which would have to act upon it hereafter. The commissioners are to be "men of independent minds, unbiassed by official or local prejudices." There must, therefore, be no Government officers on the commission; no zemindars, or the agents of zemindars; no indigo planters, and no merchants who are of one mind and one interest with indigo planters. There can be no missionaries employed in the inquiry with any chance of giving satisfaction to indigo planters or zemindars; and, in short, every one seems to be excluded who has knowledge of the language and the country, or experience of the people. From the inquiries of commissioners destitute of these important qualifications, not even the Memorialists themselves could, I suppose, anticipate any happy results.

17. In forwarding therefore this Memorial, in order to its being laid before the Right Honourable the Governor-general in Council, I am unable to support its prayer with any favourable recommendation. On the contrary, I would earnestly deprecate the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry such as the Memorialists seek for, as unnecessary for the object they have in view, and likely to prove, if attempted, tedious, expensive, and unsatisfactory, possibly dangerous, and certainly mischievous, as raising, among a credulous and ignorant population, expectations which it could never fulfil; and obstructive to the cause of sound and safe reform, by evoking and setting in open and clamorous hostility to each other all kinds of class and professional interests and opinions; and, by postponing to the distant close of a difficult and intricate, and possibly stormy and tumultuous investigation, important measures of improvement, which, when matured, may fairly be expected to remove most of the evils of which there is now reason to complain, and which are known to be either now in actual preparation, or are about soon to be brought forward for consideration.

18 September 1856.

(signed) *Fred. Jas. Halliday.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *W. Grey,*

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

No. 1368.

From the Secretary to the Government of *Bengal*, to the Secretary to the Government of *India*, Home Department (General).

Sir,

Fort William, 27 September 1856.

In continuation of my letter No. 1336 of the 19th instant, I am directed to forward herewith, a petition,* in original, from the Committee of the British Indian Association. * Dated 20th inst.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. Grey,*

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

To the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of *Bengal*.

The PETITION of the Committee of the BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

Showeth,

THAT your Petitioners have read with much interest, a Memorial lately addressed to your Honour by a body of Christian missionary clergymen, praying for a Commission of Inquiry into the causes that affect the condition of the population under your Honour's Government.

That your Petitioners have been intending and preparing the materials to address your Honour with an object precisely similar; and have with that view been making numerous inquiries, by the result of which your Petitioners hoped to strengthen their prayer for a Commission of Inquiry.

Your Petitioners' intentions however, and efforts having been to some extent forestalled or anticipated by the missionary Memorialists, your Petitioners deem it their duty at once to unite their voices in support of the prayer of those intelligent and philanthropic gentlemen.

Not that your Petitioners acquiesce in all the conclusions arrived at by the missionaries, but which your Petitioners forbear now to criticise, inasmuch as your Petitioners cordially agree in the vital importance and necessity for a searching, patient, and unbiassed inquiry into the social evils of these provinces, viz.; whether they be to any, and what extent, caused by the landed system, the planting interest, the matrajuinee dealings, the foudarry and dewanny administration; also whether to any, and what extent, by the well-intended efforts and zeal of professional Christian missionaries.

All this your Petitioners earnestly believe to be legitimately subject for inquiry if only to determine the anxious and never-ending controversies and recriminations between the different classes whose position or property (or both united) may enable them to influence the fate of the rural population; but, much more, with the higher object of learning how and where to apply the remedy for the long talked of and generally admitted epidemic social evils which infest these provinces.

Your Petitioners therefore pray that the prayer of the Memorial be granted and carried into effect by your Honour, by the issuing of a commission (which your Petitioners humbly conceive it is quite competent for your Honour to do, without reference to the Government of India); such commission to sit in Calcutta, to receive evidence and information. Also, that your Honour will cause a Bill to be introduced into the Legislative Council (as early as conveniently may be), having for its object to furnish the commissioners with powers to take evidence on oath, to summon witnesses, to punish contempts, and otherwise to assume a judicial character (although not for a judicial purpose), without which powers your Petitioners verily believe the efforts of the commissioners could be but weak and without important results. Your Petitioners also suggest, that such a Bill contain an indemnity for all persons willing or invited to give testimony before the commissioners.

Your Petitioners further pray, that a majority of the commissioners be non-official, *i. e.*, persons wholly unconnected with place or office; and that a moiety of those non-official commissioners be natives of Bengal.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

(signed) *Issur Chunder Singh,*

Honorary Secretary, British Indian Association.

British Indian Association Rooms,

20 September 1856.

MINUTE by the Right Honourable the Governor-General.

Memorial of Missionaries on the condition of the population of Bengal.

I HAVE read the Memorial upon the social condition of the people of Bengal, addressed by the missionaries of the Calcutta Conference to his Honour the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, with the attention which is due to the importance of the subjects which it treats, and to the excellent and earnest men who are the authors of it. I have also read the minute which the Lieutenant-governor has recorded upon that Memorial, and in which I generally concur.

His Honour has since communicated to the Government of India a petition from the Committee of the British Indian Association, to the same effect as the Memorial.

The Memorialists, after drawing a painful and lamentable picture of the condition of the rural population of Bengal, of the violence, injustice, and oppression to which they are exposed, and of the sullen discontent, and even hatred towards their rulers which has been engendered in them, express a desire that a commission may be appointed to inquire into the causes of this state of things.

They

They ask that such commission shall consist of men of independent minds, unbiassed by official or local prejudices.

I cannot adduce, in support of my opinions upon this subject, the experience derived from personal intercourse with the natives, and from frequent opportunities of observation, spread over many years, which has enabled the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal to speak upon it with such high authority; but I can say with perfect sincerity, that after availing myself to the best of my power of such information and testimony as is within my reach, I am led to the conclusion that the statement of the Memorialists, if it is intended to be a general representation of the prevailing condition of the people of Bengal, is greatly overcharged.

Nevertheless, I am as thoroughly convinced as the Memorialists themselves can be, that the condition of the people of Bengal cries out loudly for amendment, and that this amendment is in a great degree in the hands of the Government; and the same evidence which has given me this conviction has also satisfied me that nothing more is needed in the way of inquiry on the part of the Government of India, in order to set amendment in motion; that so far as information is concerned, the Government of India possesses enough to guide it surely and safely to the first great measures of reform in the administration of justice and in the police; and that to incur delay on the ground that further investigation of the present palpable deficiencies under these heads is requisite, would be to waste time under false pretensions.

The Memorialists will not, I trust, have long to wait for proof that in regard to those two means of amelioration, the improvement of the police and of the judicial system, the matter is ripe for action.

So also with respect to the law of landlord and tenant in Bengal, a subject upon which the Lieutenant-governor has already a Bill in preparation.

So also with education. The Memorialists would inquire, through a commission, as to the actual extent to which education is provided for the masses. The impulse given to education, and the system presented for its extension to every class, by the despatch of the Honourable Court of Directors, of the 19th of July 1854, cannot be unknown to the Memorialists. The progress made in the two years that have since elapsed may not be such as to satisfy the aspirations of zealous men, eager for the advancement of true knowledge amongst the benighted people whose spiritual and intellectual enlightenment is the object of their daily care and labours. I do not blame their impatience. That they should watch and urge the Government of India in the carrying out of the great work of secular education is not only natural, but desirable; but I deny that there is need of Commissions of Inquiry either to ascertain what has been the result of a system a few months old, or to establish that the necessities and deficiencies which called that system forth still have a real existence. The Memorialists may be sure that the Government of India are thoroughly alive to the fact, that all improvements of police or laws must fail of their full effect, if the ignorance and intellectual deficiency of the people should remain unassisted and unabated; and that the duty which this imposes upon the Government, in regard to the vernacular education of the rural population of Bengal, needs not to be demonstrated by a commission.

If, upon the above-mentioned heads, inquiry by a commission would be useless, and, in so far as it would delay action, worse than useless, upon the other subjects named by the Memorialists it would be actively mischievous. These subjects are the powers and influence of the zemindars, the use made of these, the earnings of the labouring classes, the rent they pay, the exactions and oppressions which they suffer, and, generally the best means of alleviating their sufferings, and elevating their condition: in short, the social state of the people in all their relations. *

There is also the sale of spirits by the Government; but this, as shown by the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, has been included under some misapprehension. The Memorialists cite the example of the commission appointed by the Government of Madras for inquiring into the practice of torture; but the cases are in no way parallel. In that instance, the Government inquired into the conduct of its own servants, in respect of one single and distinct allegation against them. The question to be solved was one of simple fact, upon which a clear issue might be expected. No class feelings or jealousies were aroused. There was no room for the raising of conflicting theories and opinions to interfere with a

positive

positive and definite result; and therefore no likelihood that any of the parties concerned would be disappointed.

With such a commission as has been suggested by the Memorialists, the effect would be the very reverse of all this. A wide and vague field of inquiry, inviting discussion and difference upon such subjects as rent, wages, fixity of tenure, and the relations of poor to rich; class made to testify openly against class; the weaker rewarded, when their task is done, to the vindictiveness of the stronger, against which no interposition could effectually protect them; wild and extravagant expectations of immediate advantage raised in the minds of a whole people, only to be disappointed; the examination (if the prayer of the British Indian Association be granted) of the share which the Memorialists themselves have had in causing the social evils which they deplore; and the investigation of these delicate and dangerous questions confided to persons whose responsibility would cease with the inquiry.

These would be some of the conditions inseparable from the commission advocated by the missionaries of the Calcutta Conference. With every sincere respect and admiration for the character of the body from which this Memorial proceeds, and gladly acknowledging the value of the co-operation of its members in some of the highest duties of Government, I cannot think that the advice which they have tendered to the Government of India in this instance is well judged, or that to adopt it would advance the end at which we all aim, the moral and social improvement of the Indian people.

The first and obvious measures towards social reform in Bengal are those which, as I have already said, the Government is preparing to take. I am not so sanguine as to expect that, when taken, they will prove immediate in their results, or that they will command the approval of all parties; but if there should be anything of error in them, it will not arise from any want of information as to the evils which they are designed to cure.

6 October 1856.

(signed) *Canning.*

MINUTE by the Honourable *J. A. Dorin.*

Memorial of the Calcutta Missionary body on the condition of the population of Bengal.

I AGREE entirely in the view taken of this Memorial by the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal.

There can be little question of the unsatisfactory condition of the rural population of the districts of Bengal Proper; but whether this state of things arises from defects which the Government can remedy, or is engendered by physical causes over which the Government can exercise no control, may be open to very grave doubt.

In respect to such sources of social disorder as would admit of action being taken on them, I believe the Government are in possession of sufficient information to enable them to proceed with reasonable promptitude and decision; upon other heads of inquiry suggested by the reverend missionaries, no information, however extensive, would justify the Government in taking any action whatever.

Nothing, in fact, has surprised me more than to find this demand for a Commission of Inquiry into the condition of the rural population of Bengal, supported by parties whose interests appear to be so diametrically opposed to each other as the Calcutta missionary body and the British Indian Association. The missionary body, I presume, advocate the wrongs of the poor against the rich. The British Indian Association, on the other hand, comprise the richer classes and landed proprietors, as contradistinguished from the bulk of the poorer population! The former body expatiate on the "poverty and wretchedness produced chiefly by the present system of landed tenures and the extortions of the zemindars," and point to the evils of the "present working of the zemindaree system," while the latter desire to be informed, "whether the social evils of these provinces are to any and what extent caused by the well-intentioned efforts and zeal of professional Christian missionaries;" thus arraying class interests in antagonism to each other, which could be of no possible advantage to any section of the community, and would probably end in proving that both parties are in opposition to some third interest, as obnoxious to both their opinions.

But

But to what useful result could this tend, or what could it teach the Government in advancement of those projects which they are already anxious to carry out towards the improvement of a very disordered state of social existence? The jarring of class interests will assuredly not assist the progress of social organisation, nor am I altogether sanguine that the amendment of the law, or the improvement of the police, or the still more potent engine of the spread of education, will very materially eradicate the evils of which the Memorialists complained.

I believe those evils to arise in a great degree from the physical structure of the people, and that nature and climate have at least as much to do with them as any defect in the civil administration of the country.

The civil and criminal law is essentially the same in the North-western Provinces as in Bengal, and the state of the police is little better in the Upper Provinces than in the Lower; so that if the faultiness of the law or of the police were the cause of the social evils experienced by one portion of the population, they might be regarded as producing similar results on the other. No one avers that this is the case, or that the condition of the peasantry of the North-western Provinces is so debased as that of Bengal.

And, for one reason, why? because they are men. They are a fine manly race replete with physical courage, who will not submit to be pillaged by every privileged or unprivileged plunderer; men who will stand up for their own rights and defend their property as soon as they have acquired it. But will a Bengallee do this? Will he lift a finger in defence of either life or property, or is there a particle of physical or moral courage in his composition? I cannot say that I have ever heard of it.

I believe there is not a more timid human being than a Bengallee on the face of the earth, and we have had only too palpable proof of it on recent occasions. During the unfortunate Sonthal disturbances of last year, it was utterly impossible to persuade a Bengallee villager to make the slightest stand in defence of his life or his property; the mere distant sound of a Sonthal drum was enough to put a whole community to instant flight, and between men, women, and children, there was only this distinction: that whereas the men could run the fastest, they were only too glad to make their own escape, and leave their homes to be burnt, and their women and children to be slaughtered with impunity. The Bengallee police were as bad as the villagers, and yet the Sonthals themselves were little better than unarmed savages, utterly unable to withstand any real opposition; who rose, not so much in rebellion against the Government, as in retaliation for supposed wrongs inflicted on them by the extortion of Bengallee mahajuns and money lenders, and who were scattered to the winds the moment a military force was able to act against them.

What can be done for such people as these, who will do nothing for themselves? What Government interference can supply that foundation of moral improvement, that self-reliance, which nature itself seems to have denied? It is almost a law of nature that cowards should be either slaves or tyrants, and I fear this describes but too truly the general condition of the population of this fertile province. It may be that the zemindaree system has failed in practice; yet it was not necessarily a bad system, nor was it founded on unstatesmanlike principles. Its object was to create a substantial intermediate interest in the community, a landed aristocracy, from which the genial flow of social influences might reasonably have been expected; and if it has failed in producing this effect, the fault is more with the unsuitable materials on which it operated than in the principle of the measure itself. English and Bengallee nature are not alike, and it has not followed that the theory of a system which might be abundantly adapted to the constitution of England was equally applicable to the atmosphere of Bengal. The Memorialists should not blame the system so much as the people; and in like manner, where they descant, as they do most justly, on the iniquities of the police, they should remember that the police of England is not perfect, and that if the police are expected to protect the people, it is at least equally required that the people shall help the police; and, what is more to the purpose, that the people shall, to a very great extent, have reasonable reliance on themselves.

The crime of dacoity is frightfully prevalent, yet is it possible to suppose it could be so extensive if the people could be persuaded to do anything in their own defence? Dacoits are as little disposed to face danger needlessly as any other

other class of the community, and vigorous resistance would soon extirpate the system; but where is this found? The very timidity of the people is an inducement to the crime, and yet it cannot be expected that there should be a policeman in every man's house? The extortion of the police is notorious; yet, if men will submit to extortion in silence, how is the remedy to be provided? The omlah of the courts of law are accused of being corrupt; yet, if suitors will favour the corruption, how is justice to be pure? No doubt the police is capable of vast improvement, and a Sikh police has recently been organised for the Sonthal pergunnahs, in despair of finding a Bengallee policeman who was fit to be trusted; yet, unless the people are prepared to make some exertion for themselves, I do not see how a well-ordered police, or an amended code and administration of the law, can effect very much in diminution of social evils.

The Honourable the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal hopes to be able to introduce a more equitable law for the subject of landlord and tenant, and it is quite possible that some existing evils may be eradicated by an amendment of the law on this head; but there are many conditions in these relative positions which the law cannot correct, and which, so far as I know, are incurable by any action of the Government. Nothing that the Government is likely to be able to do can check that tendency to over-population which creates a greater demand for land than there is land to supply, and which consequently has the effect of raising rents to a rate that will barely yield the tenant a decent subsistence. In the North-western Provinces the evil is in a great degree mitigated by the Government extracting some 200,000 of the population for its army, and by the great demand for stalwart men for service, public or private, all over the continent of Hindostan; but in Bengal, who will take a Bengallee for a soldier or a watchman? He will not even make a tolerable emigrant, and I am informed that, amongst the whole of the emigrant coolies from the port of Calcutta, not ten per cent. are from Bengal Proper. The bulk of the emigrants are men from Behar and the North-west, men of bone and muscle, who will at least think and act for themselves, and do good service in whatever part of the world they may be employed.

I do not say all this in order to argue that any amelioration of the social evils which beset the population of Bengal is impossible, but to show that in my opinion there are natural and physical difficulties in the way of improvement, the remedy also of which is beyond the reach of any Government, or of any inquiry that could be pushed to the fullest extent desired by the most enthusiastic philanthropist.

That education will gradually effect sensible changes in the moral and physical disposition of the people there is much to hope; and that meanwhile the Government will do what they can to improve the civil condition of their subjects, there is every assurance that goodwill and good faith can supply; but still no surprise need be felt if the results of these most earnest endeavours should not fulfil expectations which are more plausible in theory than, I fear, likely for a long series of years to be realised in practice.

10 October 1856.

(signed) J. A. Dorin.

MINUTE by the Honourable J. P. Grant.

Memorial of the
Bengal Mission-
aries, and of the
British Indian
Association.

1. I UNDERSTAND the only practical question at present before us, as raised by these Memorials, to be this: should a commission be appointed in Bengal to inquire into the matters proposed by the Memorialists to be inquired into, or any of them? On this question, after giving these papers all the respectful attention which is due to them, I concur with the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, the Governor-general, and Mr. Dorin.

2. There is much in the Memorial of the Missionaries, in which, I believe, we all fully agree; and there is much, as has been observed, which is overcharged. But nowhere do I find any very distinct reason advanced for the practical measure proposed, namely, the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry. In regard to what we are all agreed upon, no Commission of Inquiry can be necessary, for there is nothing to inquire about. In regard to what is believed to be overcharged, there is still no need of inquiry; for how-muchsoever an existing evil may be exaggerated, no one denies that so far

far as it really exists, whatever can be done by a Government to remedy it, ought to be done. All that remains in the Memorial of substantially disputable matter, are the assertion that bitter hatred of their rulers is now in course of being engendered in the minds of the Bengal ryots; and the severe and unqualified charges made by the Memorialists, as a class, against the class of zemindars universally.

3. I do not suppose that many besides the Memorialists share in their belief upon the first point; and if the fact were as they believe, such a commission to prove it, as they propose, would be too dangerous an experiment to try.

4. I do not mean to make light of this belief; I could make light of no belief entertained in a quarter entitled to so much respect, on a question of such importance. I am sure that this assertion would not have been thus formally made on what were not thought strong grounds. But there is a great inconsistency, to my understanding, between this assertion and other assertions made with equal confidence in the same Memorial. The alleged feeling is imputed to the extreme and peculiar social evils to which the ryot of Bengal is said to be subject; and all the evils of which the ryot can be conscious are traced by the Memorialists, if I understand them, to extortions, and tyranny, and general misconduct of the zemindars, and to the immediate consequences of the zemindaree system, inadequately checked as it is by the police and judicial system provided by the rulers. Now our police is, I dare say, not very much better than it was, but there is no reason to imagine that it is worse. The increase in the pay of police darogahs has done undeniable good, to a certain extent. In other respects our judicial system is vastly better than it was; and the improvement has been all in the direction of the ryot, by bringing justice (though still much too far from him), much nearer to him than it was. Of late years magisterial officers have been largely increased in number, and more dispersed over the country than formerly. Moonsiffs' courts, the courts of the ryot, as effective courts of civil justice, may be said to be the creation of the last 30 years; and their improvement in quality, year by year, is unquestioned. Of late, then, the checks provided by the rulers have been vastly improved upon the whole, and, so far as the rulers are concerned, in appearance, as well as in reality, there has been in this generation much to soothe, nothing to irritate, and most certainly nothing to engender the bitter hatred attributed to the ryot. The zemindars, therefore, and the zemindaree system, according to the Memorialists, are the cause of all. To them, the Memorialists allege, are due the alleged social evils, which evils are alleged to be now engendering bitter hatred of their rulers in the breasts of the Bengal ryots of the present day. Now this string of allegations would all be consistent enough, if the zemindaree system were a novelty. But how stands the fact? Be that system good or bad, it is no novelty; it is not even a creation of the British Government. We found the system, and the zemindars themselves, in full force. We have left the zemindars but the shadow of the power they then had; in many respects we have left them not even the shadow of it. For such power as is left them, I can think of no personal interest they can have had then in using it well, that they have not in an equal or greater degree now; and certainly they have more to fear in using it ill now than they had then. How is it, then, that if social evils really exist to such an extreme degree as to embitter the ryot's spirit, and if zemindars and the zemindaree system are the immediate causes of those evils, this bitterness is only now beginning to be engendered, a generation or two, after the assumed enemy has been, to say the least, partially bound down? Why did it not begin to arise in the ryot's breast, whilst the zemindar, with no better dispositions and many fewer responsibilities, had 20 times his present power for evil?

5. As, in my judgment, all these suppositions, namely, the extreme degree of the evils, their cause and their effect, cannot be true, and one is no more credible than the other, I can see no reason for adopting any. To me they have all much more the appearance of having been entertained as consequences of different theories, than as the results of wary and unprejudiced observation.

6. As to the charges made by the Memorialists against the zemindars as a class, I cannot ascertain what the Memorialists themselves would propose to be done, if the result of an inquiry were to be in accordance with their own views.

A Commission of Inquiry could do no practical good, and it could not help doing much real mischief. Every man, to whatever class he belongs, and whatever may be the general character of his class, if he commits acts of extortion or cruelty, should be punished. The law is already adequate for the punishment of such offences, and it will not be less so shortly when the penal code is passed. Whatever can be done in the way of procedure to facilitate the working of the law ought to be done, and will be done forthwith. No Commission of Inquiry would assist such improvements, whilst a Commission of Inquiry that should array class against class, that should fill many of the most influential minds in the country with anger and revenge, and that should set all political elements in heated antagonism with each other, would be an inauspicious commencement of our reforms.

7. If it had not been that the British Indian Association have told us expressly that they had themselves arrived independently at the determination to ask for a similar inquiry, I should have thought their Memorial intended as an indirect answer to their accusers, by way of showing that the zemindars, as a class, do not fear inquiry; but that inquiry cannot be one-sided, and that if one great class is to be dissected, all rival interests and classes (the accusing class included) must be prepared for the same sacrifice. They assign as one and in itself a sufficient reason for their recommendation, that the inquiry may "determine the anxious and never-ending controversies and recriminations between the different classes whose position or property (or both united) may enable them to influence the fate of the rural population." With me, one, and as I think in itself a sufficient reason, for not acceding to the proposed measure, is that I am convinced that it would have exactly the contrary effect.

8. The Memorial of the Missionaries, transcribing and adopting a previous petition to Parliament, mentions the following as evils existing in Bengal, "which it falls properly within the scope of Government to meet and control," and which they say "appear to be on the increase":—

- (1.) Insecurity of life and property in many districts.
- (2.) Numerous gang robberies perpetrated annually with impunity.
- (3.) Constant scenes of violence, in contentions respecting disputed boundaries between the owners of landed estates.

The Memorialists maintain that the radical cause of these evils is the inefficiency of the police and of the judicial system; that a well-organised police, with a more extensive and more effective judicial system (besides giving the required security to life and property), would do much to check the outrages that arise out of disputes about land; and, moreover, that in order to a cure of this last evil; the cause which leads to disputes about land, namely, the insecurity of title and possession, must be removed by, first, the complete survey of the land; secondly, a system of registration; and thirdly, "laws to obviate the infinite mischief of the universal system of secret trusts."

9. Upon this important head I beg to record my complete concurrence with the Memorialists, both as to the existence and extent of the evils, and the nature of the remedies.

10. For many years past I have never lost an opportunity of pressing upon the highest authorities the injustice with which Bengal is treated in regard to the expenditure allowed to her for police. This is no question of system; it is purely a money question. Without a very large additional expenditure nothing can be done; with twelve or fifteen lacs a year to give, the money could hardly be misspent. We have reason to believe that the days of this crying evil are numbered. The next great defect of the judicial system is the want of local criminal courts, so scattered as to be accessible to the people. I believe this evil is easily remedied at slight cost. I sketched, a considerable time ago, a scheme for the purpose, in a minute now before the Council. In regard to civil justice, the existing system is very much less objectionable; and it will be improved doubtless by the changes of procedure now under discussion. I have been too often disappointed in India by seeing great and unquestionable improvements within our grasp postponed indefinitely in the search of some model of imaginary perfection, to feel over-sanguine about any Indian reform.

But

But it does look now, thanks to what has been done at home, as if public expectation would not be much longer disappointed, so far as the reform of the Bengal police and district judicial system is concerned.

11. The questions of survey and registration, in which last the question of trusts is involved, are not in so promising a condition; yet the duties ought not to be insurmountable, being, as I believe, purely official. If the superior revenue functionaries in Bengal could be induced to consent to learn anything from the North-west, the thing could be done with money.

12. To the above expression of general concurrence with the Memorialists, I have to make any exception only as to the assertion that the evils noticed are increasing. I cannot think that the Memorialists intend to say that life and property are less secure, and that dacoitees are more numerous and more atrocious in character than was the case before our rule, or 100, or 50, or 20 years ago. Such an opinion could be refuted to demonstration; but I think it very probable that contentions and offences respecting landed property are increasing, and these may have been chiefly in the minds of the Memorialists. The explanation, however, if the fact be so, is easy. The value of landed property is increasing rapidly, and it is therefore becoming daily more worth fighting for. There are no such contentions and affrays about land at Madras, as are justly complained of by the Memorialists here. But this is not due to a good police and judicial administration, a survey and registration, or the absence of a *zemin-daree* system in the greater part of that Presidency; it is due to the fact, that in most Madras districts land is valueless, by reason of the revenue system there in force, the contentions there being when a ryot is forced, not to give up, but to take land. What has happened in Bengal is this: that by the perpetual limitation of the tribute, by a substantive law which is theoretically just to all connected with the soil, and by the general maintenance of a system of justice and order not intolerably defective, a new subject of property has come into existence, which already infinitely exceeds in value all the other property of the country put together; while no local or other arrangements have been made for the security of that property, such as its peculiar nature requires.

13. This is the extent of the neglect of the several Bengal administrations, from the time of Lord Cornwallis downwards. I do not excuse it. I am and I have long been as earnest as the Memorialists for its correction. But surely it is not a full and fair view of the social state of the agricultural people of Bengal, which would dwell upon the evils caused by the want of special arrangements for the security of their property in the soil; without noticing the fact that this property itself was the gift of the system impugned, and has grown up in spite of all the defects imputed to it.

22 October 1856.

(signed) *J. P. Grant.*

MINUTE by the Honourable *B. Peacock.*

I CANNOT beneficially add anything to the several minutes which have been recorded. I entirely agree in the opinions which have been expressed that a commission for the purpose specified in the Memorial is not necessary, and that such a commission ought not to be issued.

26 October 1856.

(signed) *B. Peacock*

No. 1647.

From *C. Beadon*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to *W. Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Sir,

Council Chamber, 11 November 1856.

I AM directed by the Governor-general in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1336, dated the 19th September, forwarding a Memorial from certain reverend Christian Missionaries residing in and near Calcutta, in which

Home Department.

it is prayed that the Government will issue a commission to inquire into the condition of the people of India, and the means of improving it.

2. With this Memorial you have also submitted a minute by the Lieutenant-governor, in which his Honour has recorded his reasons for declining to support the proposal.

3. Your subsequent letter, No. 1368, dated the 27th September, forwards a petition from the Committee of the British Indian Association, requesting that the prayer of the Memorial of the Missionaries may be acceded to.

4. The Governor-general in Council has read and deliberated upon these documents, with the care and attention due to the importance of the subjects they treat of, and to the excellent and earnest men by whom the Memorial has been presented ; and he has arrived at the conclusion that the course recommended by the Memorialists, while likely to give rise to very serious evils, would fail to secure or forward in any degree the end at which the Government no less than the Memorialists aim, namely, the moral and social improvement of the people.

5. I am directed, therefore, to request that, with the permission of the Lieutenant-governor, you will inform the reverend Missionaries and the Committee of the British Indian Association that his Lordship in Council, concurring in the views recorded in his Honour's minute, cannot consent to the appointment of a commission for the purposes indicated in the Memorial.

6. The subject will be reported for the information of the home authorities by the next mail.

I have, &c.
(signed) *C. Beadon*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

(True copies.)

East India House, }
16 February 1857. }

J. S. Mill,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

EAST INDIA (JUDICIAL ESTABLISH-
MENTS, &c.)

P A P E R S

ON THE

EAST INDIA JUDICIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

(*Sir Erskine Perry.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
17 February 1857.

5l.

Under 3 oz.

EAST INDIA (POLICE SYSTEM, BENGAL)

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 9 March 1857;—for

COPY "of a DESPATCH relating to the System of POLICE in the Bengal Presidency."

East India House, }
13 March 1857. }

JAMES C. MELVILL.

POLICE OF INDIA.

Judicial Department, 24th September (No. 41,) 1856.

Our Governor-General of India in Council.

Para. 1. OUR attention has been directed on various occasions of late to the character and proceedings of the police in different parts of India; and the reports which from time to time have been laid before us have combined, with many incidental notices of failure or abuse, to deepen the conviction that an immediate and thorough reform of the police in all the old provinces of British India is loudly called for.

2. In considering the measures to be taken for effecting such a reform, it will be necessary to advert very briefly to the arrangements already existing in the several presidencies, to the evils of the present system, and to the duties for which provision must be made.

3. The districts in all the Presidencies are subdivided into several subordinate jurisdictions, each of which has its local police. In Bengal the local police "are prohibited from inquiring into cases of a petty nature; but complaints in cases of the more serious offences are usually laid before the police darogha, who is authorised to examine the complaint, to issue process of arrest, to summon witnesses, to examine the accused, and to forward the case to the magistrate, or submit a report of his proceedings, according as the evidence may, in his judgment, warrant the one or the other course." They are, in fact, charged with all the duties of a preventive and detective police. In the Lower Provinces they exercise no revenue functions, but in the North-Western Provinces the tehsildars may be vested with the powers of police daroghas at the discretion of the Government.

First Report,
Indian Law Commission, page 119.

4. The duties ordinarily performed in Bengal by the police daroghas are in the Presidency of Madras performed by the tehsildar, who, as his title implies, is also a revenue officer. The powers of the tehsildars, however, are much more extensive than those of the police darogha. A tehsildar is authorised not only to inquire into petty cases, which the Bengal darogha is prohibited, on pain of dismissal from office, from investigating, but also to proceed in certain specified instances to judgment, sentence, and the infliction of punishment.

5. In Bombay the revenue and police functions were, up to a recent period, as much combined in the same officers as at Madras. In their police capacity these officers were authorised to investigate all complaints of a criminal nature, and, like the tehsildars of Madras, exercised a p^enal jurisdiction in respect of certain petty offences. A material alteration, however, has recently been made. An officer, styled superintendent of police, has been placed under the general orders of the magistrate. While the magistrate confines himself, for the most part, to judicial and administrative matters, the superintendent has the control of the executive

executive police and the command of the entire subsidiary body, with the initiative in the prevention and detection of crime. To aid the superintendent in the supervision of the district police, there is placed in each police division under his orders an officer called joint police amildar, whose duties, in regard to the preservation of the public peace and the investigation into crimes of a serious nature, are much the same as those of the Bengal darogha, but who has no power to punish even the most trivial offences.

6. It thus appears that, apart from the penal powers exercised by the Madras district police, the Bengal darogha, the Madras tehsildar, and the Bombay joint amildar, all act to a certain extent judicially when engaged in investigating crimes of a serious nature. They examine the parties and the evidence, and they form a judgment on the case to the extent of deciding whether it is one for immediate arrest of the accused and transmission to the magistrate or otherwise. They are further required to act for the prevention of crime, and to apprehend and bring to justice all persons charged with serious offences.

7. That the police in India has lamentably failed in accomplishing the ends for which it was established is a notorious fact; that it is all but useless for the prevention, and sadly inefficient for the detection, of crime, is generally admitted. Unable to check crime, it is, with rare exceptions, unscrupulous as to its mode of wielding the authority with which it is armed for the functions which it fails to fulfil, and has a very general character for corruption and oppression. There is, moreover, a want of general organisation; the force attached to each division is too much localised and isolated; and the notion of combination between any separate parts of it, with the view of accomplishing the great objects of a body of police, is seldom entertained.

8. The evils, then, with which, under the existing system, we have to contend are to be found both in the character and in the want of organisation of the police.

9. The chief cause of the inefficiency of the police is what operates in all countries where it is not adequately overlooked and controlled; accordingly, it is found in India, that only in districts of less extent than usual, or favoured by an extraordinary degree of zeal, activity, and bodily strength on the part of the magistrate in the habit of making frequent tours, are the misconduct and corruption of the subordinate police systematically subjected to be checked by the higher intelligence and sterling honesty which happily distinguish the covenanted servants of the Government of India.

10. And yet, notwithstanding their possession of these high qualities, combined, in frequent instances, with zeal and energy of no common order, it is, we repeat, not too much to say that effectual supervision and control have seldom been exercised by the English officers in charge of the police. This, in our opinion, is the cause of failure, and the reasons are briefly these: the enormous size of the districts committed to the hands of each officer in charge of the police, and the conflicting and distracting claims of other important duties, which would have been in themselves sufficient to incapacitate those on whom they are imposed for the effectual superintendence of a police formed of such materials as we have described, even had these respective jurisdictions been of such an area as to render it physically possible that they should keep any considerable proportion of their subordinate agents of the system under their eyes, and hold them properly in hand. If proof were needed of the truth of this position, it might be given in the simple circumstance that whenever it has been found necessary to grapple effectually with any particular crimes, such as thuggee or dacoity, an entirely separate instrumentality has been found to be indispensable for the purpose, and generally successful. And yet, although specially selected for the peculiar duty, and acting in a comparatively limited sphere, the European officers employed to investigate these terrible crimes, and to apprehend the offenders, have not always been able to prevent their native subordinates from harassing and preying upon the community.

11. In justice to the native officers of police, mention of one other chief cause of failure must not be omitted. Although some partial improvement took place of late years, the majority of the principal officers of the native police, from a want of knowledge of the importance of their

even to the necessary expenses of their employment in the public service, and of their social position.

12. To remedy the evils of the existing system, the first step to be taken is, wherever the union at present exists, to separate the police from the administration of the land revenue. No native officer should be trusted with double functions in this respect. We do not see the same objection to the combination of magisterial and fiscal functions in the hands of our European officers, because we can better hope they will not abuse their powers, and because, by employing the collector as the principal magistrate of each district, we are able to obtain for the chief administration of the penal laws a more efficient, and especially a more experienced class of officers than would otherwise be available. This is an important consideration, which ought never to be lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is still more important that the officers who control the police, should be required to undertake frequent tours of their districts. And they must not be so burdened with other duties, such as the preparation of forms, returns, and statements, as to be deprived of the time sufficient for this essential purpose. This supervision exercised by intelligent officers, who are accessible at all times, is the most certain and effectual check to every abuse of authority by subordinate servants of police.

13. In the second place, the management of the police of each district should be taken out of the hands of the magistrate (who would thus have more time for the exercise of the double functions adverted to in the foregoing paragraph,) and be committed to an European officer, with no other duties, and responsible to a general superintendent of police for the whole Presidency.

14. Finally, we must endeavour to raise the status, and to secure the honesty of the principal native officers of police, by raising their salaries, so as at once to place the legitimate emoluments of their several appointments in a nearer relation with the importance of their functions, with the trust that must necessarily be reposed in them, and with the great value to the people of good and honest service on their parts, and at the same time to render the tenure of their respective situations an advantage not to be lightly risked, for the sake either of factitious and temporary credit with their superiors, or of illicit gain. In remodelling the police, it might be advisable, as a general measure, to admit only those old officers of police at the higher salaries who have distinguished themselves by remarkable zeal and efficiency. We think that a large portion of those taken into the new police should be men who have had nothing to do with the old system.

15. We are quite aware that the practical measures to which we have above adverted will not accomplish all that is requisite to a thorough reform of the police in India. But we are persuaded that much practical improvement of the existing state of things may be effected by a better system of supervision and control, by an adequate scale of emoluments, by promptly rewarding the deserving, and by more certainly and severely punishing the corrupt and cruel.

16. These measures, however, must be accompanied by another of the utmost importance. One great object to be aimed at in the reform of the police, is to convince the people that the Government is earnest in its endeavours to place the system upon such a footing as shall most effectually secure the ends for which it has been instituted. To ensure this, it will be necessary to make material changes in the constitution and organisation of the police. The existing force is so condemned by the authorities, and so hated by the people, that a mere attempt at reform, without such changes, would be a serious error, and would bring about its own failure, from the public and general conviction of its inadequacy to the great object in view. We observe with deep regret the long continuance of this evil under our administration. We think it desirable that an enactment should be passed, vesting in the magistrate or superintendent of police the powers of summarily inflicting severe punishment on policemen in proved cases of delinquency, and that the local government should be invariably apprised of instances of their intelligence and intrepidity, and be prompt and liberal in rewarding such conduct.

17. The police in all the Presidencies, as already observed, are charged with various duties. They are required to preserve the peace, to prevent crime, to investigate crimes committed, to detect and arrest offenders, and to procure evidence

DESPATCH RELATING TO THE SYSTEM

evidence of guilt. Their duties are both of a preventive and of a detective character. In the regulation districts of the several presidencies these duties are combined in the same persons; in some other parts of India, as in the Punjab, they are separated.

First Report on
the Punjab,
page 13.

18. "The police establishments of the Punjab may be ranged under two heads, namely, the preventive police, with a military organisation, and the detective police, with a civil organisation." These two bodies have been in existence for some years, and have done good service.

19. It will probably be objected, at the outset, that while the police of the Punjab may be well adapted to the condition of the country in which it is employed, it is wholly unsuited to the condition of the territories which, for a very long time, have had a police with nothing of a military character.

20. We do not desire, of course, that the preventive police should be of the same strength in those parts of India which have been for the longest period subject to our rule, and where the crimes committed are generally those of fraud and stealth, as in those provinces where the habits of the people are predatory and turbulent. The general plan should be modified so that it may accommodate itself to the various circumstances of the country and the people. But with this obvious condition, we see nothing to prevent the extension of the system, which has worked well in the Punjab, into our older possessions; and if, under that system, the police be properly organised and efficiently superintended, and afford greater protection to person and property than is the case at present, difficulties will soon be overcome, and objections will disappear.

21. We think, therefore, it will be well to follow the system of dividing the police into two separate portions, the preventive and detective, each having its own functions and each organised upon the most efficient plan, the latter exercising only such judicial powers as may be absolutely necessary for the investigation and detection of crime, the former exercising no judicial powers at all.

22. The size of the districts in India should, however, be reduced as much as possible, and such measures adopted as would enable you to dispense with the expensive machinery above adverted to, which in its full extent is not adapted to our old possessions. The great distance of the magistrates' court from many parts of the territory subject to his authority, will render it necessary for the present to give the detective police power to make preliminary inquiries before the parties and the witnesses are required to appear before the magistrate. Were the moonsiffs, however, generally invested with criminal jurisdiction, or were a criminal court with penal jurisdiction and with power to conduct the investigation in serious cases, preparatory to trial by a superior court, established in each division of a district (one or other of which ends should, we think, be arrived at in all our plans for the improvement of the police), it would become a question whether the strength of the detective police might not be considerably diminished.

23. The preventive police should be charged with the preservation of the public peace, and with the adoption of the necessary measures for the prevention of crime, but not with the preparation and production of evidence against criminals, which should be left entirely to the detective police. The preventive police should be one force for the whole Presidency or Lieutenant-governorship, but subdivided and stationed by the general superintendent, under the orders of Government, in selected localities, in the way most conducive to the attainment of the objects contemplated in its formation. The detective police might with advantage form a constituent portion of each battalion of the preventive police under the European officers.

24. The police of each Presidency or Lieutenant-governorship should be organised as far as possible upon a common plan for all India; it should consist of horse and foot; its larger divisions might be superintended by European subalterns, well acquainted with the language, and of not less than from six to eight years' service, and the whole should be superintended by one head. Its arms and equipments, clothing, and internal discipline, should be such as to preserve the character of a police, and to render it serviceable and efficient, without approaching an absolutely military organisation.

25. We have thrown out the foregoing remarks merely as suggestions upon the subject

subject to which we attach very great importance; and we desire that you will take the subject into your early consideration, and, after communication with the other Presidencies, report fully to us your sentiments as to the expediency of the general reorganisation of the police throughout India, upon some such system as that which obtains with respect to the police in the Punjab, or perhaps the constabulary of Ireland, and as to the mode and cost of the proposed reform.

26. We would further suggest, in connexion with this subject, whether the influence, services, and means of information of the landholders and European residents in the mofussil might not be made more available than at present for purposes of police, especially for the prevention and detection of the more heinous crimes.

We have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Sykes,*
R. D. Mangles,
&c. &c.

London, 24 September 1856.

(True copy.)

J. S. Mill,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

East India House, }
13 March 1857. }

**EAST INDIA (POLICE SYSTEM,
BENGAL).**

**COPY of a DESPATCH relating to the System of
Police in the Bengal Presidency.**

(Mr, Kinnaird.)

**Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
17 March 1857.**

127.

Under 1 or.

POLICE (BENGAL PRESIDENCY).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 20 July 1857;—for,

A COPY " of the DESPATCH from the Government of *India* to the Court
of Directors of the East India Company, dated the 14th day of May 1857,
with its several Inclosures, relating to the System of Police in the Bengal
Presidency."

India Board,
20 July 1857.]

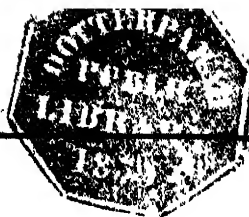
HENRY DANBY SEYMOUR.

(*Mr. Seymour.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
21 July 1857.

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COPY of the DESPATCH from the Government of *India* to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated the 14th May 1857, with its several Inclosures, relating to the System of POLICE in the BENGAL PRESIDENCY.

— No. 1. —

LETTER from the Government of *India* to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Home Department, Judicial.—No. 18 of 1857.

No. 1.
Letter from the
Government of
India to the Court
of Directors.
14 May 1857.

Honourable Sirs,

1. We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch in the Judicial Department, No. 41, dated the 24th September 1856, relative to the reform of the police throughout the older provinces of India.

2. This despatch has been communicated to the local governments with a view to obtain their opinions on the several measures suggested by your Honourable Court. But as all the material questions of police and criminal justice relating to the Lower Provinces, where reform is most urgently needed, had already been under discussion, and as we had before us the recommendations of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on all these questions, and as we are unanimously and decidedly of opinion that it is better to deal with each Presidency and Lieutenant-Governorship separately, according to its own wants, subject to those leading principles which should be common to all, than to endeavour to frame a general scheme for the whole of India, we have acted upon this opinion, and now submit our minutes, together with the previous correspondence, for your Honourable Court's early consideration and orders.

3. We are unanimously of opinion that the appointment of one superintendent of police for the whole of the Lower Provinces, is not expedient; and we consider the existing system of dividing the country into manageable tracts, consisting of four or five districts, and placing each district under the superintendence of a commissioner having authority in all executive departments, including the police, is the best which has yet been devised for India, and one which works well in Bengal, as well as elsewhere wherever it has been introduced. Our honourable colleague, Mr. Peacock, however, is of opinion that, though one superintendent of police for the whole of the Lower Provinces has been found insufficient, two, or at the most three, commissioners of police would be fully able to discharge the duties belonging to the office in the Regulation districts; and, as he considers the office of Commissioner of Revenue and Police in the Lower Provinces unnecessary, he proposes to abolish seven* out of the eight existing commissionerships, and to substitute two or three divisional Commissioners of Police.

4. We agree generally in the views expressed in the Right Honourable the Governor-General's Minute, as to the extent to which it is desirable that a military organisation should be given to the police of Bengal; and we think that a moveable corps of station guards, or military police, should be attached to each division, employed ordinarily in station and escort duties, but ready to assist the civil police in case of need.

5. Our opinions with regard to the proposal of the Lieutenant-Governor to increase the pay of the subordinate civil police will be found in the Minutes.

We

* Patna, Bhagulpore, Banleah, Dacca, Chittagong, Nuddes, Burdwan.

No. 1.
Letter from the
Government of
India to the Court
of Directors.
14 May 1857.

We agree generally in approving of this proposal so far as it goes. It will be for your Honourable Court to decide whether the further general increase in the pay of the darogahs, proposed by the Honourable Mr. Grant, is necessary.

6. As to the necessity of increasing the number of deputy magistrates, so as to provide for the closer supervision of the police darogahs, and supply a link in the chain of executive administration which in the North-western Provinces and in the Punjab is so efficiently supplied by the tehsildars, there is no difference of opinion. Even if it should be determined that this class of officers should be divested of all judicial power, it seems certain that their duties as supervising police officers could not properly be performed by a smaller number than that proposed in the Governor-General's Minute.

7. The union of the offices of magistrate and collector, in those districts of the Lower Provinces in which they had been disunited, was proposed by Lord Dalhousie as Governor of Bengal in 1854, but being objected to by the Honourable Mr. Grant in his Minute of the 23d November 1854, the question was referred to the Lieutenant-Governor for his opinion. The views of the Lieutenant-Governor, which are strongly in favour of the measure, were submitted on the 13th March 1855, and the question has since received full discussion in the Minutes, to which we must refer your Honourable Court for our several opinions. The Regulation Districts of the Lower Provinces, in which the two offices are held together, are noted on the margin.* Those in which they have been separated are—(1) Sarun, (2) Shahabad, (3) Patna, (4) Behar, (5) Tirhoot, (6) Monghyr, (7) Purneah, (8) Dinagepore, (9) Rungpore, (10) Rajshahye, (11) Mymensing, (12) Dacca, (13) Sylhet, (14) Tipperah, (15) Chittagong, (16) Backergunge, (17) Jessore, (18) Nuddea, (19) Moorshedabad, (20) 24-Pergunnahs, (21) Burdwan, (22) Hooghly, and (23) Midnapore.

8. With these brief observations, we submit the papers to your Honourable Court, and shall await the expression of your Honourable Court's views on the several points at issue before taking any further steps. We hope to be favoured with those views at an early date.

We have, &c.
(signed) Canning.
J. Dorin.
J. Low.
J. P. Grant.
B. Peacock.

Fort William, 14 May 1857.

No. 2.

Letter from the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal to C. Allen,
Esq.
28 April 1854.

— No. 2. —

LETTER from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to C. Allen, Esq.,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Judicial.—No. 924.

Sir,

Dated Fort William, the 28th April 1854.

1. I AM directed by the most noble the Governor of Bengal to request that you will lay before the Government of India the enclosed copy of a note prepared under his Lordship's instructions, with the following remarks.

2. During three of the six years that his Lordship has held the Government of India, the local administration of the Government of Bengal has also been in his hands. In those years some of the imperfections, which time had exposed in the frame of the local administration, have been amended. Parliament has lately supplied a remedy for that great deficiency, the effects of which pervaded the entire system, and was felt in every department of the administration—namely, the

* Bhaugulpore, Beerbhoom, Cuttack, Balasore, Pooree, Pubna, Maldah, Bogra, Bulloah, Ferozepore, Bankoora, Baraset, Chumprun.

the want of a Lieutenant-Governor, who should be able to devote the whole of his time and capacity to these Lower Provinces alone. There still remain a few conspicuous wants and errors, which his Lordship's experience in this Government has convinced him ought to be supplied and amended; and on which he wishes to submit recommendations to the Government of India before he lays his local authority down.

No. 2.
Letter from the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal to C. Allen,
Esq.
28 April 1854.

3. The first of these errors is the separation of the offices of collector and magistrate, contrary to the system which formerly prevailed throughout the Presidency, and to that which still prevails in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-western Provinces.

4. It is unnecessary for his Lordship to consume space upon the record by tracing the mode in which this change was gradually established in the Lower Provinces, since the whole is fully and clearly detailed in the annexed note. It is manifest that, at the time when the change was proposed, the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, strongly doubted the expediency of the measure. It is equally manifest that the Honourable Court regarded the proposed change with disfavour, and it is quite certain, in his Lordship's judgment, that the misgivings which were thus expressed in 1836, of the expediency of the measure, were well founded, and that the separation of the two offices has been injurious to the character of the administration and to the interests of the people. For the result has been, that there is now in the Lower Provinces one class of officers, the collectors, of mature standing, highly paid, and with very little work; while there is another class, the magistrates, inadequately paid, with very heavy work, and without sufficient experience to enable them to do that work in such a manner as fully to command the confidence of the community, however zealous and active they may usually be.

5. These are mischievous evils in themselves. They are doubly mischievous, because they give colour to plausible denunciation of abuses alleged to exist equally in the revenue and judicial management of the East India Company, and lead a distant and ill-informed public in England to receive as startling truths all the outrageous exaggerations they hear or read about "Boy Judges" and idle collectors "shaking the Pagoda Tree."

6. The remedy for such evil as really exists in the present system is simple. It consists, as it seems to his Lordship, in re-uniting the offices of collector and of magistrate. The remedy seems to him to be not only simple but certain; for the additional experience of 17 years has amply tested the opinion expressed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-western Provinces in 1837, in favour of keeping these offices united, and has fully confirmed its accuracy.

7. The Governor, therefore, begs leave to recommend to the Government of India that steps should be taken for re-uniting the offices above mentioned, so that there shall be in the Lower Provinces, as in the North-western Provinces, one office of magistrate and collector, and one at least of joint magistrate and deputy collector in each district.

8. His Lordship recommends that this change in the form of administration should be made immediately, if the sanction of the higher authorities be given, whether the other errors which still remain to be noticed shall be corrected or not.

9. These errors are, the perpetual change of civil officers from one district to another, and from one branch of administration to another, and the great deficiency of gradual training, more especially for judicial functions.

10. Those who are acquainted with the details of the system are aware that some explanation may be given of what appears, to many, a total want of all training throughout its different branches. But when people, not acquainted with the details, are told that a young civil officer, after being for some time an assistant, when he is nothing in particular, is made a magistrate; that after a few years, quitting the magistracy for the revenue branch, he becomes a collector; that after a few more years his next step of promotion takes him from revenue duties, and makes him a judge; that if he be a man of ability he will probably, from a judgeship, be moved to the office of commissioner of revenue; and that the same ability will, in all probability, next promote him from a revenue com-

missionership

No. 2.
Letter from the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal to G. Allen,
Esq.
18 April 1854.

missionership back to the judicial bench in the Sudder Court,—when people hear that a civil officer thus oscillates through his whole career between executive and judicial duties, and that each step he gains is one which does not tend to fit him for the step that follows after—when people hear all this, what wonder can there be that the administrative system is condemned off-hand, and that all the evidence given in explanation before Committees of Parliament, and then buried deep in folio blue books, wholly fails to remove the ill impression that has been produced?

11. Most probably nothing will ever remove the prejudice so often shown, or silence the clamours of assailants who will never cease to attack. But there is in reality much room for amendment; and his Lordship thinks that the Government of India cannot too soon engage in the attempt.

12. It seems to his Lordship that the true theory of Indian government, such as has been partially followed with success in the North-western Provinces, and still more completely in the Non-regulation Districts, is the entire subjection of every civil officer in a division to the commissioner at the head of it, and the entire subjection of every executive officer in a district to its executive chief. Even as regards judicial officers, his Lordship is inclined to think that a great advantage is gained by placing them in all matters of an executive nature directly under the commissioner, just as the Sudder Court in its executive capacity is subordinate to the local Government, and by leaving them independent only as regards their judicial decisions.

13. Applying this view to the constitution of the civil service in the Regulation Provinces, it strikes his Lordship that the most effective plan of administration would be to equalise the salaries of the chief executive and judicial officers; and to place both in subordination to the commissioner. At the head of every district there would then be a chief executive officer, designated by the title either of magistrate and collector, or by any other more suitable appellation. He would have entire control over every department of the executive in his district, revenue, minor criminal justice, police, registration, public works, education, jail, &c. He would have under him a sufficient staff of covenanted and uncovenanted assistants, and he would be directly and entirely responsible to the commissioner. In one or more districts there would also be an European judge on the same salary as that of a magistrate and collector, charged with the superintendence and administration of civil and criminal justice as at present, responsible to the Sudder Court, but liable to have his executive arrangements inspected, and his supervision over the inferior judges controlled by the commissioner. In every district there would be one or more covenanted assistants (including joint magistrates and deputy collectors) who would be at the disposal of the executive chief, but available for employment under the judge for some portion, say two days, of the week, either as assessors, or assistant judges, in the trial of cases before a full mofussil bench, or in the trial of small original suits, within the jurisdiction of a moonsiff. The assistants would thus gain experience in every department both judicial and executive; they would rise as they became qualified to the superior grade equivalent to that of joint magistrate and deputy collector; and at the end of ten or twelve years' apprenticeship, they would be eligible for independent and responsible employment as either judicial or executive head of a district. They would in this manner be qualified by previous experience for either department, and the choice would be made by Government with due advertence to the qualifications of each officer. Those who showed a preference and a fitness for judicial employ would become judges, and those who preferred executive duty would become magistrates and collectors.

14. The destination and employment of an officer being thus once fixed, there would be no further change either from office to office, or from district to district, until a civil servant became qualified by standing for a commissionership, and consequently the average time during which the executive and judicial administration of each district remained in the same hands would be about ten or twelve years, instead of less than half that time as at present. It is probable that commissioners would ordinarily be selected from among those who had taken the executive line of the service, but the power of the Government to select a commissioner from among the judges should by no means be restricted. So in like manner the selection of judges for the Sudder Court would ordinarily be from among

among those who had followed the judicial line of the service, but it would be of most mischievous effect to tie the hands of Government and prevent it from selecting a man of great ability for the Sudder bench from among the officers of the executive branch. The early training of civilians in all departments would afford the technical experience necessary for the discharge of high functions in either department, and individual ability would supply the rest.

No. 2.

Letter from the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal to C. Allen,
Esq.
28 April 1894.

15. Supposing it determined that the salaries of the judges on the one hand, and the magistrates and collectors on the other, are to be equalised, it would then have to be considered what the amount of their salaries is to be. And this question will have to be considered with reference to what is proper and what is practicable; for, on the one hand, his Lordship would not propose any increase in the aggregate expense of the present establishment, and on the other, he thinks it of much importance to fix and maintain the salaries of the officers vested with the highest judicial and executive authority in each district at as high a rate as the present limits of expenditure will allow. After much consideration his Lordship is disposed to think that the salary now given to magistrates and collectors in the North-western Provinces is the best and most convenient standard to take, and he apprehends that this standard, combined with a re-arrangement of the inferior salaries, will be found on the whole to attain, in the least objectionable manner, the objects above referred to, without any positive material deduction in numbers, and with a very material increase in efficiency by means of a better disposition of the force at command.

16. His Lordship is anxious at the same time to get rid of the intermediate scale of 18,000 rupees a year now attached to a few offices under this Government. This intermediate scale gives rise to much inconvenience in practice, for every member of the service who enjoys a salary of 1,000 rupees a month expects to be promoted in his turn to a salary of 1,500 rupees a month, and again to a salary of 2,000 rupees a month; and as there are only seven offices on the intermediate salary, and promotion goes at the rate of about seven steps a year, it follows that, under ordinary circumstances, no man can remain in one of these offices for more than a year, and the inconvenience can only be remedied, and that not always, by making a nominal transfer to the substantive appointment and keeping a junior officer acting in it.

17. The present establishment is as follows:—

26 Judges	- - - - -	at Rs. 30,000 -	Rs. 7,80,000
3 Magistrates and Collectors	- - - - -	28,000 -	„ 84,000
23 Collectors	- - - - -	23,000 -	„ 5,29,000
3 Collectors	- - - - -	18,000 -	„ 54,000
1 Magistrate	- - - - -	28,000 -	„ 28,000
25 Magistrates	- - - - -	10,800 -	„ 2,70,000
4 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	- - - - -	18,000 -	„ 72,000
4 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	- - - - -	12,000 -	„ 48,000
11 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	- - - - -	8,400 -	„ 92,400
100			Rs. 19,57,400

The establishment his Lordship would propose would be as follows:—

26 Judges	- - - - -	at Rs. 27,000 -	Rs. 7,02,000
30 Magistrates and Collectors	- - - - -	„ 27,000 -	„ 8,10,000
22 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	- - - - -	„ 12,000 -	„ 2,64,000
21 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	- - - - -	„ 8,400 -	„ 1,76,400
			19,52,400

With a special allowance of Rs. 3,000 a year for the Judge and the Magistrate and Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs, on account of the expense of a residence at the Presidency.

6,000

Rs. 19,58,400

No. 2.

Letter from the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal to C. Allen,
Esq.

22 April 1854.

18. This scheme, the details of which are more fully shown in the tables annexed to the enclosed note, would practically recognise only three grades of salary, viz., 700 rupees a month, 1,000 rupees a month, and 2,250 rupees a month. The aggregate expense would be the same as at present, and in respect to details it is only necessary to observe that at Pubna and Noakolly, where the work is fully equal to that of an ordinary district, the office is raised from that of a joint magistrate and deputy collector on 18,000 to a magistrate and collector on 27,000, while on the other hand Maldah and Bogra, where the work is much less, are reduced from 18,000 rupees to 12,000 rupees a year. Supposing the Court of Directors to recruit the civil service, as they have been requested to do, so as to provide one assistant for each district, to the number of thirty-seven, a civilian under this scheme would obtain his first promotion in about five or six years after leaving college, he would rise to 1,000 rupees a month in about four years more, and at about 13 or 14 years' standing, when at the age of 33 or 34, and full of experience in every department of civil administration, he would have to take his choice either of the executive or judicial line, and there remain in ordinary course to the end of his career; and those selected for higher employment would hardly have had to serve in independent charge of a district in one department or the other for less than six or seven years.

19. To that part of the above scheme which goes to equalise the salaries of the judicial and executive chiefs of districts, an objection will perhaps be made, weak in itself, and more so as compared with the advantage of fixing a civilian's career at a comparatively early period of his service, but one which will carry weight to some minds accustomed to the present constitution of the service. This supposed objection is, that an appeal lies from the magistrate to the judge, and that the judge may frequently be a man of much less age and experience, as well as less ability, than the magistrate. As regards ability, matters will remain very much as they are at present, and in other respects his Lordship thinks that, apart from the general objection to appeals from one individual judgment to another individual judgment, it signifies little what may be the relative ages and general experience of the original and appellate judges, provided that it be the special business of the latter to weigh evidence and decide cases undisturbed by the distractions of executive detail. Moreover, his Lordship hopes that the time is not far distant when all criminal, as well as other judicial appeals will be heard before a bench of judges of whom the civilian judge will be only one of the members.

20. The Governor does not, however, press the immediate introduction of this change with the same urgency as he has pressed the union of the offices of magistrate and collector. It will be necessary to consider it well, and to refer it to other divisions of the Presidency. He begs leave, however, to recommend it to the early and favourable consideration of the Government of India.

21. The measures now suggested for improving the judicial branch of the administration will still be imperfect in his Lordship's opinion, unless some provision be made for counteracting the tendency which now exists to draw all the ablest men among the judges to be commissioners of revenue, a step which leads too frequently, but necessarily, to the judges of the Sudder Court being usually selected from among the commissioners of revenue. The only mode of counteracting this tendency is by raising the salaries of a certain number of the judges to an equality with the salaries of the commissioner, so that a man of ability, well qualified for the discharge of judicial duties, may be retained in the judicial branch without the loss of salary and promotion, in which such a measure on the part of the Government must now involve him.

22. Having already alluded to this subject in the Home Department of the Government of India, his Lordship will not dwell upon it now, but reserves it for the consideration of the Governor-General in Council.

I have, &c.,

(signed) Cecil Beadon,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

— No. 3. —

Note by the Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Dated 3 December, 1853.

No. 3.
Note by the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal.
3 Dec. 1853.

THE Most Noble the Governor having been satisfied of the disadvantages attending the present constitution of the office of superintendent of police, and having recommended to the Government of India its abolition, and the retransfer of its duties to the revenue commissioners, the next question for consideration as respects the civil executive administration of these provinces, is that of reuniting the offices of magistrate and collector in one person.

2. Previous to 1836, and for some time afterwards, the two offices were united in Bengal, as they are to this day in the North-western Provinces. In 1836 a committee was appointed to take into consideration the state of the police in these provinces, and among other measures they recommended that the offices of magistrate and collector should be separated.

The arguments used by the committee in support of this recommendation were the following :—

First.—That since the union of the office of magistrate with that of collector (it had formerly been joined with that of judge), the encouragement which had excited zeal and activity in the police, by making the office of magistrate the principal channel to distinction, had been transferred to the revenue department, and that the police had accordingly come to be considered a matter of secondary importance.

Second.—That when two functions are united in one officer, that portion of his duties is neglected in which the Government for the time being takes the least interest; and as the Government cannot wait for its revenue, the police consequently is, and then actually was, neglected.

Third.—That men of sufficient standing in the service to be magistrates and collectors are not so active as a superintending police officer ought to be, and that the joint magistrates were either not trusted by their superiors, or if trusted, would work much better on their own responsibility.

Fourth.—That in the permanently settled provinces, where the collector has little communication with the agricultural community but what renders him unpopular, the advantage that might be derived from the conjoined influence and greater experience, was counterbalanced by greater inconveniences.

Fifth.—The collectors are apt to call in the police to aid fiscal operations, and that therefore it is necessary that their proceeding should be checked by a separate authority in the district.

Sixth.—That by the separation of the two offices, the attention of each officer would be less distracted by conflicting duties; that each would be responsible for his own department; and that no idle or incompetent person could then be long tolerated in either situation.

3. The Governor of Bengal (Lord Auckland) addressing the Honourable Court of Directors, in 1837, on the subject, observed as follows: "The question of gradually separating the office of magistrate from the collectorships of the several districts of the Bengal presidency is now under my earnest deliberation. It is one of great difficulty, not merely on financial considerations, but with reference to the very doubtful points whether, in the present state of the covenanted service, a judge, a magistrate, and a collector, of adequate ability, could be allotted to each district in the Lower Provinces, until, at any rate, existing operations under the resumption laws be brought to a close; and secondly, whether, the small number of highly competent functionaries of grades below the judicial Bench being taken into account, the police would, on the whole, be benefited by a division of labour which would assign a large proportion

Union of the office of magistrate and collector.

General control of Commissioners over all departments.

Employment of assistants in judicial as well as executive duties.

Equalisation of the salary of judges with that of magistrates and collectors.

General recasting of district, executive, and judicial salaries.

No. 3.
Note by the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal.
3 Dec. 1853.

of those best qualified to administer it with effect to the revenue branch of the service exclusively."

4. But, previous to this, the recommendation of the Committee had been acted on in special instances; the offices had been disunited as vacancies occurred, in Patna, Moorshedabad, Midnapore, Burdwan; and an intention was expressed of adopting the same course in other specified districts where the duties were particularly heavy, though the Government was entirely opposed to a precipitate change of system.

5. The Honourable Court replied to Lord Auckland's despatch in 1838, and observed as follows:—

"The merits of the question are well stated in the proceedings before us. In favour of the separation, is the increased attention to the duties now joined together, which it would render practicable. We do not find it alleged by you that the office of magistrate has been made subservient to that of collector, and we trust, that, in point of principle, the union of the two has not from experience been found liable to that fatal objection. It has, however, sometimes been regarded as an advantage, when the two offices were separate, that; in point of fact, their respective amlahs operated as a check on each other. Against these advantages have justly been set the objections, first, of increased expense, and secondly, of the inadequacy of the service to supply men of superior qualifications for exclusive employment in each of the two capacities. It may be added that a native establishment devoted altogether to the duties of police, and under the direction of a European officer solely occupied with the same duties, would be more apt, either from over zeal, or from corrupt motives, to harass the people by petty or unfounded charges, or by unnecessary summonses for attendance, than public servants connected with them by other relations also, and enabled to gain credit with their superiors for the exercise of other functions not of a vexatious nature. On the whole, we concur in the opinion to which Lord Auckland seems inclined, that there are not sufficient grounds for a general change of the established system (always in itself to be avoided unless the grounds for it be strong and unquestionable), but at the same time we admit that, under particular circumstances, the separation of the office of magistrate from that of collector may be found advisable, or even necessary, as you have already decided it to be, at Patna, Moorshedabad, Midnapore, and Burdwan."

6. About the same time the local Government, addressing the Sudder Court in reply to their report on the criminal administration for 1836, observed:—

"The Governor apprehends indeed that the Court have regarded the subject rather in the abstract, than with reference either to the general strength of the service or to the demands of other departments upon the agency at the command of Government. Under the old system, only two substantive officers, a judge and magistrate, and a collector, were required in each district, but whenever the magistracy is now separated from the collectorship, three must be supplied; and his Lordship considers it to be extremely doubtful whether, under the most favourable circumstances, three competent officers could be afforded to each of the 25 districts of the Lower Provinces, in addition to which the Court recommend that the magisterial and fiscal duties should be committed to separate hands in the subordinate districts of Pubna and Furreedpore. But whatever might be done in ordinary times, the efforts which are now being made for the improvement of the public resources from the land revenue, throughout the Lower Provinces, render it indispensable to the interests alike of the Government and of the community, that the department, upon the flourishing condition of which every measure of improvement, whether of the police or of civil justice, is absolutely dependant, should be administered, whilst such important operations are in progress, by none but highly efficient officers, and the due enforcement of the resumption laws, which had fallen into almost total abeyance, and which could be effected only by a division of labour, demands, at present, the services of not less than 12 very competent officers."

7. The opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-western Provinces, on the general question, as recorded in his proceedings in the Judicial Criminal Department, for the 2d quarter of 1837, was, that the union of the offices was beneficial to the happiness of the people and the efficiency of the public administration,

istration, and that the separation of the offices "tended to produce discord among the public functionaries, and a divided administration to the people, who are dragged different ways by the two authorities, and know not to which they can look for justice and protection; but that in an union of the offices, the knowledge which a collector necessarily has, or ought to have, of the people must greatly aid his efficiency in his capacity of magistrate."

No. 3.
Note by the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal.
3 Dec. 1853.

8. Still the progress of separation went on gradually in the Lower Provinces, until, in 1845, matters stood as at present, that is to say, the magisterial and fiscal offices were disunited everywhere except in the three districts of Cuttack, and in the independent joint magistracies of Pubna, Malda, Bogra, Bulloah, Furedpore, Bancoora, Baraset, and Chumparun. The salaries of the separated collectors have been uniformly fixed at 23,000 rupees a year, except in Bhaugulpore, Monghyr, and Beerbhoom, where they are 18,000 rupees. But the salaries of magistrates which it was intended at the time of separation should be in two grades, of 18,000 and 12,000 rupees, have been reduced by orders from home to 10,800 rupees.

9. The experience of the past 15 years has led many to the conclusion, that without gaining anything by the change,—for the isolated cases of effective police administration are not more numerous now than they were before,—we have reaped all the evils which Lord Auckland and the Court of Directors foresaw when yielding a reluctant assent to the separation of the two offices. We have suffered a grievous loss of power by maintaining a separate class of collectors, charged with special duties insufficient to occupy their time, and yet inhibited from rendering assistance to the other great branch of executive Government; and we have a class of magistrates overworked, underpaid, with limited experience, energetic and zealous, it is true, but commonly wanting in the discretion which is only gained by experience, and frequently so young as not to command the respect of either the native or European community, and to afford a plausible pretext for the vulgar objection urged against the Government of employing boy-magistrates.

10. The collection of the land revenue of these provinces and the duties connected with it, with a few exceptions here and there, has become a matter of such routine as not to furnish a sufficient quantity of suitable employment for a highly-paid collector, whose chief duty is the control and supervision of subordinates, while the mode in which the revenue is paid, that is to say, directly into the Government treasury at the Sudder station, without the intervention of a tahsildar or any intermediate officer, leaves the collector neither the means of becoming acquainted with the people of his district through others, nor any inducement to associate with, and become accessible to them himself. On the other hand, the personal influence which the collector undoubtedly possesses, and always must possess, especially among the zemindars of a district, and which, as an adjunct to the authority of the magistrate, might be made most useful to the State, is now in the majority of cases allowed to remain barren, and has occasionally, though I hope rarely, been used to thwart the proceedings of the magistrate.

11. Even if it were in the power of the Government to command the agency requisite for a thoroughly efficient though separate administration of land revenue and police, I should greatly question the wisdom of separating functions, the joint exercise of which, whatever may be said to the contrary, is in India not only not incompatible or objectionable, but positively conducive to the highest efficiency of administration in both departments; and in the absence of such agency, the wisdom of reverting to the old arrangement, which still subsists in the North-western Provinces and Cuttack, seems to me incontrovertible. Under the present system, our magistrates vary from eleven to five years' standing in the service. During that period, when between twenty-five and thirty-one years of age, they are charged with the preservation of peace and order, and with the security of life and property throughout large districts; the real representatives of the character and authority of Government in the eyes of the people, without any official superior at hand to control and guide them, or any but private and irresponsible advice to depend upon; and when at the age of thirty-one their experience is matured, and they have arrived at a period of life when the physical and intellectual powers are together in full vigour, they are transferred to

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to another department of the service, for the special duties of which they have had little training, and that almost forgotten, and where their time is insufficiently occupied, and their energies rust until their turn comes for promotion to the judicial bench.

12. I do not understand how any weight could ever have been given to the argument for disuniting the offices of magistrate and collector, founded upon the presumption that collectors might call in the police to aid them in fiscal operations. Perhaps it is a sufficient answer to say that in the North-western Provinces, where the danger, if it be not altogether chimerical, is far more imminent than in Bengal, the union of the two offices is productive of no such mischievous result. But when the amount of every man's dues is known,—when the law provides ample process for their realisation,—and when the civil courts and an appeal to the local commissioner afford due security against abuse of power, even if there were any motive to resort to it, the apprehension of such abuse may have formed a pretext, but could never have been a real reason, for the measure.

13. The chief duties of covenanted English officers in this country are those of superintendence and control. Such duties are best and most effectually exercised for the common weal when centred in one authority within a given tract of country. The principle which holds good of a local governor in the presidency he governs, holds equally good of a commissioner within his division, and of a magistrate and collector (or, as he would more properly be called, a deputy commissioner) within his district; and the principle is capable of further advantageous extension to local subdivisions of convenient extent, like tahsildaries in the North-western Provinces, or those under deputy magistrates and collectors in Bengal.

14. The only separation of functions which is really desirable is that of the executive and judicial, the one being a check upon the other; and if the office of magistrate and collector be reconstituted on its former footing, I think it will have to be considered whether the powers of a criminal judge now vested in the magistrate, extending to three years' imprisonment with labour in irons, might not be properly curtailed,—whether the magistrates should not be required to make over the greater portion of their judicial duties to qualified subordinates, devoting their own attention chiefly to police matters and the general executive management of their districts,—and whether the moonsiffs, under an improved and simplified code of civil procedure, might not be charged with the trial and decision of summary suits for arrears of rent.

15. If there should appear sufficient ground in the foregoing observations to justify and require a departure from the existing practice, and a return to the footing on which the executive administration of the Regulation Provinces under this Government stood in 1836, aided materially by other improvements subsequently introduced, and now in the course of introduction, I think the opportunity may well be taken to revise the whole system by which promotion in the civil service is now regulated, and to remove, as far as possible and desirable, the reproach which now attaches to the Government on account of the frequent change of officers from one office to another, and from one district to another, and to set apart more completely than at present a portion of the service for the exclusive discharge of judicial duties.

16. It has always appeared to me that the further we have departed from the Indian system of centring all executive control within a given tract of country in the hands of one man, the more we have weakened our hands, and frittered away the administrative force which, centred in one responsible officer, can be far better and more effectually exercised for the protection and improvement of society than when, under the specious argument of a division of labour, the same force is divided between two independent and frequently antagonistic departments.

17. It seems to me that the true theory of Indian government, such as has been partially followed with success in the North-western Provinces, and still more completely in our Non-regulation Districts, is the entire subjection of every civil officer in a division to the commissioner at the head of it, and the entire subjection of every officer in a district to its executive chief. Even as regards judicial

judicial officers, I am satisfied that a great advantage is gained by placing them in all matters of an executive nature directly under the commissioner, just as the Sudder Court in its executive capacity is subordinate to the local Government, and leaving them independent only as regards their judicial decisions.

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18. Applying this view to the constitution of the civil service in our Regulation Provinces, it strikes me that the most effective plan of administration would be to equalise the salaries of the chief executive and judicial officers, and place both in subordination to the commissioner. At the head of every district there should be a chief executive officer, designated by the title either of magistrate and collector, or by any other more suitable appellation. He should have entire control over every department of the executive in his district, revenue, minor criminal justice, police, registration, public works, education, jail, &c. He should have under him a sufficient staff of covenanted and uncovenanted assistants, and he should be directly and entirely responsible to the commissioner. In one or more districts there should also be an European judge, on the same salary as that of a magistrate and collector, charged with the superintendence and administration of civil and criminal justice as at present, responsible to the Sudder Court, but liable to have his executive arrangements inspected, and his supervision over the inferior judges controlled by the commissioner. In every district there should be one or more covenanted assistants (including joint-magistrates and deputy-collectors), who should be at the disposal of the executive chief, but available for employment under the judge for two days in the week, either as assessors or assistant judges, in the trial of cases before a full mofussil bench, or in the trial of small original suits within the jurisdiction of a moonsiff. The assistants would thus gain experience in every department both judicial and executive; they would rise as qualified to the superior grade, equivalent to that of joint-magistrate and deputy-collector, and at the end of ten or twelve years' apprenticeship they would be eligible for independent and responsible employment, as either judicial or executive head of a district. They would in this manner be qualified by previous experience for either department, and the choice would be made by Government with due advertence to the qualifications of each officer. Those who showed a preference and a fitness for judicial employ would become judges, and those who preferred executive duty would become magistrates and collectors.

19. The destination and employment of an officer being thus once fixed, there would be no further change, either from office to office or from district to district, until a civil servant became qualified by standing for a commissionership, and consequently the average time during which the executive and judicial administration of each district remained in the same hands would be about 10 or 12 years, instead of less than half that time as at present. It is probable that commissioners would ordinarily be selected from among those who had taken the executive line of the service; but the power of the Government to select a commissioner from among the judges, should by no means be restricted. So in like manner the selection of judges for the Sudder Court would ordinarily be from among those who had followed the judicial line of the service; but it would be of most mischievous effect to tie the hands of Government, and prevent it from selecting a man of great ability for the Sudder Bench from among the officers of the executive branch. The early training of civilians in all departments will afford the technical experience necessary for the discharge of high functions in either department, and individual ability will supply the rest.

20. It may be said, that to place the judicial line on perfect equality with the executive line, there should be four or five judges on salaries equal to the salary of a commissioner, with which judges of the highest ability and reputation, who would otherwise aspire to a commissionership, might be rewarded. But the functions of a commissioner are of such high importance, and it is so paramount an object of Government to obtain the services of the ablest men for those situations, that the creation of an inducement to prevent judicial officers from taking commissionerships, seems to me a measure of doubtful expediency. It must also be remembered that the number of judges being smaller than the

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number of magistrates and collectors (25 to 30), the number of prizes at the head of the judicial branch ought to be less in proportion.

21. Supposing it be determined that the salaries of the judges on the one hand, and the magistrates and collectors on the other, shall be equalised, it will then have to be considered what the amount of their salaries is to be. And this question will have to be considered with reference to what is proper and what is practicable; for, on the one hand, I do not apprehend that any increase in the expense of the present establishment will be thought of, and on the other, it certainly is advisable to fix and maintain the salaries of the officers, vested with the highest judicial and executive authority in each district, at as high a rate as the present limits of expenditure will allow. After much consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the salary now given to magistrates and collectors in the North-western Provinces, is the best and most convenient standard to take; and I think that this standard, combined with a re-arrangement of the inferior salaries, will be found on the whole to attain in the least objectionable manner the objects above referred to, without any positive material deduction in numbers, and with a very material increase in efficiency, by means of a better disposition of the force at command. I am anxious at the same time to get rid of the intermediate scale of 18,000 rupees a year, now attached to a few offices under this Government. This intermediate scale gives rise to much inconvenience in practice, for every member of the service who enjoys a salary of 1,000 rupees a month expects to be promoted in his turn to a salary of 1,500 rupees a month and again to a salary of 2,000 rupees a month; and as there are only seven offices on the intermediate salary, and promotion goes at the rate of about seven steps a year, it follows that under ordinary circumstances no man can remain in one of these offices for more than a year, and the inconvenience can only be remedied, and that not always, by making a nominal transfer to the substantive appointment, and keeping a junior officer acting in it.

22. The present establishment is as follows:—

		Rs.	Rs.
26 Judges	- - - - - at	30,000	- 7,80,000
3 Magistrates and Collectors	- - - - - „	28,000	- 84,000
23 Collectors	- - - - - „	23,000	- 5,29,000
3 Collectors	- - - - - „	18,000	- 54,000
1 Magistrate	- - - - - „	28,000	- 28,000
25 Magistrates	- - - - - „	10,800	- 2,70,000
4 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	- - - - - „	18,000	- 72,000
4 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	- - - - - „	12,000	- 48,000
11 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	- - - - - „	8,400	- 92,400
			<hr/> Rs. 19,57,400

The establishment I should propose would be as follows:—

		Rs.	Rs.
26 Judges	- - - - - at	27,000	- 7,02,000
30 Magistrates and Collectors	- - - - - „	27,000	- 8,10,000
22 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	- - - - - „	12,000	- 2,64,000
21 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	- - - - - „	8,400	- 1,76,400
			<hr/> 19,52,400

*With a special allowance of 3,000 rupees a year for the Judge, and the Magistrate and Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs, on account of the expense of a residence at the Presidency

6,000

23. This scheme, the details of which are more fully shown in the annexe table, would practically recognise only three grades of salary; viz., 700 rupees month, 1,000 rupees a month, and 2,250 rupees a month. The aggregate expense would be the same as at present; and in respect to details, it is only necessary to observe, that at Pubna and Noakally, where the work is fully equi

to that of an ordinary district, the office is raised from that of a joint magistrate and deputy collector on 18,000 rupees to a magistrate and collector on 27,000 rupees; while, on the other hand, Malda and Bograh, where the work is much less, are reduced from 18,000 rupees to 12,000 rupees a year. Supposing the Court of Directors to recruit the civil service, as they have been requested to do, so as to provide one assistant for each district, to the number of 37, a civilian under this scheme would obtain his first promotion in about five or six years after leaving college; he would rise to 1,200 rupees a month in about four years more; and at about 13 or 14 years' standing, when at the age of 33 or 34, and full of experience in every department of civil administration, he would have to take his choice either of the executive or judicial line, and there remain in ordinary course to the end of his career; and those selected for higher employment would hardly have had to serve in independent charge of a district, in one department or the other, for less than six or seven years.

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24. To that part of the above scheme which goes to equalise the salaries of the judicial and executive chiefs of districts, an objection will doubtless be made, weak I think in itself, and more so as compared with the advantage of fixing a civilian's career at a comparatively early period of his service, but one which will carry weight to some minds accustomed to the present constitution of the service. I mean, that an appeal lies from the magistrate to the judge, and that the judge may frequently be a man of much less age and experience, as well as less ability, than the magistrate. As regards ability, matters will remain very much as they are at present; and in other respects I think that, apart from the general objection to appeals from one individual judgment to another individual judgment, it signifies little what may be the relative ages and general experience of the original and appellate judges, provided that it be the special business of the latter to weigh evidence and decide cases, undisturbed by the distractions of executive detail. Moreover, I hope that the time is not far distant when all criminal, as well as other judicial appeals will be held before a bench of judges, of whom the civilian judge will be only one of the members.

(signed) *Cecil Beadon.*

Dated the 3d December 1853.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Hodgson Pratt,* .

Under Secretary to Government of Bengal.

POLICE IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY.

17

STATEMENT showing the SALARIES proposed to be assigned to Judges, Magistrates, and Collectors, and Joint Magistrates and Deputy-Collectors, in the Lower Provinces.

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NAME OF DISTRICT.	SALARIES AS PROPOSED							
	Judge.		Magistrate and Collector.		Joint Magistrate and Deputy-Collector, 1st Grade.		Joint Magistrate and Deputy-Collector, 2d Grade.	
	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
Barun	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Chumparun	—	—	—	—	12,000	—	—	—
Shahabad	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Patna	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Behar	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Tirhoot	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Bhagulpore	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Moonghyr	—	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Purneah	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Dinagepore	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Maldah	—	—	—	—	12,000	—	8,400	—
Rajahahye	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Pubna	—	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Rungpore	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Bograh	—	—	—	—	12,000	—	8,400	—
Dacca	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Furreedpore	—	—	—	—	12,000	—	8,400	—
Mymensing	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Sylhet	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Tipperah	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Bullooah	—	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Chittagong	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Backergunge	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Jessore	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Moorshedabad	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Nuddea	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
24-Pergunnahs	30,000	—	30,000	—	12,000	—	8,400	—
Calcutta	—	—	—	—	12,000	—	—	—
Baraset	—	—	—	—	12,000	—	—	—
Beerbhoom	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Bancoorah	27,000	—	—	—	12,000	—	8,400	—
Burdwan	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Hooghly	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Howrah	—	—	—	—	12,000	—	—	—
Midnapore	27,000	—	27,000	—	12,000	—	—	—
Cuttack	27,000	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Balasore	—	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
Pooree	—	—	27,000	—	—	—	8,400	—
TOTAL	7,05,000	—	8,13,000	—	2,64,000	—	1,76,400	—
				20 Judges	—	—	7,05,000	—
				30 Magistrates and Coll.	—	—	8,13,000	—
				22 Jt. Magt. & Dy. Coll. (1)	—	—	2,64,000	—
				21 Jt. Magt. & Dy. Coll. (2)	—	—	1,76,400	—
GRAND TOTAL				90	—	—	19,58,400	—

(True Copies.)

(signed) *Hodgson Pratt,*
Under Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

No. 4
Minute by the
Hon. Mr. Grant.
23 Nov. 1854.

— No. 4. —

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. Grant.

PROPOSED Reorganisation of the System of Civil Administration in Bengal, including the Reunion of the Offices of Magistrate and Collector.

Dated the 23d November 1854.

1. I HAVE given the difficult questions raised by this reference all the consideration which their importance and the quarter from which they emanate demand.

2. It is proposed to unite in Bengal the offices of magistrate and collector. But this is proposed only as one step (though one which should be immediately taken) of a series of functional changes to be afterwards introduced.

3. I will address myself first to the more immediate question.

4. In the reference from the Bengal Government, the system under which the office of collector is united with that of magistrate in the same person is treated of as having been formerly the prevalent system of Bengal. But that system can hardly be said to have existed in Bengal at any time in any other form than in that of a short experiment, which, when judged of after the experience of a few years, was pronounced to have failed, and was therefore abandoned. The offices were united, I think, in 1830 or 1831; and in 1836 the police committee sat, which reported against the union. The last system, before the present system, which existed in Bengal long enough to be considered as a settled system, was that established by Lord Cornwallis; wherein the offices of magistrate and civil judge were united in the same person. So far as that union combined the function of a civil and criminal judge, it was, I think, not merely unobjectionable in principle, but practically the best arrangement that could be made. In so far as it combined with the functions of a criminal judge the duty of a superintendent of police and public prosecutor, it was, I think, objectionable in principle; and the practical objections to it were greatly aggravated by the course of subsequent legislation, which raised the judicial powers of a magistrate six times higher than they were in the days of Lord Cornwallis. But this objection of principle has not been removed by any change that has since been made, and will not be removed by any change now recommended to be made.

5. In my opinion, it is generally worth while to make a change of system, when that change removes material faults of principle, in what affects the foundations of a good administration. But I must confess myself to be slow to be convinced of the expediency of changes of system, which affect the outside and the form of things, but leave essential errors exactly where they were. In discussing a question of this nature 16 years ago, the Governor-General of that day, Lord Auckland, recorded a remark which struck me forcibly when I read it at the time, and which has ever since been present to my mind, and operative upon my judgment in considering public questions of this nature. Speaking of a scheme of that day, which had been recommended by the highest authority at the Presidency, and which, by a mere transfer of duties from one authority to another, was expected by its promoters to do great things, Lord Auckland wrote thus from the Upper Provinces:—

"I may frankly avow that I have come to the consideration of this proposal with but little prepossession in its favour, for I am deeply impressed with the feeling that there has been, with successive governments of India, too ready a disposition to adopt extensive changes of system in cases only requiring something of administrative reform. Under frequent changes of this kind, no system is fairly tried; the confidence of the people is shaken, and they become utterly at a loss to know to what authorities or to what tribunals they are to look with consistent respect. We have a very limited number of trustworthy agents; we have a vast number of important and responsible situations; we must be sometimes disappointed in the efficiency and even in the proper conduct of our officers. Yet I would not, upon occasional instances of such disappointment, be

hasty

hasty to condemn our present means of enforcing a due performance of public duties, or to look to new classes of agency; whilst, however, I avow this ground of prepossession against the plan proposed, I trust that I shall not be the less disposed candidly to examine it." *

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6. In 1836, with the offices of collector and magistrate united, the police of Bengal was felt to be amiss. Instead of "any administrative reform," which, going to the real root of the evil, would have corrected or alleviated it, what was done was, in the very spirit which Lord Auckland afterwards characterised in the passage I have quoted above, to place the two offices each in separate hands; after which change of system, of course, the police remained much what it was before. But because the disunion of the offices has done no good or little good to the police, have we any warrant for presuming that the reunion of the offices would do it any good? It is very true that we are pressed with the sense of police affairs in Bengal being amiss now. But what is the root of the evil? No one denies that police affairs in Bengal will continue amiss, till an adequate constabulary force and trusty native officials in the Thannas are provided for it; till Bengal shall be put on an equal footing in this respect with the rest of India. Now no change of names, no shifting of offices, will have any tendency to increase the constabulary force, or to give Bengal trusty native officials in the Thannas. What assurance then have we that, if these two offices are reunited to-morrow, another police committee, sitting six years hence, and pressed (as it will assuredly be, unless some very different measures are taken) with a sense of police affairs being amiss in Bengal, will not repeat what, under precisely the same circumstances, the committee of 1836 did, and so drive the Government to undo all again? The words of the Honourable Court, quoted in the Bengal Secretary's note (applying to the change made in 1836—the remark that a general change of established system is always in itself to be avoided, unless the grounds for it be strong and unquestionable), are as applicable to the change the secretary is supporting, as they were to the change he is objecting to. Both the union and disunion of the offices in question are surface changes of system; neither measure affects the root of the evil.

7. Thinking as I do upon this question, it is incumbent upon me honestly to state my opinion; because I observe, that, since the Bengal Government first proposed the reunion of these offices, the project has been strongly relied upon by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in addressing an assembly of dissatisfied indigo planters, as being a measure of great practical reform. I am convinced that the hopes thus felt by the Lieutenant-Governor, and thus raised by him in the breasts of the indigo planters, will be disappointed; and I wish to have no hand in the disappointment. I am very sure that if "Boy-magistrates lacking experience" be a good cry now, "Sexagenarian magistrates lacking capacity to rise to higher office" will be as good a cry, any day when occasion offers.

8. I do not mean to say that there is not justice in the objection to the inexperience of some of our magistrates, under the present system. But I deny that this objection is in any way an objection to the principle of the disunion of fiscal and police powers. It is an objection only to the strange and indefensible method in which the Government of 1836 set about the execution of that principle. One office, that of a collector in Bengal, generally and naturally has comparatively easy and light work; the other office, that of magistrate in Bengal, generally and naturally has comparatively difficult and heavy work: in one office a little experience is sufficient for all purposes; in the other considerable experience is indispensable for thorough efficiency. Having to allot these offices between an experienced officer on high pay, and an inexperienced officer on low pay, at a moment when unfortunately there happened to be a peculiar and temporary pressure in the Revenue Department, the Government of the day fell into the permanent error of allotting the easy and light duty, requiring moderate experience, to the experienced man with high pay; and the difficult and heavy

* See Governor-General's minute, 10th October 1838; Judicial Consultation, 5th November, No. 2. See also Honourable Court's letter in reply, of 24th December 1838, in which the Honourable Court say, "His Lordship has stated an opinion, which we have had frequent occasion to convey to you, when he says, &c." The Honourable Court then cite part of the passage cited in the text.

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heavy duty, requiring long experience, to the inexperienced man with low pay. Necessarily, under such a system, as a man becomes experienced he gets promoted out of the office for which his experience has qualified him. But is it fair, when any magistrate errs from inexperience, to attribute the evil to the principle of the division of labour (a principle not usually called in question), instead of to the glaring error of the manner in which that principle, in this instance, has been put in force?

9. I have never heard a practical objection to the present system, which would not be avoided immediately and certainly, by the simple process of transposing the salaries of the two offices, of course with due regard to the public interests in making the appointments to each class of office.

10. When this question was before the Government of India on the last occasion, I remember that Mr. Ross (though I have not seen his minute since) recorded his opinion that, instead of having in every district, as before, one higher paid* and one lower paid† officer, each having both fiscal and magisterial duty, and one being in both capacities subordinate to the other; and instead of having in every district, as now, one higher-paid collector, and one lower-paid magistrate; there should be in each district two officers, one a collector, and the other a magistrate, of equal rank and on equal pay,‡ each exclusively engaged upon his own proper duty. A modification of the present system of separate officers, based upon this principle, is what, if it depended upon myself, I would introduce tomorrow. I believe such a plan to be sound in principle; and taking into consideration all the specialties concerning the civil service in this country, with reference to which I admit that every system in India must be judged, I believe that it would be found extremely convenient in practice. I do not think that the principle of uniting fiscal and police functions, in *Bengal at least*, is sound in principle; and after all the consideration I can give the measure, I fear that there will be found in Bengal much practical difficulty, not in working it agreeably to the members of the service, but in working it so as not to be injurious to the administration of the provinces.

11. On the point of principle I have only to observe, that those specialties which, in other parts of India, it is by many maintained, justify the seemingly unpropitious union of the powers of a publican with those of a magistrate and judge, do not in any degree exist in Bengal. A collector in Bengal neither has, nor ought to have, influence by reason of his office in his district. If the revenue is paid, he must take it; if it is not paid, he must advertise for sale. As the judge in summary suits for rent between Zemindars and Ryots, any attempt to acquire influence would be criminal. His miscellaneous duties are of such a nature as would give no man influence anywhere. As guardian of wards and maker of partitions, he acts only occasionally and upon individuals. He rarely makes a settlement, and never makes one of any importance. I do not, therefore, see how by his influence he can benefit the police of his district. On the other hand, I do not think that those general and obvious objections to the union of fiscal, police, and judicial powers in the same hands, which are admitted to have weight, and which rule the practice in all the well-governed countries of the West, are inapplicable in any part of India. At this moment, in the Madras provinces, an inquiry is on foot into the truth of a charge that has been made formally in Parliament, to the effect that in those provinces, where magisterial and fiscal power are in the same hand, the Government revenue is systematically raised by the use of torture inflicted by the native officers vested with these double powers. I trust that the charge, in the main, will be disproved; but I myself heard, when I was in the South of India, some such stories as would naturally have given rise to the charge. I myself heard what makes me very glad that the fact is to undergo inquiry. Now, no one can deny that, under the Bengal system, no such charge could stand a moment. Every one knows that, in Bengal, police peons and darogahs often torture prisoners for police purposes; but no one for the last 70 years has ever suspected that a rupee of revenue was ever raised in Bengal by the help of torture. This is one of the views in which, I submit, the smoothness and silence with which public affairs go on when all power

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power in all departments is centred in the hands of one train of officials, cannot be regarded as good for the people, however agreeable they may be to the administrator.

On the point of practical working, I think there is much requiring to be considered by those who expect that this union of offices will give us an improved magisterial administration in our Bengal districts.

12. In the first place, experience is against the assumption; the experiment has been tried in Bengal, and has failed. The police presents no difficulty in any part of India, excepting these permanently settled provinces, where the wealth of the people makes a style of protection requisite which the State does not afford them. In the North-western Provinces the magisterial work is light. In Bombay I suppose it is the same. In Madras it is lighter still. The experience of other parts of India, therefore, is beside the question. Now, as a simple question of fact, I do not think it will be denied that our magistrates in Bengal now, call them boy-magistrates or what we will, are generally more zealous, laborious, and efficient magistrates, and often more capable, than the collectors and magistrates of twenty years ago, who were put to flight by the result of the inquiries of the police committee.

13. In the next place, there seems reason to fear no better result now. It is not probably denied that a better man is required to manage two independent courses of business, than is required to manage one course of business; and it is not probably denied, that an incapable man at the head of two departments in a district, is a much greater evil than an incapable man in charge of only one of those departments. Now I can answer for it, that when I was connected with the Bengal Government fully one-fourth part of the collectors were gentlemen who would have been unfit to have magisterial charge of their districts, and wholly incapable of the double charge. Nevertheless, most of that number did moderately well as mere collectors. Of the rest, there were, I think, several who had good reputations as collectors, and of whom I have no doubt some have since done well as judges, who, for want of youth, activity, or energy, would have made decidedly worse magistrates than the younger men in actual charge of the magistracies. Here is a difficulty that cannot be shirked; it must be met in face. How is it intended to meet it, under the proposed union of offices? Are we to have a fourth part, a third part, or a half of all our districts, in every department, laid at the feet of men of a certain standing, but not qualified for so onerous a charge; or are we to have in so many districts the old man and the young man, both in one and the same line of official subordination, the young man at the top, and the old man, until the expiration of his 35th year of service, at the bottom? This of the two is the better way of getting over the difficulty; but it seems to me that it would be better still not to rear up the difficulty at all. I fail to see the practical object for which it is thought worth while to encounter this difficulty. If the present evil be that some given magistrates are too young, that evil will not be avoided by giving them older men for their deputies, and making them boy-collectors as well as boy-magistrates. Move them about as you will, there is but the same number of older men, and the same number of younger men, to deal with.

14. On these grounds I have felt myself unable to support the proposed union of offices. I am bound in candour to confess, that, when I first took the subject into consideration, the proposed measure appeared to me to be one from which, though little good was to be expected, little harm was to be feared. After close attention, the good has vanished, and the harm has taken a substantial form in my view. This having been the result of much reflection on this important topic, though I am in a minority, I should be wrong not to place, with all deference to better judgments, my conclusion on record.

15. I will now revert to the remaining part of the scheme which has been sketched by the Bengal Government.

16. The plan proposed is to have in every district two, and only two, chief officers; one to be charged with all business relating to revenue, police, minor criminal judicature, public works, and miscellaneous executive matters; the other to be the judge; both these chief officers to be subordinate to the commissioners of revenue and police of the division; and the offices of both to be

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of equal rank and emolument, the salary suggested being 27,000 rupees, which is the salary of a collector and magistrate in the North-western Provinces, and is between the present salary of a Bengal collector and that of a judge. The objects are to reduce the number of changes of appointment which an officer passes through in the course of his service; and to keep one man, generally speaking, after he has once mastered his work, either always to the executive line, or always to the judicial line, throughout the whole of his subsequent career. It is an important part of this scheme to create a higher grade of provincial judges, who may represent in the judicial line the grade of commissioners in the executive line.

17. There is something very fascinating in the great simplicity of this scheme, and in its excellent adaptation to the two ends in view. The idea of a grade of chief provincial judges appears to me admirable. I have long been convinced that, quite apart from any of the considerations which give it a place in the present scheme, any great improvement in the administration of justice will be impracticable till a new class of provincial chief judges, having new and high functions, is established. The abolition which the scheme involves of the present anomalous grade of independent joint magistrates and deputy collectors on 1,500 rupees a month will obviate a source of much unnecessary inconvenience. The separation of the two great lines of the service will be complete, even to the eye; and one of the handles for that sort of ignorant criticism which founds upon words and not things will be put out of the way.

18. But with all this, I know not how to overcome the objections I feel to parts of this scheme.

19. I have fully stated above what seem to me to be grave objections to the union of the offices of magistrate and collector. Those objections are not lessened by the higher rank to which it is proposed to raise the united offices.

20. According to my ideas, it ought to be our fixed intention, as soon as possible, to dis sever wholly the functions of criminal judge from those of thief-catcher and public prosecutor, now combined in the office of magistrate. That seems to me to be indispensable as a step towards any great improvement in our criminal jurisprudence: and any change of system to be made meanwhile should be contrived, I think, with regard to this fundamental reform. But if this reform were effected, it seems clear that, with the proposed rank and salary, the magistrate and collector would be lifted very far above his proper degree in the scale of offices. The duties of a Bengal collectorate are not of a high order. As magistrate, after the change I contemplate, this officer will be merely the head of the police of a district, and the prosecutor of criminals before the judge. It strikes me that to raise such a functionary to a rank equal to that of a judge, who controls and hears appeals from every judicial officer in his district, who in the vast mass of cases is the Court of last resort, and from whom no appeal in any case whatever lies, except to the highest Court in the country, would be a mistake, and would certainly degrade the great office of judge.

21. Even with the magistrate's functions as they now are, the much greater importance of the office of judge, in a Bengal district, appears to me to demand the greater rank and emoluments at present attached to that office. When of two judicial authorities one has five times as much power as the other, and can reverse, with censure if he pleases, any order or judgment of that other, surely the one of these two authorities is set up as being plainly the superior of the other; and it seems to me that the salaries of the two offices should in reason have some correspondence with their relative positions.

22. We ought, in my opinion, to attract the soundest heads we can get to this office of judge, on which, in Bengal, as in all other wealthy and highly civilized countries, the prosperity of agriculture and commerce depends more than on any other single office. In thinking of this subject, we should think not merely of the fact of the wealth and civilisation of Bengal, but also of the cause of it,—the institution of private property in land. The reasons which have induced the wise English people to make their courts all in all, to convert their Exchequer into an ordinary tribunal of justice, and to make their "collectors" mere taxgatherers, have already operated to a notable extent in Bengal. I am all for progress in this direction. I protest against going backwards.

23. I speak

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23. I speak after much watching of the course which our Government after another inevitably falls into, in the matter of appointments, when I say that I am sure, if the proposed system were in force for a few years, it would be rare indeed to see a judge of a capacity not greatly below the average. It would be so difficult to get an officer fit to work a magistracy and collectorate, and the inconvenience to secretaries and lieutenant-governors, of having a bad officer in such a situation, would be so pressing, that the refuse of the service only would be made judges. The Government looks to the magistrate and collector; the people look to the judge.

24. I am unable to support that part of the scheme which would place the judge under the revenue and police commissioner. A great part of the business of a judge is to decide upon the cases, civil and criminal, in which the commissioner is a most anxious and, of course, often a prejudiced party. If a man is to be a judge at all, he should be independent. But the mere fact of his decisions not being appealable to the commissioner will not make him independent, if, in all other respects, or in any other respect, he is placed under the commissioner's superintendence and control. The same objection applies even more strongly to the subordinate native judges. The Sudder Court, as the body which best knows how the Lower Courts do their work, and as the only public body which is in a position to pass an impartial opinion upon that work, seems to me obviously the best authority to superintend all interior judicial officers. I refer in the margin to the papers connected with a proposal made in 1838 to withdraw the power of control from the Sudder Court, which was negatived, for very conclusive reasons, by Lord Auckland, with the marked approbation of the Honourable Court; * also to the papers connected with a proposal made in 1836, similar to that now under discussion, for making over to the commissioners the superintendence and control of the judges; which was negatived by Lord Auckland's Government for reasons which are to me convincing.†

25. Having so freely remarked upon the very able scheme which has been recommended by the Bengal Government, it is but fair to submit to criticism, in a tangible form, the modifications which would make it suit the principles which I uphold. I will proceed, therefore, to sketch in full length the system which, upon the whole, seems to me the best.

26. To begin with the beginning. The crying evil of Bengal is its bad police. As I have said, the only remedy for this is an adequate constabulary force and trusty thannadars. This remedy is beyond the scope of the present question. I only mention it here to say that I am convinced that all thought expended upon projects of improved administration in Bengal, until this main want is supplied, will be little better than thought thrown away.

27. The great defect in the organisation of the district administration in Bengal, is the want of all trusty officers in the interior of districts (such as are the tehsildars in all other parts of India) to inform the station officers of what is really going on, and to execute their orders faithfully. The only local officers in Bengal are the police thannadars, who, though better than they were, are notoriously bad. The great additional strength of civil officers that has been acquired of late years (I venture to say) has been made use of in the least useful of all possible ways; that is to say, in increasing the number of civil officers already congregated in sufficient numbers at the sudder stations. Thus the country at large has derived the least possible benefit from the immense and costly additions that have been made to its civil establishments in the shape of deputy collectors, deputy magistrates, and Abkaree superintendents. In one way only has any progress been made towards supplying the one grand want of the Bengal system, namely, in the establishment here and there, in excessively large districts, of a small number of subdivisions, presided over by an assistant to the magistrate,

* Judicial Consultation, 20th August 1838, No. 1, &c.; Judicial Consultation, 22nd October 1838, No. 5, &c.; Judicial Consultation, 5th November 1838, No. 1, &c.; Honourable Court's Judicial Despatch, 5th June 1839.

† Judicial Consultation, 21st June 1836, No. 14, &c.; Judicial Consultation, 13th September 1836, No. 4, &c.

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magistrate, or a deputy magistrate. I would work out this one sound improvement to the utmost.

28. Every district is already divided into several moonsiffs. I would give every moonsiff criminal judicial powers to a certain extent; say, up to three months' imprisonment. He should receive his cases directly from the thannadar. The number of moonsiffs would require to be increased, but not very largely, I believe.

29. Every district is already divided also into thannas, but these thannas are often very large. I think no thanna station should be more than ten or twelve miles from its neighbour on any side. A certain number of these (small) thannas, say, eight or nine, would form a subdivision, in which there should be, say, three head thannadars, the rest being naib thannadars under a head thannadar.

30. Every district should be wholly cut up into subdivisions. Over every subdivision there should be either an assistant or an officer, such as is now called a deputy magistrate, to superintend the thannadars, and to control the police of the subdivision, but without any judicial power whatsoever. These appointments should be reserved for the future as rewards for the best conducted of the thannadars. If we make this service as hopeful as the native judicial service, why should we not have as good native deputy magistrates as we now have principal sudder ameen, and as good thannadars as we now have moonsiffs? If we do not make the service hopeful, what right have we to expect it to be good?

31. Sudder ameen are now located at the sudder stations, exactly where respectable officers of their sort are least wanted. I would increase their number, and place one in each subdivision, with jurisdiction over the whole subdivision, and with criminal judicial powers to a certain extent, say, up to one year. They should receive their cases directly from the subdivision officers, or from one of the thannadars acting under the orders of those officers.

32. At the sudder station, as his head-quarters, I would place the officer now called magistrate, denuded of all criminal judicial powers whatsoever, and restricted to the duties of looking after the subdivision officers, and the thannadars and subordinate policemen, of discovering crime, and of prosecuting it in heavy cases to conviction. At the sudder station also would be tried by principal sudder ameen, assistants, joint magistrates, and deputy collectors, and judges (by collectors also, having powers for the purpose, if any collectors have time enough to spare), all the cases of too grave a nature to be tried by moonsiffs and sudder ameen in the thannas and subdivisions.

33. To carry out to the utmost the reversal of the old system, which I blame, of congregating all the respectable part of our strength at the sudder station, I would, wherever possible, throw off the principal sudder ameen, with divisional criminal powers, into the interior of the district. I believe there are few districts in Bengal which ought not to have two of these officers. Under such a system I believe we might save a judge or two, and several magistrates, with infinite convenience to the people in respect to civil as well as to criminal justice.

34. If any one, acquainted with the Mofussil, will endeavour to realise to himself the state of things such as it would be under the above system, and then to compare that with the existing state of things, in which nobody can be lawfully tried for stealing an egg, or for giving an impudent boy a cuff on the head, without coming in perhaps 70 or 100 miles, with all the witnesses, to the sudder station, I think he will admit that my plan would be an improvement. My system of criminal procedure would not be perfection; but it might be introduced in three months' time, with the greatest ease, and at a small expense. The existing system of criminal procedure, to speak of it in moderate language, is not like the system of a country administered by rational beings.

35. To the system of criminal procedure above sketched, or to some such system then, I would adapt the course of our covenanted civil servants.

36. I would make the assistants work at first in the departments of revenue, minor criminal justice, and minor civil justice. In these departments they would gain their first increase to 500 rupees. Afterwards they might either take charge of

of a subdivision, or work on at the station, with higher powers in those three departments. At every station I would have an officer on 700 rupees of the grade now called a 2d grade joint magistrate and deputy collector, as the lieutenant of the magistrate, and of the collector; working under both, and ready to assume temporarily the place of either.

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37. From that rank the civilian's promotion should be either to a magistracy (i. e. a chiefship of district police), or a collectorship. Though I think the rank and emoluments of these offices should be upon an equal footing, I do not think that the salaries should be at one unvarying rate. Young men will not rise to either of these offices till they have served several years. In either of them they will not get through the grade in less than 10 or 12 years. That is too long a time to keep promotion stagnant, if we wish to preserve zeal. I would, therefore, in this grade adopt a plan which has done well in the Punjab, that is to say, I would fix three rates of pay, having one third of the number at each rate. The rates should be 1,000 rupees, 1,500 rupees, and 2,000 rupees; promotion being by merit, unless where in favour of special cases of very old standing and good conduct. I am quite sure that if we want to maintain the needful stimulus, this is the system of payment to be adopted.

38. Under this arrangement I should hope to escape, in a great degree, the worst vice of our administration, the one vice which I am obliged to say seems to me to be now getting worse instead of getting better,—I mean the promotion of incompetent men to judgeships. On either of the two higher rates of pay, a man capable of doing his work as a collector, and incapable of performing fitly the duties of any higher office, might well be left, and I believe generally would be left, to work out the remainder of his service in this grade.

39. From both these offices I would promote the good men, and none others, to be judges. If any one objects that I make men judges who have never been judges before, I reply, that so must all judges be first made. But if any one objects that I make men judges who have not had the opportunities of acquiring, in the course of their previous training, the knowledge and practice best adapted to form a good judge in India, I affirm the contrary, and I join issue on that question. As the affirmative has been demonstrated over and over again by the greatest authorities on Indian subjects, I will not stop to argue it here. The real fact is, that whatever mofussil office an Indian civil servant is in, he begins doing essentially the work of a judge when he first quits college; and he never leaves off doing it till he takes his annuity.

40. From a judgeship the promotion should be either to a chief provincial judgeship, such as has been alluded to, or a commissionership; and from this point I would preserve strictly the judicial line uninterrupted. The chief provincial judges should look to the Sudder Court, the commissioners to the Board of Revenue.

41. The chief provincial judges would try, with a bench of two other judicial officers, all heavy civil and criminal cases, without appeal on points of fact. They would relieve the Sudder Court of many other appeals also; and with their help I believe the Sudder Court might well be reduced from five to three judges.

42. Such is my scheme, which I deliver over for discussion and criticism, if it be thought worthy of so much respect. It wants something of what I have in all sincerity designated as the fascinating simplicity of the original scheme out of which it has been formed. But I am not aware that it anywhere trenches materially upon sound principles of administration; and from long and attentive consideration of the working of the administrative machine in Bengal, I venture to pledge myself that it will be found, if ever it be set to work, a good working system.

(Signed) J. P. Grant.

23 November 1854.

—No. 5.—

Letter from
W. Grey, Esq., to
C. Beadon, Esq.
26 October 1854.

LETTER from *W. Grey, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to
C. Beadon, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Judicial.—No. 2382.

Sir,

Dated Fort William, 26 October 1854.

I AM directed to address you with reference to the measure which was proposed by the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal on the 28th April last, for carrying on the revenue and police administration of the Lower Provinces by means of collector-magistrates, assisted by subordinate joint magistrates and deputy-collectors, instead of by separate collectors and magistrates, as at present; his Lordship's object having been to place the important duties of the magistrate in more experienced hands than is now the case, and thus to meet the common and not unfounded complaint, that the magistrates are too young and inexperienced for their duties.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks it probable, that as this proposal, which is still before the Government of India, involves other considerable changes, it may yet be some time before the Government of Bengal can receive authority to carry it into effect; and he wishes, therefore, to represent that as, whenever that authority may be received, the change will have to be made gradually, as offices fell vacant, and as the present is the time of year at which vacancies mostly occur, if the present season is allowed to pass by, another year will probably elapse before the new system can even be commenced upon.

3. The proposed change, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, will be a very great improvement, more especially in the districts most resorted to by indigo planters; and he is accordingly desirous of seeing it carried into effect in those districts as speedily as possible, and, if possible, at the present time, so as to save a whole year's further delay.

4. The districts which, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, most urgently require this change are, Nuddea, Jessore, Purnea, and Tirhoot, and also the subordinate district of Pubna, all of these districts thickly inhabited by indigo planters.

5. To make the change at once in these districts would involve an increase of civil charges of only 1,000 a year in the four zillahs, viz., the raising of the salary of the collector from 23,000 to 24,000 rupees, which, in the Lieutenant-Governor's judgment, would be the proper salary to assign to the collector-magistrate. The officer now paid 10,800 per annum as magistrate in those zillahs, would continue so paid at present, as a joint magistrate and deputy-collector of the first class. Thus the additional expense for those four zillahs would amount to no more than 4,000 rupees per annum. In Pubna, which requires the change more urgently perhaps than any of the others, the expense would be greater, as the joint magistrate and deputy-collector at Pubna, who does the full and very onerous duty of magistrate and collector in that heavy indigo district, only receives 18,000 rupees per annum. It was part of the scheme now before the Government of India, that the salary of this office should be made equal to its duties; and if this is not done now, the present incumbent, who is an officer of about 16 years' standing, and of great efficiency as a magistrate, must be promoted during the cold weather, and will be replaced at Pubna by a comparatively inexperienced officer. To raise the salary at Pubna to the full amount which the Lieutenant-Governor has recommended for the collector-magistrate, would cost 6,000 rupees per annum; making the whole present additional cost of the measure 10,000 rupees per annum.

6. The Governor-General in Council is aware, however, that it is proposed in the plan already submitted, that the total present expenditure shall not be exceeded, so that the additional expense above shown would cease as soon as the change was generally adopted in all districts.

7. The Lieutenant-Governor desires to propose, therefore, that permission should be given him to make the change at once in the above-named districts,
and

and in the manner specified, on the occasions which will arise out of the vacancies of the present season, in anticipation of sanction to the more general measure now under consideration.

No. 5.

Letter from
W. Gray, Esq., to
C. Beadon, Esq.,
26 October 1854.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. Gray,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

— No. 6. —

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General, subscribed to by the Honourable Members of Council, Civil Service in Bengal.

No. 6.

Minute by the
Governor-General.
3 January 1855.

Dated 3d January 1855.

1. In ordinary course I should have reserved the Minute, which our honourable colleague Mr. Grant has recorded upon the letter from the Government of Bengal, regarding the union of the offices of magistrate and collector, for consideration in Council. It seems to me, however, that it will be better to pursue a different course upon the present occasion.

2. Since the letter in question was addressed to the Government of India, the administration of Bengal has been transferred to the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor. The important question now before us, connected with the machinery of administration in that province, can hardly be satisfactorily discussed in Council, until we shall be in possession of the views of the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject.

An intermediate reference to his Honor was proposed by me on the 11th July last, in a Minute which seems to have been overlooked. The reference was proposed at that time merely to save time. It has become all the more necessary now, from the weighty objections which Mr. Grant feels to several of the main portions of the proposal as originally framed. Accordingly, I propose that the whole of these papers should be referred to the Lieutenant-Governor, with a request that he will favour the Governor-General in Council with his opinion upon the important subject of which they treat.

3. It will be necessary also to reply to the letter from the Lieutenant-Governor, dated 26th October, in which he requests sanction to the union of the offices of collector and magistrate in several districts which he names, as vacancies may occur.

As the principle of the union of those offices in Bengal generally is still in question, I apprehend that it will be necessary to decline for the present giving the sanction which has been solicited for the partial introduction of the proposed change.

(signed) *Dalhousie,*
3d January 1855.

J. Dorin,
8th January 1855.

J. Low,
13th January 1855.

J. P. Grant,
13th January 1855.

B. Peacock,
22d January 1855.

— No. 7. —

No. 7.
Letter from
C. Beadon, Esq.,
to the Secretary to
the Government of
Bengal.

LETTER from *C. Beadon*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 163.)
Sir,

Home Department.
Dated 26th January 1855.

26 January 1855.

SINCE the Government of Bengal addressed the Government of India, under date the 28th of April 1854, proposing a reorganisation of the system of civil administration in Bengal, including the re-union of the offices of magistrate and collector, the local administration has been transferred to the hands of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor. The Governor-General in Council is therefore desirous of possessing the views of His Honor on the above question before coming to a decision upon it. This reference has become the more necessary now from the weighty objections which the Honourable Mr. Grant feels to several of the main features of the proposal as originally framed by the Government of Bengal; and I am therefore directed to request that you will lay before the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor the papers noted in the margin* (which to save time, are sent in original), with a request that he will favour the Government of India with his opinion upon the important subject of which they treat.

2. I am directed at the same time, with reference to your communication, No. 2382, dated the 26th October last, to state that as the principle of the union of the offices of collector and magistrate in Bengal, generally, is still in question, the Governor-General in Council is not prepared at present to accord his sanction to the proposal therein submitted for the partial introduction of the proposed change.

3. The return of the accompanying papers is requested with your reply.

I have, &c.
(signed) *C. Beadon*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

— No. 8. —

No. 8.
Letter from
W. Grey, Esq., to
C. Beadon, Esq.
13 March 1855.

LETTER from *W. Grey*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to
C. Beadon, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

Home Department.

Judicial.—No. 366.

Sir,

Dated Fort William, 13th March 1855.

WITH reference to your letter, No. 163, of the 26th January last, with enclosures, I am directed to forward, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying copy of a minute recorded by the Lieutenant-Governor.

2. The enclosures of your letter are returned.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. Grey*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

* Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 924, dated 28th April 1854, and enclosures; Minute by the Honourable J. P. Grant, dated 23d November 1854.

— No. 9. —

MINUTE by Lieutenant-Governor.

No. 9.
Minute by Lieuten-
ant-Governor.
1 March 1855

Union of Collectorship and Magistracy in the Lower Provinces. Objections to the measure stated in a Minute in Council by the Honourable *J. P. Grant*.

I do not feel the weight of the objections made in this minute to the adoption of the measures proposed by Lord Dalhousie as Governor of Bengal in his Lordship's communication to the Government of India, No. 924, of 28th April 1854.

2. In the papers then submitted to the Government of India, it was shown how the plan of *separate* magistrates, which was introduced subsequent to 1838, was thought to have failed of effect. Before that time the system in Bengal had been the same as it now is and long has been in the North-western Provinces, in Bombay, in Madras, in the Punjab, in Burmah, in all the Non-regulation Provinces—in short, all over British India; viz. the collectorship and magistracy were united in the hands of one officer. And it was proposed by Lord Dalhousie to return to this system in Bengal, and at the same time to take from the collector-magistrate some of his heavier judicial powers and duties.

3. In the minute of the Honourable Member of Council this proposition is described as “one step of a series of functional changes to be afterwards introduced.” I do not find this to be the case. It was proposed as one of several changes. But it was not necessary as a step to any of them. It had no necessary connexion with them. It might have begun and ended with itself, and any of the others might have been proposed even if this had never been thought of. The other measures were:—

1st. To prevent frequent changes by equalising the salaries of collector and judge.

2nd. To place all mofussil functionaries, judicial and executive, in subordination to the commissioner.

3rd. To extend the experience and official education of assistants by making them do duty under the judge, as well as the magistrate and the collector.

4th. To keep the judicial and executive line separate, after a certain rank attained.

5th. To appoint a class of superior mofussil judges with higher pay and powers than the zillah judge.

4. Whether or not these measures be all expedient is, of course, matter for question. But I think there can be no question that not one of them depends necessarily on the union of the office of magistrate and collector, and that the union in question, though proposed at the same time, was not proposed as a step to the other changes.

5. The union of the two offices seems, however, to have been viewed in the minute before me as if Lord Dalhousie had proposed it as a cure for all existing evils in the police. And this being assumed, it is shown with great success that it can have no such universal effect. It is stated with perfect justice, that one great cause, perhaps the greatest, of the present inefficiency of the police, is the want of adequate constabulary force; and it is urged undeniably that to make the magistrate and collector one officer will not add to the pay or number of the constables. It is also represented that this union was strongly relied on by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in a recent conference with a deputation of indigo planters, as a measure of great practical reform, so as to lay that functionary open to the imputation of raising hopes which must certainly be disappointed; an imprudent act, to which the Honourable Member of Council is anxious on no account to be considered a party.

6. But I can find nothing in the papers submitted by Lord Dalhousie to the Supreme Government, which leads me to suppose that his Lordship expected the proposed change to cure all existing evils in the police, or indeed any evils, but those on account of which it was expressly recommended. And as for the Lieuten-

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tenant-Governor, I have been at the trouble to refer to the newspaper report, a very accurate one, of what took place on the occasion alluded to, and I find, as I expected, that he never relied upon the change as "a great measure of practical reform," but simply stated, that a return to the system of collector-magistrates would remove the objections made to the youth and inexperience of the present magistrates. And really if the appointment of older men as magistrates, which must unquestionably be the general effect of the proposed change, would not, *pro tanto*, be a cure for the youth of magistrates, I humbly submit that I know not what else will cure it.*

7. I suppose that everybody will agree with the Honourable Member of Council in desiring that the constabulary force should be as large, and the pay of the police as high as the nature of the service requires, and the Government finances can afford. But I do not see why this expensive improvement, whenever the Government may be in a condition to make it, should not be made just as easily under collector-magistrates as under separate magistrates; or what the change in the superior functionary has to do with the pay and numbers of the subordinates.

8. It is objected also to the measure proposed by Lord Dalhousie, that it is contrary to sound principle. Even if this were satisfactorily made out, which I do not think it is, I should be content to oppose to the objection founded on theory the unqualified success of the measure in practice. All over India the measure succeeds. In no province in which it is in use would they hear of its being altered. We find it in the highest favour in Bombay and Madras, and in the North-western Provinces of Bengal. We have unhesitatingly introduced it into recently acquired territory at both extremities of our empire. We find it suitable to the Punjaub, and we find it suitable to Burmah. No doubt it will immediately be made the rule in Nagpore. It is even in force over a large part of the provinces subject to the Government of Bengal. It prevails in all Assam, Arracan, and the districts of the South-western Frontier; in all Cuttack, and in eight other districts of the Regulation Provinces. It seems to me unnecessary, in the face of such facts as these, to argue on the theory.

9. But surely if there be any part of India to which theoretical objections to this measure have absolutely no application, it is Bengal. I do not by any means agree with the Honourable Member of Council in what I consider his under-estimate of the importance of a collector's duties in the Lower Provinces. It can hardly, however, be disputed that in proportion as they are unimportant there must be less room for abuse in the proposed union of duties. In the North-western Provinces, where the collector's duties are onerous, engrossing, all-pervading, and where the amount, as well as the method, of collection is liable to variation, abuse might well take place, though we are assured on the weighty authority of Mr. Thomason, that, so far from abuse, the system produces nothing but good. But in Bengal, where the amount to be collected is fixed, and the manner of collection one unvarying and almost mechanical routine, abuse is simply impossible.

10. The question of the introduction or non-introduction of the proposed measure seems to me mainly one of economy of power. We have collectors whose duties are of a nature involving heavy responsibility, and requiring a certain maturity of discretion. They must, therefore, be persons of sufficient experience, and must be paid in proportion. Yet it is certain that their time is only partially occupied by the duties of their offices, and there is nothing in the nature of their duties which forms a reasonable objection to their employment as magistrates. On the other hand, we have magistrates overworked, and of immature experience, who, though they require naturally the immediate control of more experienced seniors, are practically very much left to themselves; and who nevertheless exercise functions upon the punctual and discreet discharge of which more of the happiness of the people depends than upon the conduct of any other civil officers of the Government. To give these duties, or (as is proposed) a large portion of them, to the older and more experienced functionary, for whom occupation is declaredly wanting, and to place the junior in immediate subordination to

to the senior, seems to me a proposition most obviously and necessarily arising out of the circumstances—most sound, expedient, and right.

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11. The argument against this measure, upon which, in the minute before me, most stress appears to be laid, is that which is founded on the alleged incompetency to perform a magistrate's duties of a proportion of the officers usually to be found in the rank of collectors. Fully one-fourth, it is estimated by the Honourable Member, will always be unfit to have the double charge of magistracy and collectorship, and even of the rest, it is computed that several must be expected to make bad magistrates. "Here is another difficulty," it is stated, "that cannot be shirked; it must be met on the face; and how?" But I do not see that there is anything insuperable in this difficulty. Indeed, I doubt whether, as a reason for preferring the present system to the system proposed by Lord Dalhousie, it be any difficulty at all. For even taking the case as supposed, though I cannot but look upon it as an extreme supposition, that one-fourth of the existing collectors are men to whom the Government would not willingly confide the duties of magistrate, it is to be remembered that they all have been magistrates. If after considerable experience, and after having risen to the rank of collector, they are now inefficient and incompetent, how much more incompetent must they have been when young in years and deficient in experience? To the present system, under which, as it has hitherto been worked, a proportion of such men have been, and if the system be continued, will be magistrates without experience, the Honourable Member sees no objection. But to the proposed system, under which a like proportion will be magistrates, after having had experience, he has insuperable objections. Yet it is clear that there would be, at all events, the advantage of experience in favour of the magistrates under the proposed system, as compared with the magistrates under the system now in use.

12. The fact is, that this objection, so far as it is of force, is an objection to one system, just as much as to the other; and, under the present constitution of the service, to any system that could be devised. There will always be a certain proportion of the members of the service (even under the coming reign of pure intellect), who, on trial, will be found more or less unfit; and it is much more likely, as was long ago urged by Lord Auckland, as an argument in favour of the union of the magistracy and collectorship, that two good officers will be forthcoming in each district than three.

13. For my part, I am prepared under either system to deal with incompetency as it deserves, whether it be found among juniors or seniors. In this I have only to follow the example set me by the Most Noble the late Governor of Bengal, and I should not be startled by the result, even though it should in some instances, and I believe they would not be frequent, place "the young man at the top and the old man at the bottom." In such cases we might miss something of the weight of experience, but we should gain that which would be accepted as a reasonable compensation. And in any event such instances would assuredly be exceptional.

14. Adopting, therefore, the reasons for the measure assigned in the papers submitted to the Supreme Government by Lord Dalhousie, in April last, I am strongly in favour of uniting in the whole of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, as they are united already in many parts of those provinces, and everywhere else in British India, the offices of magistrate and collector. If it be still objected that the union will not cure every evil now attributed to our police system, I must answer—certainly it will not. Nor is it intended to cure them. But it will assuredly do what it was expected to do by Lord Dalhousie when he proposed it; and it is no sound objection that it will not do that for which it was never meant.

15. Regarding the other changes proposed, I shall state my opinion very briefly. I very warmly assent to the proposition for a grade of chief provincial judges, and I earnestly hope this may speedily be adopted. I agree entirely with the Honourable Member of Council, whose minute I have been considering, in objecting to that part of the proposed changes which would place the judge on an equality with the collector-magistrate. I cannot add to, and I would not diminish aught of the force with which the objections to this plan are stated by the Honourable Member. The zillah judges may well be left on their present

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footing as to salary. To the collector-magistrate it will be sufficient to assign 2,000 a month.

16. I go entirely with the Honourable Member in his objections to the proposal for placing the judge under the commissioner of revenue and police.

17. I think it will be very expedient to extend the field of education of assistants, by making them do duty under the judge as well as under the magistrate and collector. But without a considerable increase to the number of the assistants, I doubt if this plan would in practice come to much effect.

18. The proposition to keep the judicial and executive line separate, after a certain rank attained, sounds very wholesome. I doubt, however, if there be as much in it as there seems to be. Looking back to the Sudder bench for some years, no one will say that the worst judges have been those taken immediately from the executive branch of the service. The plan is proposed by the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal, with a large margin for exceptions (see paragraph 14 of the letter to the Government of India of the 28th April last), and with that ample margin, I am very willing to adopt it. But I should be prepared to see the exceptions sometimes swallow up the rule.

19. It may be expected that I should submit my opinion on the comprehensive plan proposed in the latter part of the Minute of the Honourable Member of Council in substitution of that of Lord Dalhousie.

20. With regard, then, to the arrangement and employment of the covenanted officers under the plan in question, I have to remark, that it is too expensive to be worked at present.

21. The plan which at present exists employs 98 officers, at an expense of 19,23,600 rupees per annum.

22. The plan proposed by Lord Dalhousie would employ 97 officers, at an expense of 19,34,400 rupees.

23. The plan proposed by the Honourable Member, assuming that he would maintain the number of judges* as now, on the same salary; and assuming also, that the intention of his plan is to put a magistrate and a collector, and a junior officer, on 700 per mensem, as their lieutenant, at every† one of the 36 stations, would employ 134 officers, at a cost of 23,78,400 rupees.

24. My plan would involve scarce any change in the number of officers now employed, or in the amount expended, but would slightly reduce both. I would make all the present larger collectorships, 22 in number, collector-magistracies on 24,000 per annum. I would make all the smaller collectorships, such as Monghyr or Beerbhoom, and all the independent joint-magistracies and deputy-collectorships, such as Pubna or Malda, collector-magistracies on 18,000. The total number of these would be eleven. (This would accord with the principle of the Honourable Member's plan of gradations of magistrates and collectors). The Cuttack collector-magistracies, which are also salt agencies, I would leave as at present, viz., 3 on 28,000. I would have 22 joint-magistrates and deputy-collectors on the present salaries of magistrates, viz., 10,800, and, as at present, 11 such officers on the lower salary of 8,400. My total of officers employed would be 96, and the expense 19,20,000.‡

25. I highly applaud and assent to all that part of the Honourable Member's scheme which relates to the location in the Mofussil of judicial and executive officers, instead of crowding them in zillah stations. This system has already been commenced, and it is most desirable that it should be extended. I have lately conferred on this subject with the very intelligent Commissioner of the Benares Division (under the North-western Provinces), and I am satisfied that the better mofussil administration which undoubtedly prevails in those Provinces, as compared with the Lower Provinces, is mainly owing to the general location of trustworthy

* On this point, see close of para. 33.

† See also close of para. 33, but compare para. 36.

‡ Throughout these comparisons, the collectorate of Calcutta and the magistracy of Howrah are omitted on all sides. The former is no more to be included than the chief magistracy of Calcutta, and the latter is a specialty, being a district without any revenue duties annexed.

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trustworthy agents in the interior of districts there—an advantage which is very much to be desired in Bengal. Mr. Tucker is of opinion, and I entirely agree with him, that it would be a great improvement if the subordinate mofussil officers were in all things subject to the collector-magistrate at the zillah station. At present the chain of subordination is broken in the criminal or magisterial line by directing the appeal from deputy or assistant magistrates in the interior, not to the zillah magistrate, but to the sessions judge.

26. I should gladly see our zillahs divided into convenient subdivisions, each under a deputy or assistant, covenanted or uncovenanted, authorised to act both as a revenue and magisterial functionary, and subject in both branches to the control of the collector-magistrate at the zillah station. Under these subdivisional functionaries, would be the darogahs of police. Such an organisation would, I am well assured, go near to prevent such hideous oppression as I lately found grinding down a large territory and driving the Ryots into Nepaul from the Zemindarree of the Rajah of Bettia; and it would do in the Lower Provinces what we are assured it has done or is doing in the Upper.

27. That it is necessary, abundantly necessary, to strengthen our subordinate police, is a fact on which the Honourable Member of Council has dwelt with a force of statement and argument to which all who know the country will give their ready assent. Not only are our thannah establishments too few for the absolute wants of the country, but, excepting the darogahs, they are paid so as almost to justify corruption. When a mohurir of a thannah is paid seven rupees a month, a jemadar eight, and burkundauzes 3-8 and 4, we may write and talk as we will, but no native can believe that we really set our faces against abuse. It is an especial disadvantage of this scale of payment that it forbids the introduction of a better class of men into the police. Our darogahs are now well paid, and their office may now lead to distinction and honour. But an inexperienced man however well educated, cannot be employed as a darogah. To become a good darogah, a man should first serve as a good darogah's deputy. This can only be by entering the service as a mohurir on seven rupees a month; and how is it possible that a man of good education and honest intentions can take such an office, or taking it, fail to make shipwreck of his honesty?

28. The sooner this system of payment is changed the better; and I quite agree with the Honourable Member that, until this change is made, no striking improvement can be expected in the police. But I know not how long it may be before the Government is able to carry an improvement into effect which will involve so large an expense. Meanwhile, I see no reason for delaying minor improvements, which will cost little or nothing. To concentrate the executive power of a district in the hand of one collector-magistrate, will cost nothing, and might be done, if the Supreme Government would permit it, directly. To organise the subordinate establishments, covenanted and uncovenanted, and locate them in fit places in the interior, would cost what, in comparison with other proposals, might be called next to nothing, and might be done in the course of this year. And it would be a task on which, had I but the instructions of the Supreme Government, I should enter with the utmost confidence and alacrity.

(signed) *F. J. Halliday.*

Neamtpore, G. T. Road,
1 March 1855.

EXTRACT from a Report in the *Huikarn* Newspaper of the Remarks made by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the occasion of receiving a deputation of Indigo Planters, 10 November 1854.

"The great desire for appeal in these cases arises, no doubt, from the general feeling of the youth and comparative inexperience of the magistrates; and this, I admit, is a legitimate cause of doubt, and sometimes of dissatisfaction. But I can inform you that the Government have under consideration a plan for remedying this, by a return to the system of collector-magistrates. This, it is probable, will in time be generally carried into effect. But I have reason to hope that it will very speedily be effected in the chief indigo districts; and I have

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with me the Jessore committee, and even, I think, most of the gentlemen present, when I state my opinion, that this measure, by assigning the powers of the proposed Act to officers of greater experience, will render the appeal unnecessary, and will remove much of the objection now taken to the Bill."

(A true copy.)

(signed) A. W. Russell,
Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

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MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. Grant.

Proposed Reorganisation of the System of Civil Administration in Bengal;
including the Reunion of the Offices of Collector and Magistrate.

Dated the 8th May 1855.

1. THE Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has sent up his views upon this question, which was raised before His Honor's Government was formed.

Having very fully explained my opinions upon the original project, in a Minute recorded under date the 23d of November 1854, and having therein set forth generally, but at some length, a project of my own, in my preference to which I am constant, by way of modification of the original proposal, I have not much new matter to place upon record on this occasion. I must, however, make some remarks upon the Honourable Lieutenant-Governor's Minute, chiefly in order to correct some mistakes into which his Honor has fallen in regard to positions taken up and arguments used by me. For, otherwise, I fear that those who have read my minute some time ago, and who might not be inclined to refer to it again in order to check in every point, by comparison with the record itself, the representation of its opinions and arguments contained in his Honor's criticism, might be misled in some points, much to the disadvantage of my side of this important question.

2. In the 2d paragraph of the Lieutenant-Governor's Minute these words occur:—"Before that time (1838 or 1839, when magistracies and collectorships began to be divided) the system in Bengal had been the same as it now is, and long has been, in the North-western Provinces, in Bombay, in Madras, in the Punjab, in Burmah, in all the Non-regulation Provinces,—in short, all over British India; viz., the collectorship and magistracy were united in the hands of one officer." To any one not personally acquainted with the minute history of our changes of system in Bengal, the inference from reading this passage would naturally be that the system by which these two offices are united, not only was the system in force at the moment when the change of 1838 or 1839 was commenced, but long had been the system in force in Bengal (and in the North-western Provinces), in the same manner as it then "long had been" the system in force in Bombay, Madras, &c. To prevent any such mistaken inference, I must beg that a reference may be made to paragraph 4 of my Minute, where the history of the change is given. The union system in Bengal has no claim ever to have been a time-honoured institution, swept away by unpractised theorists and rash innovators in 1838. It was first introduced in Bengal about 1830 or 1831; and after a trial of seven years, it was weighed in the balance and found wanting by a police committee, which, after careful inquiry, reported against it in 1838, as being an experiment which had failed. That police committee comprised many able men, and amongst them none abler than Mr. Halliday, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

3. In paragraph 5 of his Minute the Lieutenant-Governor writes thus:—"The union of the two offices seems, however, to have been viewed in the Minute before me as if Lord Dalhousie had proposed it as a cure for all existing evils in the police. And this being assumed, it is shown with great success that it can have no such universal effect:" and then his Honor proceeds to say that this view of Lord Dalhousie's proposal was unwarranted. Certainly, if any such view of Lord Dalhousie's proposal had been taken by me, it would have been unwarranted.

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unwarranted, and, being unwarranted, it would have been culpable. But I never took any such view. I never imputed absurdity to the reasoning by which the proposal was supported; and on a careful reperusal of what I wrote, I am sure that, but for a thorough misapprehension of my whole argument, no such view would have been attributed to me. Substantially my argument was this. I laid down the position that a change of system, even though the new one may be better in itself than the old one, is an evil, inasmuch as it is a change, and that this evil should not be incurred for any other than a material advantage. I said "In my opinion it is generally worth while to make a change of system when that change removes material faults of principle, in what affects the foundations of a good administration. But I must confess myself to be slow to be convinced of the expediency of changes of system, which affect the outside and the form of things, but leave essential errors exactly where they were." In this position I fortified myself by authority. I proceeded by endeavouring to show that the proposed union of offices was at best a change of system affecting "the outside and the form of things," which could not, therefore, involve a material advantage. I went on to argue that, system for system, the proposed system was in itself open to grave objection. Now, this view may be right or wrong, but it has nothing either of the disrespectful or of the absurd character of the view imputed to me.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor has corrected a mistake into which I (and not I alone) have fallen in attributing to him the expression, before an assembly of indigo planters, of an opinion that the union of the offices of magistrate and collector would be "a great measure of practical reform": and he has shown that he said no more upon that occasion than that this union would remove the objection often taken to the youth of magistrates. I regret very much having fallen into this error, which was caused by my omitting to refer to the printed report of the Conference. I hope, when a reply is made to the Bengal Government, that there will be no objection to its conveying an expression of this regret to his Honor.

5. I must be allowed, however, in justice to my cause, to claim for my side of the question the support which the correction of my mistake has given to it. If the Lieutenant-Governor, who is in favour of the union, is careful to correct an erroneous belief of his having expressed an opinion that it would be a measure of great practical reform, those who, like the authorities I have quoted, object to changes of system except for objects of great practical reform, should be strengthened by the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion in their opposition to the measure.

6. In paragraph 11 of the Lieutenant-Governor's Minute, the following argument is used:—"To the present system, under which, as it has hitherto been worked, a proportion of such men have been, and, if the system be continued, will be magistrates without experience, the Honourable Member sees no objection." "But to the proposed system under which a like proportion will be magistrates, after having had experience, he has insuperable objections." Upon this I have to remark that I did see, and I do see, objection, and material objection, to the present system; and I beg to refer to paragraphs 8 to 11 of my Minute, where I have stated my objection in language which I should have thought strong and explicit enough. I admitted the justice of the objection of inexperience; I designated the system in its present shape as "strange and indefensible;" and I said there was a "glaring error" in the manner in which the system had been established. Because, nevertheless, I thought the mere reunion of the offices would make matters worse, I ought not to have been treated as seeing "no objection" to a system, the errors of which I had been at so much pains to bring into broad daylight.

7. Having been obliged, in order to set my argument once more upon its own legs, to take up so much space, I will endeavour to compress as much as possible what I have to say, by way of rejoinder, in support of the view I take of the question of the reunion of these offices.

8. I find only one argument to answer. It is maintained (see paragraphs 8 and 9 of the Lieutenant-Governor's Minute), that, though it were successfully made out, which is not admitted, that the union of fiscal and criminal powers in

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one man is unsound in theory, it is successful in practice all over India, except in Bengal, and ought, therefore, to be at least as successful in practice in Bengal, where the collectors have less to do than elsewhere.

9. In paragraph 10 of my Minute I anticipated this argument, and, as the remarks there made remain unanswered, I need not recur to them. The examples of new provinces, such as the Punjaub, Pegu, and Nagpore, are now pressed into the service, and not only these provinces, but such wilds as Assam and the S.W. Frontier agency are treated as fit to become examples for the administration of the richest parts of Bengal. This is as though the civil administration of Middlesex should be modelled after that of the Isle of Skye. Surely no one doubts that poor countries and scanty populations must be governed in a manner conformable to their requirements, and to their means of paying for government; and that semi-barbarous people do not require the same expensive and refined system of administration as highly civilised people. And surely there is one method for people beginning to be broken into civilised government, and another method for people who have been under our laws for several generations. Besides it is inconsistent to stop here in this argument. Why does not the Lieutenant-Governor carry out his theory, and recommend the Calcutta police magistrates all to be appointed also collectors of abkaree and house-tax? If we are to remodel the administrative system of a Bengal zillah, with its immense real and personal wealth, its rich talookdars, its zemindars, and its English planters, after the system appropriate for our latest acquisitions, we should unite the offices not only of the collector and the magistrate, but also always that of the judge, and often that of the military commandant, in the same person.

10. But if we are to make this appeal from theory to practice, as our present business is only with Bengal, why is the appeal so carefully confined to all other parts of India, except Bengal, when we have actual experience in Bengal itself to appeal to? Why is the fact that we have such experience in Bengal itself so carefully kept out of sight? In a despatch from Bengal, I do not think this fact should have been ignored.

11. The Police Committee of 1838, though I was not a member of it, was too noted a subject in the history of the Bengal police to have been forgotten by me; I have, therefore, sent for the printed report of that Committee, which I circulate with this Minute. I request particular attention to paras. 8 to 12 of that Report, which are devoted to this particular subject.

12. That Committee not only took into its consideration a mass of official returns, which had been called for by Government, it sought "for information on a more enlarged scale, especially from private individuals, native as well as European, who had resided or were still residing in the interior, and whose local knowledge and experience in different parts of the country qualified them for giving the most valuable information."* The effect of the union of the offices of magistrate and collector was the first point to which the Committee in their Report adverted. They commence their remarks on this point with these words: "To the union of the office of magistrate and collector, injurious effects are generally attributed."† They quote, with approval, the opinion of an officer who writes: "In some districts, it (the police) is made over entirely to the deputy and joint magistrate; and where this is the case, I have generally observed that the duty is much better done."‡ The Committee themselves say: "We doubt much if, in the settled provinces, where the revenue is realised by the process of sale, and the collectors have little communication with the agricultural community but such as must unavoidably render them unpopular, any advantage is derived by the police from the conjoined influence of the collector, or if the greater experience available for the magistracy by means of that conjunction is not more than counterbalanced by the inconveniences resulting from it."§ So far the Committee report unanimously. They proceed to say: "The majority of the Committee, in concurrence with almost the whole of the gentlemen, both in and out of the service, who have been asked their opinions on the subject, think decidedly, that the efficiency of both departments would

* Report, para. 2, p. 1.

† Para. 8, p. 3.

‡ Para. 9, p. 3.

§ Para. 10, p. 4.

would be much better secured, generally speaking, by entrusting the superintendence of each to a distinct functionary. We are of opinion that their attention would be less distracted by conflicting duties; that each would then be individually responsible for his own department, and enjoy the whole credit of his own exertions. And it will not be the least of the advantages resulting from such an arrangement, that no idle or incompetent person could then be long tolerated in either situation.”*

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13. To show the nature of the utmost possible difference of opinion there can have been between the majority and minority of the Committee upon this point, I will here cite the explanatory note with which the only two members who signed the Report in a qualified manner, namely, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Halliday, accompanied their signatures: “We have signed this Report, not because we agree in its contents, for we have made other propositions in a Minute rendered in the Appendix, but because, being overruled by the majority in respect to our own suggestions, we think those contained in this Report the next best.”†

14. The only gentleman who at any time took a part in the labour of the Committee, and who in any degree supported the union of the offices, was Mr. T. C. Scott. Another member, who left the country before the Report was signed, was Mr. D. C. Smyth, who had the reputation of being quite the best, as he was one of the most experienced magistrates in Bengal. He recorded his opinion of the disjunction of the offices in these words: “I consider this division of labour to be indispensably necessary as a preliminary arrangement, and until this suggestion (the recommendation of the Committee to disjoin the offices) is carried into effect, I do not anticipate any improvement in the state of the police.”‡

15. Mr. F. C. Smyth, at that time superintendent of police, thus records the result of his experience: “Nothing can be worse than the union. It is wrong in theory and evil in practice. I need not say anything more on this subject, as I believe out of Calcutta the opinions of the service are unanimous.”§

16. Mr. Halliday, with whom is Mr. Lewis (and in whose opinion upon this point, as he then thought, I entirely agree), went further. He would not only have taken away from magistrates their fiscal functions, he would have taken from them also their criminal judicial functions, leaving them simply heads of police. He wrote: “The union of magistrate and collector has been stigmatised as incompatible, but the junction of thief-catcher with judge is surely more anomalous in theory, and more mischievous in practice.”||

17. In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee, the Bengal Government commenced upon the disjunction of the offices, which measure was completed in a short time. Such was the judgment pronounced upon the union, after an experience of its effects for seven or eight years. Such is the result of that appeal from theory to practice, which has been insisted upon.

18. I beg it to be understood, that although the result of the mature consideration which I was obliged to give to this question of system, when I came to write a formal minute upon it, and of the perusal of the judgment passed upon one of the rival systems, after adequate trial* in 1838, has been to convince me that the system of the union of the offices is, in Bengal, the worse of the two, I do not rest my main objection to the proposed change of system upon that conviction. Many, who I know may be in the right, differ from me in this view; and upon this point my own mind was almost in a state of indifference when I began to examine the question. We are all apt to magnify the evils before us at the moment, and to connect them more than the facts warrant with the present system, whatever it is. Perhaps the Committee of 1838 magnified the evils then before their eyes; attributed them more to the system than could fairly have been attributable to any mere system; and were too ready to flee from evils that they knew, to evils that they knew not of: as I believe many of us
now

* Para. 12, p. 4.

† Report, para. 30.

‡ Appendix, p. v.

§ Appendix, p. xi.

|| Appendix, p. xx.

now magnify the evils before our eyes, and attribute them, more or less unfairly, to mere system; and are too ready to flee to evils which, if it cannot be said that we knew not of them, it must be said (of some of us at least) that we have forgotten them. Let it be taken, that without other fundamental reforms, either system better administered would be better than the other, administered as either has yet been: that merely as systems, it is, as the saying is, six of one and half a dozen of the other. I wish to give the Lieutenant-Governor's recommendation every advantage. I will therefore grant him that he and his colleagues, and his Government had no solid ground for what they recommended, and what they did in 1838 and 1839. As that recommendation was the result of extensive and special inquiry made, and of much evidence taken, and as it was the result of the joint deliberation of many experienced officers, I think I do not claim more, in return, than unprejudiced people will generally grant me, when I say that the present recommendation, not being the result of any such special measures, cannot at present claim any more solid ground. There was a stir about the badness of the police in 1838. Mr. Halliday then recommended the disunion of the offices of magistrate and collector, which was effected. There is a cry about the badness of the police now. Mr. Halliday now "strongly recommends" the union of the offices of magistrate and collector. Are we never to get out of this round? Can it be right in the Government of this great country to spend its time and its energy, and the time and energy of its officers, always in turning half a dozen into six, and then in turning six back again into half a dozen?

20. As to my general objections to change for the sake of change, I have written at greater length, and more earnestly, than many will think appropriate to the occasion. But I have here desired to record once for all my protest against a method of administration which has been, in my opinion, too rife in this country, for the last quarter of a century.

22. The Lieutenant-Governor mistakes the character of my plan, when he observes, that in the salaries of covenanted officers it will be more expensive than the present plan. There are now 37 officers, who are, in fact, district magistrates.* There are now only 26 zillah judges. My scheme, generally speaking, will

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will not require more magistrates than there are judges; because the magistrates will be merely superintendents of district police. It does not affect collectors at all, but will certainly make it easy to reduce either the numbers or the salaries, or both, of the collectors and magistrates, and of the joint magistrates and deputy collectors. Besides, it is only necessary to alter the proportions of the several grades, to make the expense of the plan as much or as little as is desired.

23. The reduction of the number of magistrates by 10 or 11 will have the real effect of throwing back promotion to the office, and so of increasing the experience of the youngest magistrate by nearly two years. The equalisation of the salaries of magistrates and collectors will have the real effect of doubling the experience of the oldest magistrate. Here, then, the objection to the general inexperience of the magistrates is met by more than doubling their present experience, without making any union of incongruous duties for that purpose.

24. I disagree with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that the union of offices is not inconsistent with the further reforms I propose, or any of them. Under my system, the zillah magistrate will be over his whole zillah what the chief magistrate of Calcutta, who tries very few cases, would be in Calcutta if he tried no cases at all. Nobody, in that event, would think of doubling the chief magistrate's work, by giving him fiscal duties. With fiscal duties to occupy half his time, and to call him from his police work, perhaps at the very moment when it is most essential to that work that he should be attending to it only, it would be absolutely impossible for any one man himself so to control all the police darogahs and deputy magistrates of a zillah, and himself so to manage the great business of keeping the peace, and bringing criminals to justice, in a Bengal district, as the plan essentially requires.*

25. I disagree fundamentally with the Lieutenant-Governor on the question of the sufficiency or insufficiency of the pay of the police darogahs. His Honor thinks the police darogahs in Bengal are now sufficiently paid.* I think they are most insufficiently paid. There are now 527 darogahs on the average pay of less than 60 rupees a month.* A darogah cannot do his work without a horse, a palankeen, or some conveyance. He can hardly keep a conveyance for less than 20 rupees a month. His constant locomotion must entail other constant expenses upon him. He is in a position which makes him more likely to be tempted, and less likely, if corrupt, to be detected than any other native officer. Upon his conduct, the happiness of the people, and the security of their property, real and personal, in effect more greatly depends than upon that of any other native officer. How, even if we had no experience to guide us, any one could maintain that 50 rupees a month, with prospects worth something less than 10 rupees a month more, is sufficient pay for this class, I do not understand.

26. But what does experience teach us? Before the Police Committee's Report of 1838 the police darogahs received 25 rupees a month. Perhaps some people thought them then sufficiently paid. Whatever may have been thought of their pay, their character then was so bad, that it is hardly describable in words. No one seriously denies that it has been generally improved by the increase of pay granted in 1839. It is even asserted by some, that a few somewhat respectable darogahs actually exist. But no person, European or native, capable by personal experience of being a witness on such a question, is to be found, who will say that the general character of this class of officers is not very bad now. This fact is certain.

27. The Lieutenant-Governor; therefore, unless he is prepared to maintain the general excellence of the darogahs, as a class, which I treat as impossible, must maintain

	Total Salary per Mensem.
* 50 First Grade Darogahs at 100	- - 5,000
100 Second " " 75	- - 7,500
377 Third " " 50	- - 18,850
527	31,350
Average per Darogah	Rs. a. p. 59 7 9

No. 10.
Minute by the
Hon. Mr. Grant.
8 May 1855.

maintain that competency, and fair prospects of rising by merit to high rank and emoluments, will not have the same good effect upon this class, which it has had on native judges, deputy collectors, deputy magistrates, and sub-assistants. Why it should be imagined that this should be so, I am at a loss to conceive. I am myself quite sure that it will not be so.

28. I have advised a reduction in the very large increase of pay proposed by the Bengal Government for native judges; which, if agreed to, will afford material assistance in raising the pay of police darogahs. By adopting a system of head darogahs, each with, say three deputy darogahs subordinate to him, I believe the great object of having all the thannah police under an officer of real respectability, not too far off to be useless, will most chiefly be attained. But a new class of officers, as assistant darogahs, must be provided; and upon the whole, if we really intend to do any good, we must make up our minds to a large increase of outlay upon this important class of officers.

29. Making the head darogahs a body of men equal in general respectability to the class of moonsiffs, will be an immense step in itself. But as far as dacoities, affrays, and forcible entries are concerned, nothing can be done without an effective body of police peons. The main expense of any rational reform of the police will be in this particular.

30. The subdivision of districts, and the grant of criminal judicial powers to the native judges dispersed through each subdivision, will cost little; nothing, in short, beyond any augmentation in the number of judges, which in some places may be requisite.

31. It is unnecessary to enter into more minute details till the principle of my scheme generally shall have been pronounced upon.

8 May 1855.

(signed) J. P. Grant.

No. 11.
Minute by the
Hon. Mr. Dorin.
11 May 1855.

No. 11.

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. Dorin.

Improvement in the System of Civil Administration in Bengal, including the Reunion of the Offices of Collector and Magistrate, and the Augmentation of the Pay of Native Judges.

Dated 11 May 1855.

THESE subjects have been so fully discussed in the papers and minutes now circulated, that I think nothing remains but to refer them for the ultimate decision of the Most Noble the Governor-General.

I wish I could add that our financial prospects justify the expectation that we can afford to incur much present expense, either in the improvement of the police, or the augmentation of the pay of our native judges; but unfortunately this is not the case.

With projects for fresh outlay constantly before us, and these appeals for the correction of the general administration of the country that can hardly be resisted, we find ourselves with an excess of expenditure over income largely increasing, and which in the present year, or rather I should say the year just past, is estimated to amount to no less a sum than two millions and three quarters sterling.

This fact has recently been so palpably before us, and the probability of relief is so uncertain, that it is impossible to overlook it in considering the important questions now under discussion.

Dated 14 May 1855.

(signed) J. Dorin.

— No. 12. —

MINUTE by the Honourable General *Low*.Proposed Reorganisation of the System of Civil Administration in Bengal,
including the Reunion of the Offices of Collector and Magistrate.No. 12.
Minute by the
Hon. Gen. Low.
19 May 1855.

Dated 19 May 1855.

I HAVE no doubt that the duties of magistrate of a district can be well performed in Bengal, as we know them to be in other parts of India, by an European officer who also holds the office of collector of revenue, provided that he has a sufficient number of zealous and trustworthy men to execute his orders; but if Government can afford to give adequate salaries to both, I think, for the reasons so well stated by our honourable colleague Mr. Grant, that it would be a more permanently effective measure to keep the very different sort of duties and pursuits of collector and magistrate in the hands of two separate officers; so that each of them may have the power to devote his whole time to his own line of employment, an object which in the case of the magistrate is in a peculiar degree desirable.

But the magisterial work of a district, in a large sense of that expression, can never be thoroughly well done till we shall have an efficient body of native police officers, down to the peons; and I fear that many years must yet elapse before such an improvement in the moral feelings and the habits of the inhabitants generally of Bengal shall have been brought about, as to render it possible for us to have a complete set of good police native officers of all grades in any one district; that is no reason, however, why we should not persevere in our endeavours to find, or to form, such instruments as we require; on the contrary, we are bound in honour to do our utmost to effect that most desirable change in our native police officers; and I know no plan, so far as it goes, so likely to be successful towards the ultimate attainment of that object, as that which is so well described in the 34th paragraph of the report, dated Calcutta, 18 August 1838, by the commission, of which Mr. W. W. Bird was the chairman, and of which, for convenient reference, I herewith subjoin a copy.

19 May 1855.

(signed) *J. Low*.

Paragraph 34.—“ From all this most unquestionable testimony, it is obvious that the allowances of this class of officers, not being sufficient to enable them to keep up an appearance corresponding with their situation, they must take, in some shape or other, from the people what the Government refuse to allow, and thus the Government, in fact, impose upon the community the payment of whatever sum, short of the allowed salary, is necessary for their decent subsistence. An increase to that extent, therefore, if only to remove a fair justification for exaction, seems indispensably requisite. Moreover, it is impossible to expect in thannadars an exemption from those motives and feelings which actuate all other classes of mankind, and accordingly the same rewards and inducements must be laid before them. If it be necessary to retain the services of respectable natives for these appointments, not only should their salaries be increased to such amount as will enable them to keep up at least a creditable appearance without exaction, but they must have something to look forward to; and despair of ever being able, by any exertion or good conduct on their part to better their situation beyond the actual receipt of 25 rupees a month, must no longer be allowed to drive them to make the most of their opportunities. Grades of thannadars should be established in the same manner as there are classes of moonsiffs and sudder ameens, promotion to the higher grades being held out as the reward of length of service and certified good conduct. Such system has been found to succeed in the judicial department, and there is no reason to doubt that it would be equally successful with the police.”

No. 13.
Minute by the
Hon. B. Peacock.
15 May 1856.

— No. 13. —

MINUTE by the Honourable B. Peacock.

Proposed Reorganisation of the System of Administration in Bengal, including
the Reunion of the Offices of Collector and Magistrate.

Dated 15 May 1856.

I HAVE read the whole of the papers connected with this subject with that care and attention which the importance of it demands.

It appears to me that in theory the union of the offices of collector and magistrate is extremely objectionable; and judging from the practical operation of it during the short period in which the system was in force in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, I think that it would not be wise to revert to it.

From the year 1780 to 1787 the offices of judge and collector were held by different persons. But in the latter year it was resolved that the office of judge should be held by the person who had charge of the revenue, and from that time until the year 1793 the several duties of collector, judge, and magistrate were discharged by the collector.

In 1793 the Marquis Cornwallis determined to vest the duties of collecting the revenue and of administering justice in separate officers. In his minute upon that occasion he made the following remarks: "There is no class of men which Government should watch with greater jealousy, and over whom the regulations should have a stricter control than the officers who are intrusted with the collection of the revenue. It is necessary to arm them with powers to enforce their demands in the first instance, otherwise individuals, under the pretext of disputing the justness of it, might protract the payment of what is due from them, and render the collection of the public revenue either impracticable or an endless source of trouble and litigation. But to prevent the abuse of this power there should be courts of justice ready to punish oppression and exaction, and the people must be satisfied that the remedy will be certain and effectual, and that it can be expeditiously obtained. Accordingly, by Regulation 2, 1793, the office of collector was separated from that of judge and magistrate, and it was not until after the year 1821, viz. about the year 1829, that the offices of collector and magistrate were again united under the provisions of Regulation 4 of 1821. Many of the reasons which were assigned in the preamble of Regulation 2 of 1793, for withdrawing from the collectors their judicial powers may be now urged with equal force against reinvesting them with that portion of the judicial powers which are now vested in the magistrate, and which have been greatly increased since that date."

The following is an extract from the preamble of Regulation 2 of 1793:—

"Exclusive of the objections arising to these courts from their irregular summary, and often *ex parte* proceedings, and from the collectors being obliged to suspend the exercise of their judicial functions whenever they interfere with their financial duties, it is obvious that if the regulations for assessing and collecting the public revenue are infringed, the revenue officers must be the aggressors, and that individuals who have been wronged by them in one capacity can never hope to obtain redress from them in another."

"The collectors must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts, but must be rendered amenable for them to the courts of judicature, and collect the public dues subject to a personal prosecution for every exaction exceeding the amount which they are authorised to demand on behalf of the public, and for every deviation from the regulations prescribed for the collection of it."

The offices having been separated in 1793, and reunited in 1821, continued to be held by the same officer until they were again separated in consequence of the Report of the Police Committee presented in 1838.

In that Report, paragraph 8, the Committee say, "To the union of magistrate and collector injurious effects are generally attributed. The union which formerly existed between the offices of judge and magistrate was not so prejudicial, because police was the primary object with the judge and magistrate; but it has been secondary with the magistrate and collector. Civil business, it has been observed, could wait, but the Government cannot wait for its revenue.

In

In neither case is such a union desirable." In paragraph 12 they say, "The majority of the Committee, in concurrence with almost the whole of the gentlemen, both in and out of the service, who have been asked their opinions, think decidedly that the efficiency of both departments would be much better secured, generally speaking, by intrusting the superintendence of each to a distinct functionary." Mr. Smith in his Minute, Appendix C., remarks, "Nothing can be worse than the union. It is wrong in theory and evil in practice. I need not say more on this subject, as I believe out of Calcutta the opinions of the service are unanimous." With this experience I think the reunion would be taking a step in the wrong direction. There is a considerable difference between the revenue systems of Madras and Bengal; but I think it may not be out of place to refer to the remarks of the commissioners for the investigation of alleged cases of torture in Madras upon the subject of disuniting revenue and police functions.*

I concur with Mr. Grant in thinking that it would be objectionable to render the judge of the district subordinate to the Commissioner of Revenue and Police, or to equalise the salaries of the judge and of the collector.

(signed) *B. Peacock.*

15 May 1856.

No. 13.
Minute by the
Hon. B. Peacock.
15 May 1856.

— No. 14. —

LETTER from *C. T. Buckland*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to *Cecil Beadon*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

No. 14.
Letter from C. T.
Buckland, Esq., to
Cecil Beadon, Esq.
4 June 1856.

Judicial.—No. 1690.

Sir,

Dated Fort William, 4 June 1856.

I AM directed to forward, for the purpose of being laid before the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India in Council, the accompanying copy of a minute recorded by the Lieutenant-governor under date the 30th April last, together with its annexures, having reference to the improvement of the police and the administration of criminal justice in Bengal.

(signed) *C. T. Buckland*,
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

— No. 15. —

MINUTE by the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

POLICE AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN BENGAL.

Police.

For a long series of years complaints have been handed down from administration to administration regarding the badness of the mofussil police under the Government of Bengal, and as yet very little has been done to improve it. Such efforts as have occasionally been made for this purpose, have been usually insufficient to meet the greatness of the evil, partial remedies have failed to produce any extensive benefit, and during long intervals the Government has appeared to fold its hands in despair, and to attempt nothing new, because the last tried inadequate measure had ended in inevitable disappointment.

2. Meantime the ill success of our administration in this particular has been an endless theme of reproach to the Government, accompanied often by the grossest exaggerations, and very rarely by any sound and practical suggestions for

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* Paras. 79 to 86.

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for improvement.* And the weight and moral authority of the Government have undoubtedly been affected by continual invective on a subject regarding which, while little or no defence was attempted, the Government yet appeared indisposed to make any real effort towards reform.

Former Measures.

3. For what, after all, has been done to improve the police during the last 30 years?—We have ceased, it is true, to expect integrity from darogahs with inadequate salaries and large powers, surrounded by temptations and placed beyond the reach of practical control; and we have somewhat curtailed the excessive and unmanageable extent of our magistrates' jurisdictions by the gradual establishment of 38‡ subdivision magistrates. But beyond this, and not speaking at present of the special and peculiar machinery lately set up in a few districts for the suppression of dacoity, I know not what else has been attempted; and even with regard to these two instalments of improvement, the halting hesitating way in which they have been effected, has prevented the full benefit which might otherwise have been expected from them. Before the first of these improvements, our stipendiary police in the Regulation Provinces consisted of some 484 darogahs or thannadars scattered at distant intervals over a territory of 150,000 square miles, and a population of 35 million souls; being, say, one darogah, or superior police officer, to 309 square miles and 72,314 souls. Each of these potent functionaries was paid 25 rupees a month, avowedly less than he could live and move about upon; and each had under him, generally, a mohurir or clerk, and a jemadar or head constable, on salaries ranging from four to eight rupees a month each, but with powers equal on most occasions to those of the darogah himself. Subordinate to these, at each thannah, was an establishment of from 10 to 20 burkundauzes or constables, often deputed with large powers into the interior, and paid each man from 3-8 to 4 rupees a month, a salary notoriously inadequate. It was a step in the right direction, doubtless, when the Government of Lord Auckland determined thenceforth to pay no darogah less than 50 rupees per mensem, and to allow to 100 of the number 75 rupees, and to 50 of them 100 rupees per mensem. But the good of all this was tarnished by the omission to do anything for the lower grades of police officers. For it was impossible to become a good darogah without an apprenticeship; and when the apprenticeship was to be served in the midst of great power, great temptation, and the traditions of unavoidable corruption in the station of a thannah mohurir on 7 rupees a month, what was to be expected from such a training?—or how, train the darogah as you might, could you expect purity and integrity until you had cleansed away from about him the foul atmosphere of corruption necessarily engendered by the aggregation of ill-paid and unscrupulous underlings, with whom bribery and extortion were almost a necessity, and had long been the habit of their lives?

Recent Recommendation.

4. This great evil has been more than once commented upon by Mr. Dampier, the late superintendent of police, and a remedy proposed. I trust that it may now shortly undergo reform, as I last year submitted to the Government of India an earnest recommendation founded on Mr. Dampier's propositions for an increase to the salaries of mohurirs, jemadars, and burkundauzes by a system of gradation.† And unless financial difficulties interpose, I cannot doubt that this measure must ultimately be honoured by the approval of the Governor-General in Council. But if this be not granted, all thought for the improvement of the police will, I fear, be but thought thrown away.

* Several very valuable suggestions have been submitted to Government from time to time by the late superintendent of police, for the improvement of the system, and I shall have occasion to avail myself of them, more or less, in the measures I am about to propose.

‡ This is now the number of subdivisions in the Regulation Provinces.

† Full details of the proposed measure, and cogent arguments for its adoption, will be found in Mr. Grey's letter to the Government of India, No. 774, of 30 April 1855. It was proposed to divide mohurirs into three grades, on 30, 35, and 40 rupees per mensem. Jemadars into three grades, on 10, 15, and 20 rupees; and of the burkundauzes, one-fourth at 6 rupees per mensem; one-fourth on 5 rupees, and the rest on 4 rupees. The whole increased cost to be incurred would be 3,38,609 rupees per annum.

Subdivision Magistracies.

5. The establishment of subdivision magistracies had in it, doubtless, the elements of a very important reform, and as far as it has been yet carried has certainly effected much good. But as yet it has been carried to a very small and inadequate extent, and it has therefore seemed to the public eye almost to have operated as a failure. Beyond all doubt we shall ever fail to establish a good and trustworthy system of police unless, together with other improvements, we establish a close, constant, and vigorous control over our police agents, and a ready access to justice for all persons, so that the appeal of the weak against the strong may be at all times possible and effectual.

6. Throughout the length and breadth of this country the strong prey almost universally upon the weak, and power is but too commonly valued only as it can be turned into money. The native police, therefore, unless it be closely and vigorously superintended by trustworthy officers, is sure to be a scourge to the country in exact proportion to its strength and power. For this indispensable superintendence no adequate provision has ever yet been made, nor can any provision be considered adequate which does not supply at least one capable and trustworthy magistrate for every two or at most every three thannahs. At present, however, our establishments do not comprise more than 70 executive magistrates, covenanted and uncovenanted, over four hundred and eighty-four* thannahs, being at the average rate of about seven and a quarter thannahs to each magistrate, a proportion much below what is requisite: and the distribution of even this number of magistrates is extremely irregular.

Village Chowkeydars.

7. Of the vast importance of the rural police, the village chowkeydars, and the strong necessity for fortifying and improving their character and position, there has never been but one opinion; and from as far back as 1784, down to the date of Lord Hastings' celebrated "Police Minute," and again from that time till the Police Committee of 1837, down to Mr. Dampier's frequent comments on the subject in his annual reports, all who have written or spoken on the subject have invariably urged the necessity of directing constant and vigilant attention to the preservation and improvement of this ancient institution of the country. Yet though more than one expedient for this purpose has been devised and discussed, nothing has ever been carried into execution; and it is a lamentable but unquestionable fact that the rural police, its position, character, and stability as a public institution, has in the Lower Provinces deteriorated during the last twenty years. It is now diminished in number, and impaired in efficiency, while its rights have been seriously and successfully attacked and undermined; so that, unless some speedy measures be taken to save it, it is in danger of perishing altogether from the face of the land, and passing out of use, if not out of remembrance.

8. Thirty years ago, the old opinion was still prevalent among the magistrates, an opinion handed down from the Dowdeswells, Elliots, Bayleys, and other magistrates of renown, that it was the highest duty of a magistrate to uphold the village police, to cause all vacancies to be properly filled, and to see to the fair payment of all members of the body. There is no doubt that these exertions were in those days effectual towards the object in view, and that the village police were kept from falling into decay by the determined and persevering interest shown by the magistrates in their behalf.

9. The manner in which Mr. W. B. Bayley, when magistrate of Burdwan, in 1811, exerted himself to keep up the efficiency of the village police, which has often been held up as an example to succeeding magistrates, has been explained by him in the following words, quoted from his report to Government of 1812:—"I explained," he says, "to the talookdars, munduls, &c., the necessity of giving a sufficient provision to their respective chowkeydars, and urged to them

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* I find this number of thannahs in the Regulation Provinces in the Appendix to the Circular Orders of the Superintendent of Police, printed in 1854.

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as strongly as I could, the advantage which would result to the prosperity of the country and its inhabitants, by furnishing to every chowkeydar such means of subsistence as might prevent them from committing thefts and robberies, in order to support themselves and their families. Upon this principle I have to the utmost of my power prevented all attempts on the part of the landholders, &c., to resume any portion of the Chakeran lands, or to remove or appoint any chowkeydar without a previous inquiry into their conduct and character by the magistrate.*

10. The great difficulty indeed, regarding the village police, which has been commented upon by all who have directed their attention to the subject since the beginning of the century, is that they are inadequately and uncertainly paid. They are kept in a permanent state of starvation, and though in former days magistrates battled for them with unwilling zemindars and villagers, and were encouraged by Government to do so, it has been discovered in later times that this is all against the law; and magistrates, contrary to the doctrine of earlier times, have been actually prohibited from interfering in favour of village watchmen, it being ruled that this is altogether an affair of the people themselves, who may pay watchmen or not, just as they think fit. Village watchmen are now declared to have no legal right to remuneration for service, and (the help of the magistrate being withdrawn) they have no power to enforce their rights even if they had any rights to enforce. Hence they are all thieves or robbers, or leagued with thieves and robbers, insomuch that when any one is robbed in a village, it is most probable that the first person suspected will be the village watchman.

11. Mr. Millet made a careful inquiry into the law on this subject in 1842, and came to the conclusion that it was optional with the zemindars and villagers to maintain the village police or not. I quote in the margin † a part of his Report to the Bengal Government on this subject.

12. Since that date, although very great advantage has been taken by the zemindars and others of the law as thus declared, to get rid of chowkeydars, and often to appropriate their old-established service lands, a slight check has been given to the progress of this deterioration by a decision of the Sudder Court, in April 1854, whereby it was decided that an obligation lay upon a zemindar to appoint to a vacant chowkeydarship. It was, however, not decided, and on the contrary, the judges were divided on the point, whether a magistrate could enforce this obligation by fine, without which the obligation may be little more than nominal, and if so, the condition of the chowkeydar is likely to remain as starved and helpless as ever. Yet, miserably impaired as the institution of the village police has become, it is still true that no police can be effective without their help, and that, as stated in the Minute of Lord Hastings, dated 2nd October 1816, "it is from the chowkeydars that all information of the character of individuals, of the haunts and intentions of robbers, and of everything necessary to forward the object of police, must ordinarily be obtained; they are the watch and patrol to which the community looks for its immediate protection, and on the occurrence of a crime the darogah's only mode of proceeding is to collect

* Mr. Bayley's Report to Government of 1812.

† It appears from the 12th Article of the Regulations of the 7th December 1792, and parts of the correspondence above extracted, that it was not the intention of the Government to interfere with the establishments of the common village police, further than by registration, and by placing them under the control of the darogahs, to make them more efficient auxiliaries to the Government police.

"That article was embodied in the Code as Section XIII., Regulation XXII., of 1793, and the registration of the village police, and in addition to them, of all watchmen or guards employed by individuals, was enforced by the penal provisions of Section XXI., Regulation XII., of 1807."

"Section XIII., Regulation XXII., of 1793, was rescinded by Section II., Regulation XX., of 1817, but re-enacted in substance and extended in Section XXI. of the same Regulation, although the landholders and other persons, to whom the right of nomination to vacancies in the village watch belong, are required to transmit the names of the persons they may appoint to the police darogahs; the law does not empower the magistrates to compel such nomination, or interfere respecting the allowances, whether in land or money, of the village chowkeydars actually employed, and the magistrates have been directed " (by order of the Nizamut Adawlut, 26 August 1831) "to confine their interference with the chowkeydars paid by the people, to those cases in which they are authorised to interfere by the existing Regulation." And Mr. Millet, in another part of the same Report, intimates his opinion, "that it is at the option of the zemindars and the cultivators to maintain or discharge the village chowkeydars."

collect the watchmen of all neighbouring villages, and to question them as to all the circumstances, with a view to get from them that information which they only can afford."

13. The village chowkeydars are, in short, the foundation of all possible police in this country, and upon their renovation, improvement, and stability depends the ultimate success of all our measures for the benefit of the country, in the prevention, detection, and punishment of crime. To what a state of corruption, however, this most important branch of the police system had fallen, was strongly illustrated by the late Mr. Bethune, in his Minute of the 27th May, 1851, of which the following is an extract:—

"The evidence I have seen of this is now thirteen years old, but the complaints recently made of outrageous dacoities, and acts of violence, point rather to a deterioration than to an improvement of the practical working of the system since that time. I took the following striking comparison from Speede's Criminal Statistics of Bengal, in which some of the results obtained by the police commissioners in 1837 have been digested and arranged in a tabular form. The returns made to Government for the years 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, show the average number of persons annually convicted for crimes and offence, of all kinds in those years, to be 31,843;* and, taking the population of the districts to which these returns apply to have been 38,717,874, as estimated in the magistrates' returns, the proportion is about 1 convict to 1,219 persons.

"The commissioners of 1837 obtained also a return of chowkeydars dismissed from the police force during the years 1835, 1836, 1837,† with the causes of dismissal. From this return, it appears that the whole number of chowkeydars (with the exception of six districts from which accounts had not been received when the table was compiled) was 1,30,305, and, therefore, were they no worse than the rest of the population, the number of persons among them guilty of every kind of offence known to the calendar, at the rate of 1 in 1,219, would be under 107 annually, or 321 in the three years included in the return. What were the facts? The whole number of chowkeydars dismissed for misbehaviour in those three years, instead of 321, is 1,130.

Of whom, for Murder and Thuggee	-	-	-	-	19
Burglary	-	-	-	-	39
Robbery and Theft	-	-	-	-	357
					<hr/> 415

that is to say—

"Nearly one-fourth more, in proportion to their number, for these heinous crimes, than were convicted in all the Lower Provinces of Bengal for all offences of every kind.

"The full complement of 1,130 is made up as follows:—

<i>Class 1st.</i>					
Murder and Thuggee	-	-	-	-	19
Burglary	-	-	-	-	39
Robbery and Theft	-	-	-	-	357
					<hr/> 415
<i>Class 2nd.</i>					
Embezzlement or Forgery	-	-	-	-	42
Perjury, False Evidence, or False Complaint	-	-	-	-	55
Bribery, Extortion, or Oppression	-	-	-	-	28
Affrays, Assaults, or Wounding	-	-	-	-	96
Accessories to Crimes	-	-	-	-	70
Concealing Crimes, or Aiding Escapes	-	-	-	-	178
					<hr/> 469
<i>Class 3rd.</i>					
Bad Character or suspected of Crime	-	-	-	-	246
					<hr/> 1,130

"I have

* Speede's Criminal Statistics, p. 149; ditto, p. 174.
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† Speede's Appendix, p. 7.

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"I have not included in this list—

31	dismissed for contumacy.
33	" " intoxication.
7	" " being asleep on duty.

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meaning only to select those offences which it is the direct object of a police force to prevent and discover."

It seems to me that this statement renders it superfluous to enumerate in detail the expressions of dissatisfaction, however strongly worded, of those who understand the working of the system. The whole is summed up by the commissioners in the following terms:—

"49. The most urgent necessity exists for a thorough revision throughout the country. The establishment (of village watchmen) is described not only as utterly useless for police purposes, but as a curse instead of a blessing to the community. Is even a question whether an order issued throughout the country to apprehend and confine them would not do more to put a stop to theft and robbery than any other measure that could be adopted."

14. Various plans have been proposed for amending this state of things, and a good deal of paper has been covered with written discussions regarding them, but nothing has ever been done; so that many persons have come to think it a thing impossible to do any good in that direction, and have ceased from all effort accordingly.

15. Not to disinter any more ancient projects of this kind, I will now go no further back than the last, which was a plan submitted to the old Legislative Council of India by the Marquis of Dalhousie, as Governor of Bengal, on the 11th July 1853, and which was intended to give to the Government of Bengal the power of extending the system of Regulation XXII., 1816, now applicable only to towns in which a covenanted magistrate is stationed, to all parts of the country at discretion. This, however, was objected to by the Honourable Mr. Peacock, on very valid grounds, as set forth in his Minute of the 6th March 1854, in which it was shown, conclusively, that the length to which the proposed law would go would involve a violation of the engagement entered into by Government at the time of the Permanent Settlement. Accordingly, the bill of Lord Dalhousie was modified, so as to exclude the rural police, and made to apply only to populous towns, stations, and bazaars, and in that shape is at this moment pending before the Legislative Council.* Regarding rural police, Mr. Peacock, while showing very strong reasons why it would be in his judgment impolitic to levy, as proposed by Lord Dalhousie's Bill, rent tax of 5 per cent. for

* As the establishment of this town police is a matter of great importance, and the method of taxing the inhabitants of towns for the purpose requires the most careful consideration, I desire to quote in this place the remarks I have addressed to the Legislative Council on the subject:—

"If the existing system be preserved, the Lieutenant-Governor would advise that the maximum limit of 2 rupees be abolished. He has found this very generally complained of as unjustly favouring the rich, and causing obvious and invidious inequality of taxation."

"The plan, however, which, in the Lieutenant-Governor's deliberate judgment, is the most suited to the people, and would nowhere be unpopular, would be a system of town duties, levied and managed by a head punchayet and a local collector, under the control and direction of the magistrate. This is a mode of taxation which the natives are quite accustomed to in their haunts and markets, which they accordingly prefer to any direct taxation, and under which they might gradually be induced to contribute more largely than would be required for mere watching; so as, without incurring unpopularity, to allow of the introduction of other municipal improvements into the principal towns."

"The present town chowkeydaree system, with its always ill-chosen, reluctant and jobbing punchayets, its favouritism and inequality, its inquisitorialness, its direct monthly calls for cash, its summonses, its notices and its harassing concomitants of distress and sale, is, the Lieutenant-Governor is thoroughly persuaded, one of the most unpopular institutions we ever forced upon the people, and of this, which is well known to the Lieutenant-Governor from extensive personal inquiry and observation, the papers now submitted afford good proof. To extend this very unpopular system, will be very distasteful to the people; but since there ought to be a police in our large towns, and this police must be paid by means of a taxation of some kind, the Lieutenant-Governor would desire to record his conviction, that the safest and best way of doing this (at all events in the Lower Provinces of Bengal), and the way most acceptable, or at any rate least unacceptable, to the people, will be by re-introducing a system of town duties in a form modified to suit the occasion."

for the support of that establishment, added, "I would not exempt the owners or occupiers of land from any liability to contribute to the support of village watchmen which may attach to them according to the custom and usage which has prevailed in each village. The custom to maintain watchmen seems to have existed from the earliest times in every village. I cannot think that it could ever have been intended that the maintenance of that class of officers should fall into disuse, or be considered as merely optional with those who have always contributed to their support. Where lands have been appropriated to their support, they should continue to be so. Where the watchmen have been paid by the contributions from the village community, either in money or grain, such contributions should be considered obligatory. I find that the continuance of the village watchmen is contemplated by the regulations passed at the time of the Permanent Settlement."

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16. Convinced by the reasoning of Mr. Peacock, Lord Dalhousie assented to the proposed modification of his Bill, by which the rural police was excluded from its operation. But he suggested that the principle involved in the observation of Mr. Peacock, regarding the reasonable liability of owners and occupiers of land to contribute to the rural police according to established usage, might, if fully worked out, be rendered effectual to the end he had in view, the supplying gradually of the great and crying want of these Lower Provinces, to wit, an effective rural police.* With this view he suggested that a local investigation should be made in every village, throughout every zillah, of the liabilities to which the village is subject in respect of the maintenance of village police, in order to found thereon a legislative measure for the improvement of that institution.

17. That investigation has now been completed.

Administration of Criminal Justice.

18. I am satisfied, however, that it will be vain to improve the agency for the detection and apprehension of criminals, unless we improve also the agency for trying them.

Police reform, in India at least, is a word of large signification, and extends to our criminal judicatories as well as to the magistracy and the constabulary organisation. At present our criminal judicatories stand in need of much amendment, and unfortunately the method of amending them is a question which admits of much diversity of opinion.

19. They certainly do not command the confidence of the people.

20. That this is the case may, I think, be inferred from many parts of Mr. Dampier's elaborate reports. I have myself made much personal inquiry into this matter during my tours, which have carried me over nearly the whole of the Regulation Districts, and have brought me into communication with all sorts and conditions of men, official and non-official. Whether right or wrong, the general native opinion is certainly that the administration of criminal justice is little better than a lottery, in which, however, the best chances are with the criminals; and I think this also is very much the opinion of the European mofussil community.

21. No complaint is more common among magistrates and police officers of every grade than that of the disinclination of the people to assist in the apprehension and conviction of criminals. From one end of Bengal to the other, the earnest desire and aim of those who have suffered from thieves or dacoits, is to keep the matter secret from the police, or, failing that, so to manage as to make the trial a nullity before the courts. Something of this is due perhaps to the natural apathy of the people; though it cannot fail to be observed, on the other hand, that where they have any object to gain, the same people show no apathy or unreadiness, but remarkable energy and perseverance, in civil and criminal prosecutions. More, no doubt, is due to the corruption and extortion of the police, which causes it to be popularly said that dacoity is bad enough, but the subsequent police inquiry very much worse. But after allowing for both these causes,

* Lord Dalhousie's Minute, 14th April 1854.

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causes, no one conversant with the people, can have failed to remark how much of their strong unwillingness to prosecute, is owing to the deep sense which pervades the public mind of the utter uncertainty of the proceedings of our courts, and the exceeding chances of escape which our system allows to criminals; often have I heard natives express, on this point, their inability to understand the principles on which the courts are so constituted, or so conducted, as to make it appear in their eyes as if the object were rather to favour the acquittal, than to ensure the conviction and punishment of offenders; and often have I been assured by them that their anxious desire to avoid appearing as prosecutors arose, in a great measure, from their belief that prosecution was very likely to end in acquittal, even, as they imagined, in the teeth of the best evidence, while the acquittal of a revengeful and unscrupulous ruffian was known, by experience, to have repeatedly ended in the most unhappy consequences to his ill-advised and imprudent prosecutor.

22. That this very general opinion is not ill-founded may, I think, be proved from our own records.

23. Appended to this minute is a note and certain statistical returns, prepared by Mr. Secretary Buckland, from which it may be gathered that for 14 burglaries committed, only one burglar is punished; and that even in thefts, which are matters of easier detection and punishment, the average proportion of convictions is only of three persons to eight offences.

24. These two descriptions of offences are offences punishable by magistrates. In the more heinous cases tried by the sessions judges, it will be seen, from one of the statements annexed to Mr. Buckland's note, that an average of 1,237 persons were annually acquitted to 1,935 convicted, being a ratio of two to three. This is the more remarkable because, in the practice of our courts, every case sent by a magistrate before a sessions judge is as carefully heard by the magistrate, on both sides, as if the magistrate had himself to pass sentence, every magistrate being empowered by law, and almost bound by practice, to send for and examine witnesses to the defence, as well as for the prosecution, and strictly enjoined to send no case to the sessions regarding which he does not see reason to believe that a conviction will follow. And the magistrates are unfailingly censured if they commit on what the sessions judge and the Sudder Court may think insufficient, *i. e.* not perfectly sufficient grounds for committal, *i. e.* for conviction. That under such a system a proportion of two to three committed prisoners should be acquitted at the sessions, nearly every one of whom must have been considered by the magistrate guilty on the evidence, is of itself a very startling fact, and one which cannot but leave a painful impression of the working of our institutions.

25. A sessions judge is obliged to refer for the orders of the Sudder Court the cases of all criminals regarding whose guilt he may differ in opinion with his Mahomedan assessor, or law officer, and also many classes of cases requiring, in his opinion, a higher punishment than imprisonment for seven years. It appears from Mr. Buckland's statements that the average annual result of such references is, that no less than 148 persons are acquitted to 332 convicted; and this, it will be remembered, is in cases in which two judicial officers* must, by the nature of the case, have found the prisoner guilty on the evidence. So that the solemn judicial conclusions of tribunals in various parts of the country, in each of which two minds have deliberately concurred, are found, or supposed to be, absolutely erroneous by the higher court, in the proportion of 148 to 332.

26. From any sentence passed by a magistrate beyond a fine of 50 rupees, or one month's imprisonment, there may be an appeal to the sessions judge, and from every sentence passed by a sessions judge there may be an appeal to the Sudder Court. This license is largely taken advantage of, so that a great number of cases undergo two complete trials. And indeed, in order to encourage appeal, and give appellants every possible advantage, and no chance of disadvantage, it is provided† that appeal courts may remit or mitigate to any extent,

* *i. e.* The magistrate and the sessions judge, or the magistrate and the Mahomedan law officer.

† Act XXXI. of 1841.

extent, but must on no account enhance punishment. I have not at present any statement of the consequences of this system as regards sentences by magistrates, though I am well aware that it leads to a considerable abatement of the magistrates' convictions. As regards appeals from sessions judges to the Sudder the case is thus stated by Mr. Buckland. From 1843 to 1852 inclusive, the number of petitions of appeal average (annually) 248, the sentences being modified or reversed in 85 cases, and upheld in 152 cases. As the average number of prisoners in each case appears to be about two and a half, the annual average of prisoners convicted at the sessions (amounting to 1,935) suffers a reduction of 200 by the result of the appeal to the Sudder. Of the total 4,000 persons annually committed to the sessions for heinous crimes, it thus appears that the conviction of 1,735 takes place in the sessions effectually, and of 332 in the referred trials to the Sudder; so that of the whole number committed very nearly one-half is eventually acquitted.

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27. That a very small proportion of heinous offenders are ever brought to trial, is matter of notoriety. It now appears that half of those brought to trial are sure to be acquitted. Is it to be expected, then, that the people should have confidence in our system, or that they should show any desire to assist the police, knowing as they do from experience, the miserable results to be obtained?

28. I must say that this appears to me the weakest point of our whole system, and that which most loudly calls for an effectual remedy. No doubt the badness of the police and the inefficiency of the tribunals act and re-act on each other, and both are concerned in bringing about the deplorable existing consequences. But until the tribunals are reformed, I can see no use in reforming the police, and I think it will be money thrown away to attempt the latter, unless we are determined vigorously to insist on the former. We have been hitherto debating about both for many years without much practical effect, and in the meantime, to take only one crime, and only the seven districts round about Government House, we have seen dacoities increase from 82 in 1841, to 524 in 1851. It is true that under a special agency, this has since been reduced to 111 in 1855. But the operations of this agency have shown more than anything else the utter inability of our ordinary institutions to cope with the enormous social evil that is ever rising up in defiance before it.

Inexperience of Magistrates.

29. Even if our tribunals were all we could wish, and if our police were fully reformed, what would it avail us so long as our superintending magistracy was for the most part in the hands of inexperienced, and therefore unqualified, young men? Yet this has not only been long the notorious fact, but peculiar and accidental circumstances, partly temporary and partly arising out of the constitution of the civil service, have at this moment made the inexperienced condition of the magistracy more observable than it has ever been before, while it seems certain that the evil during several succeeding years, is likely very seriously to increase. I have appended to this paper a note by Mr. Grey on this very subject, together with a tabular statement, from which it will appear that whereas in 1850 the average standing of magistrates was nine years and eight months, it had sunk in 1854 to eight years and five months, and is now, in 1856, so low as six years and ten months. "In 1850," says Mr. Grey, "there were only two magistrates below the standing of seven years. Now there are 15 such. The youngest officer officiating as a magistrate in 1850 was of five years' standing. The youngest officer now officiating as magistrate is of less than three years' standing." Those who are conversant with the working of our system are aware that this is, under present rules, an evil that cannot be resisted; while it exists, although certain of our young magistrates often display efficiency and ability beyond their years, yet on the whole our magistracy is losing credit and character, and our administration is growing perceptibly weaker, and yet I grieve to be obliged to affirm that the evil will infallibly increase within the next three years, unless an early remedy be applied. Does anybody imagine that, while this lasts, our Bengal police can be reformed?

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Five Measures Proposed.

30. It appears to me then that in order to an effectual improvement of the police in the Lower Provinces, the following principal measures are indispensably necessary:—

- (1.) The improvement of the character and position of the village chowkeydars or watchmen.
- (2.) Adequate salaries, and, I may add, fair prospects of advancement to the stipendiary police.
- (3.) The appointment of more experienced officers as covenanted zillah magistrates.
- (4.) A considerable increase in the number of the uncovenanted or deputy magistrates.
- (5.) An improvement in our criminal courts of justice.

Improvement of Chowkeydars.

31. Regarding the first of these measures, I have said that the inquiry suggested by Lord Dalhousie into the actual condition of the village police has been completed. By a circular, dated 13th November 1854, the several zillah magistrates were directed to adopt immediate measures for the collection of full and accurate information regarding the position of the village chowkeydars, showing the number that are regularly kept up, by whom they are appointed, by whom paid, and the amount and nature of their receipts. The magistrates were told to call for this information, in the first instance, through the thannah police, and subsequently to test the accuracy of the information furnished to them by making inquiries, in person, in different parts of each district, as well as by one or two trustworthy officers specially deputed for that purpose. The results were to be submitted to Government in a prescribed tabular form, and in the native language as originally prepared.

32. The tabular statement, so supplied, have been translated into English in the secretary's office. They appear for the most part to have been prepared with great care and accuracy, and they furnish an important body of information.

33. The following is an abstract of the results of this inquiry:—

Division.	DISTRICT.	Number of Villages.	Number of Houses.	Number of Chowkeydars.	Number of Houses to each Chowkeydar.	HOW APPOINTED.	HOW PAID.
PATNA.	Chumparan -	3,578	1,81,881	3,809	48	By Gomastahs and head villagers -	Annually by grain; some have from 5 cottahs to 20 beegahs of land each.
	Sarun -	4,347	2,10,425	5,926	36	Zemindars -	Ditto by cash, from 4 annas to 36 rupees, a few having cloths given them; by grain from 2 to 24 maunds; by land from 10 cottahs to 11 beegahs each.
	Patna -	3,906	1,32,122	4,380	30	Zemindars and villagers, confirmed by magistrate.	Ditto by cash, from 8 annas to 36 rupees each; by grain from 2 to 21 maunds each; by land from 4 cottahs to 12 beegahs.
	Shahabad -	4,048	2,19,949	6,283	35	Zemindars or head villagers, or both.	Ditto cash, 4 annas to 36; grain 20 seers to 30 maunds; land 10 cottahs to 24 beegahs each.
	Behar -	4,343	1,42,229	4,582	31	Landholder's omlah and the villagers.	Ditto cash, 12 annas to 36 rupees; grain 2 to 25 maunds; land 1 beegah to 5 beegahs each.
	TOTAL -	21,124	8,86,606	24,980	—		

Division.	DISTRICT.	Number of Villages.	Number of Houses.	Number of Chowkeydars.	Number of Houses to each Chowkeydar.	HOW APPOINTED.	HOW PAID.
BHAUGULPORE.	Tirhoot - -	5,473	3,33,465	7,895	42	Zemindars and some by villagers.	Annually by cash, 1 rupee 4 annas to 45 rupees, or land 1 cottah to 2 beegahs each, and a few receive a little grain.
	Purneah - -	5,267	2,45,181	7,841	31	Landholders or villagers.	Ditto cash, 12 annas to 36 rupees each; some receive a little grain.
	Monghyr - -	2,642	1,32,514	3,086	43	Zemindars - -	Ditto cash, 1 rupee 2 annas to 36 rupees; land 8 cottahs to 15 beegahs each.
	Bhaugulpore - -	3,740	1,71,482	3,687	47	Ditto - - -	Ditto cash, from 8 annas to 57 rupees; land from 1 beegah to 20 beegahs each.
	TOTAL - -	17,122	8,82,662	22,509	—		
RAJSHAHYE.	Maldah - -	1,950	91,817	1,568	58	By the head villagers	Annually cash, 1 to 48 rupees each, some have grain.
	Dinapore - -	8,517	2,05,051	5,592	37	Zemindars or head villagers.	Ditto cash, from 4 annas to 42 rupees each.
	Rangpore - -	3,383	2,17,471	5,077	43	Some by headmen, generally by zemindar's omiah, confirmed by the magistrate.	Ditto cash, from 2 to 36 rupees each; in one thannah a little paddy is added.
	Bograh - -	4,064	1,23,982	3,100	40	Head villagers, a few by the zemindars.	Ditto cash, from 1 to 36 rupees each.
	Puhnah - -	3,526	1,81,811	3,611	50	Headmen - -	Ditto ditto, 3 to 52 rupees each; a little grain given to some.
	Rajshahye - -	3,416	1,41,913	3,839	37	Ditto - - -	Ditto ditto, 6 to 48 rupees each; one man has 15 beegahs of Chakeran.
	TOTAL - -	25,766	9,62,045	22,787	—		
DACCA.	Mymensing - -	13,162	3,06,133	4,080	75	Head villagers or police.	Annually cash, from 3 to 54 rupees each.
	Sylhet - -	6,937	2,24,380	3,259	69	Landholders and villagers	Ditto ditto, 1 to 30 rupees.
	Dacca - -	3,163	2,32,023	4,026	58	Head villagers -	Ditto ditto, 6 to 36 rupees each, and a few are said to be paid monthly from 1 to 3 rupees each.
	Backergunge - -	2,357	1,78,104	3,051	58	Landholders - -	Ditto cash, from 7 to 42 rupees each.
	Furreedpore, - -	1,987	1,27,972	1,773	72	Headmen - -	Ditto, 1 to 52 rupees each; some have grain.
	TOTAL - -	27,606	10,68,618	16,189	—		
CHITTAGONG.	Tipperah - -	5,884	2,37,733	2,768	86	Headmen - -	Annually cash, from 2 rupees 8 annas 9 pie to 57 rupees 8 annas each.
	Noacolly - -	977	90,883	1,867	49	Ditto and police -	Cash, each Chowkeydar receives 12 annas per house monthly.
	Chittagong - -	944	1,79,763	2,431	74	Head villagers -	Annually cash, from 6 to 30 rupees, some get grain too; and a few monthly at 2 rupees 8 annas each.
	TOTAL - -	7,805	5,08,329	7,066	—		
CUTTACK.	Pooree - -	4,584	1,10,814	2,622	39	By Gomastahs and headmen.	Annually, by cash from 1 to 44 rupees; land 1 beegah to 65 beegahs each.
	Cuttack - -	6,630	2,13,207	5,072	42	Zemindars, confirmed by the magistrate.	Ditto cash, 1 to 55 rupees; land from 1 beegah to 40 beegahs each.
	Balasore - -	4,317	96,457	1,978	49	Zemindars - -	Ditto cash, 4 annas to 25 rupees; land 1 beegah to 25 beegahs each.
	TOTAL - -	15,531	4,20,478	9,672	—		

(continued)

Division.	DISTRICT.	Number of Villages.	Number of Houses.	Number of Chowkey- dars.	Number of Houses to each Chow- keydar.	HOW APPOINTED.	HOW PAID.	
BURDWAN.	Midnapore -	11,198	2,95,145	9,123	32	Headmen or the ma- gistrate.	Annually cash, 2 to 61 rupees; land from 4 beegahs to 143 beegahs each.	
	Howrah -	1,412	98,756	1,465	67	Zemindars -	Ditto cash, from 19 rupees 4 annas to 30 rupees 12 annas, with some grain each.	
	Hooghly -	3,168	2,80,493	5,194	54	Zemindar and magis- trate.	Ditto cash, 3 to 60 rupees; land 1 beegah to 36 beegahs.	
	Burdwan -	2,878	2,13,036	8,848	24	Ditto -	Ditto cash, from 12 annas to 72 rupees, some have some land.	
	Beerbhoom -	6,928	1,88,182	10,850	17	Ditto, and some by Sirdar Ghât-wâls -	Ditto cash, from 12 annas to 136 rupees each; or land from 3 cot- tahs to 228 beegahs each; or land and grain, producing an estimated income from 25 to 42 rupees each.	
	The Chowkeydars and the Ghât-wâls (who in Beerbhoom hold of the zemindar, but in Bancoorah of the Government) should have been dis- tinguished.							
	BANCOORAH {	Villages -	2,879	1,25,618	3,934	32	Zemindars or villagers, confirmed by the magistrate.	Ditto, from 8 annas to 71 rupees, and also in kind.
		Ghats -	1,127	28,389	4,325	7	By the magistrate -	By land held of Government under engagements with the old Rajah of Bishenpore, at from 2½ bee- gahs to 4,152 beegahs per man.
	TOTAL -		29,585	12,29,619	43,730	—		
	NUDDEA.	24-Pergunnahs	2,605	1,53,905	2,788	55	Headmen -	Annually cash, from 3 to 220 rupees 11 annas, also in kind.
Nuddea -		3,054	2,13,576	4,134	52	Ditto -	Ditto cash, from 1 rupee 8 annas to 60 rupees; grain added in some parts.	
Jessore -		4,126	2,16,256	4,189	52	Ditto -	Ditto cash, 1 rupee 8 annas to 48 rupees, and ditto ditto.	
Moorshedabad -		3,014	1,89,871	4,467	43	Zemindars or villagers, or both.	Ditto cash, from 1 to 48 rupees each, and must have some land or grain added.	
Baraset -		1,981	96,901	2,157	45	Headmen -	Ditto cash, from 11 rupees to 60 rupees each.	
TOTAL -		14,780	8,70,509	17,735	—			
Grand TOTAL -		1,59,309	68,28,866	1,64,877	—			

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34. It may be observed, as a general result of the inquiry, that, with few exceptions, the zemindar, or zemindar's agents, are found to nominate the chowkeydars, and this most commonly in the Bengal zillahs. In these latter zillahs, though the zemindars who nominate the chowkeydars seem to be primarily answerable for the payment of their wages, yet the ultimate payment falls upon the village ryots. In the Behar zillahs this seems to be not so generally the case, the "malik" or zemindar more usually in those zillahs having to incur the expense of paying the chowkeydars, who, however, in Behar, as elsewhere, often receive a part of their income in the shape of presents from the villagers in kind. I am aware also that, in some instances, in the Behar zillahs the liability to pay the chowkeydar's wages is disputed between the zemindars and the ryots. Where these disputes have been carried before the magistrate, I have found the liability of the zemindar usually enforced, though, as I have thought, with doubtful justice.

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35. The number of houses to each chowkeydar's beat is seen to vary considerably—from eighty-six, the largest number, which occurs in Tipperah, to twenty-four in Burdwan.*

36. The general average for the whole of the Regulation Districts of the Lower Provinces is shown to be one chowkeydar to forty-one houses. This average is, however, affected by the introduction of ghât-wâls into the lists. The traditionally proper proportion is believed to be one chowkeydar to fifty houses.

37. The total number of villages by this return is 1,59,306, and of chowkeydars 1,64,877, being 1,034 chowkeydars to each village.

38. The average receipts of each chowkeydar, in land and wages, will be probably under-stated at two rupees a month. Assuming, however, two rupees a month as wages, whether in money, land, or kind, and one rupee a month as customary presents—a very high estimate—we have a total for the annual receipts of 59,35,572 rupees; and calculating at five for each house in these returns, the population would be 3,41,44,330, † upon whom the above amount of taxation would fall at the rate of 2½ pie per head per annum, which is certainly a very light taxation, even at the high rate of receipts above assumed.

A Law Suggested.

39. What is, however, necessary to secure the old institution of a village watch from falling into utter desuetude, and for keeping it in a state of vigour sufficient for our present purposes, but doubtless to be further improved and reformed hereafter, is a law which shall enable a magistrate, on finding a village without a chowkeydar, or a chowkeydar without wages, to make a summary inquiry, and, according to the nature of the case, either to cause the nomination of a fit chowkeydar by the person or persons to whom the nomination may be proved by custom and usage to belong, or to cause payment of his wages at the rate found customary by the person or persons on whom the customary liability to pay such wages may be found to fall. Any very precise provisions would, I humbly think, be out of place at present. The people will not, I venture to say, feel it as any hardship that the magistrate should be empowered to make such inquiries, and to exercise such powers as I propose; on the contrary, they will assent to them, as in accordance with old customs, and as enforcing an acknowledged obligation; for the inquisition and the powers are such as were formerly very generally in use, and are even now employed by zealous magistrates in districts where the people are not yet fully aware of the actual law on the subject. It will only be if any minute system of tax-gathering on account of the village watch should be attempted that the law will be found to create any disaffection or dissatisfaction. At all events, I would desire to try the effect of the simpler method before resorting to any more complicated process. It may be safely, I think, reckoned upon, that, as soon as the law shall declare that the magistrate has the power which in former years he always used, and which has only lately been brought into question, the necessity for putting the law into force will very rarely arise.

40. It has been objected by some very competent advisers on such subjects, that even when all this shall have been done, we shall be as far as ever from our object; that the village chowkeydars, at the best, are an untrustworthy, unorganised rabble, and that no real improvement will be effected unless we get rid of them altogether, and organise a rural police according to the newest forms of occidental civilisation. And it is common with those who advocate this method of reform, to point to the 34,000,000 or 36,000,000 of the population, and to urge how easily a sum might be raised from them, not greater than they now pay for their imperfect village watchmen, which, in the hands of a skilful organiser, might be made to provide for the establishment in each zillah of a well-paid, dressed, and disciplined force, inferior in numbers to the present rural police, but far superior in trustworthiness and efficiency. To some such plan as this

* There are lower numbers in Beerbhoom and Bancoorah. But this arises from the Ghât-wâls having been admitted into the lists, who are not village chowkeydars, but guards of jungle-passes.

† The usual loose estimate of the population of the Regulation Districts, subject to the Government of Bengal, has been thirty-six millions.

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this I have myself leaned in earlier days; nor do I doubt either that, if it were practicable, it would provide a vastly improved rural police, or that we may fairly look forwards to such an improvement hereafter, though as yet at a great distance. I am satisfied, however, that to press for such a measure now would be impolitic and unwise, and that we might lose all in our anxiety to attain a desirable end sooner than can be reasonably expected. We must do our utmost to carry the people with us in our police reforms; at present they will readily admit old-established obligations to maintain village watchmen in a certain customary proportion to the size of each village, and to pay them after a certain usage, which differs somewhat in different villages, but has long been accommodated to old habits and customs in all. They will not, however, regard with favour a distinct and precise taxation for a new police, the application of which they will doubt, and the object of which they will be very likely to misunderstand: and, unfortunately, our knowledge of the people and our intercourse with them, through distantly-placed, often inexperienced, and but too frequently changed motussil magistrates, is not sufficiently intimate and cordial to allow as yet of our acquiring their confidence, and thereby their co-operation, in plans for the improvement of their old institution. Hereafter, when we shall have placed trustworthy magistrates in adequate numbers, and in the centre of manageable jurisdictions, I do not doubt that we shall be able gradually to influence the people more effectually than we can now pretend to do, and so to carry them with us as to obtain their intelligent assent, and with it their hearty assistance, to all our measures. We must, in short, obtain their confidence in our magistracy and police system before we can hope for their co-operation, and this cannot be expected under our present imperfect organisation.

Better-paid Police.

41. With regard to the second of the measures above enumerated, viz., the adequate payment of the stipendiary police, I have already submitted a proposition to the Government of India, by which, at an expense of 3,38,609 rupees, a reasonable increase may be made to the salaries and expectations of the mohurirs, jemadars, and burkundauzes, so as to render their situations more valuable than at present, and leave them, at all events, without the plausible excuse for corruption which they may now plead.* In order, however, to complete this part of the subject, I would very strongly recommend that a few considerable prizes be held out to darogahs, in the shape of increased salaries for particularly distinguished service. It is not always, and not, in fact, often the case, that a good police darogah is fitted to make a good deputy magistrate. Occasionally this method of rewarding distinguished service by a police darogah may be resorted to with success. But I have seen several very remarkable instances of failure, and, on the whole, I am much disposed to think that this method of promotion cannot be relied upon as generally practicable. It will be better, therefore, to grant a few enhanced salaries of 150 and 200 rupees to meritorious darogahs; and this may be done without any great increase of expense. There are now 50 darogahs on 100 rupees per mensem, 100 on 75 rupees, the remainder on 50 rupees. I would propose that, for special services rendered, it should be competent to the Government to reward as many as 15 or 20 distinguished darogahs by promotion to salaries of 150 rupees each, and 10 more for a like cause to 200 rupees each per mensem. These special promotions might be accompanied by other marks of distinction, so as to render the example in each case more striking and effective. The additional cost of this would not be more than 42,000 rupees per annum.

42. I may mention, while on this part of the subject, that I have found in some parts of the country some of the thannah jurisdictions of a very disproportionate size. This I believe to be more particularly the case in some of the Behar zillahs. It will be necessary in such cases to make an increase in the number of thannahs. But this, I think, will involve no expense worth mentioning, in discussing a matter of this magnitude.

* It has been my object in all my propositions to study a fair economy. I am sensible that the amount of increase I have proposed for the burkundauzes may, by some, be thought below the mark, and that a larger amount might have been suggested. I think, that what I have proposed will be a great improvement; and I should wish it tried before the amount is increased.

More experienced Magistrates.

43. The third measure on my list relates to the youth and inexperience of the covenanted magistrates. This is a very serious evil; and it is absolutely necessary to remedy it. It arises out of the numerical inadequacy of the covenanted service to supply the number of officers required by the existing system. It has been a matter of reproach to the service for many years; but it has very much increased of late, owing to the growing disproportion of men to offices. It has, in a manner painfully perceptible to me in my visits to the different districts, impaired the force, dignity, and efficiency of our administration in the interior; and in all cases in which the youth and inexperience of the officer is not, as it sometimes is, counterbalanced by unusual ability and force of character, it has brought the all-important authority of the zillah magistracy into marked slight and disregard, and sometimes into actual contempt. It is certain still more to increase under the present system; and no addition to the number of the service can remedy it for many years to come. The method in which each zillah was manned from 1793 down to 1830 was thus:—there was in each an officer styled judge and magistrate, who was zillah judge in civil causes, and also magistrate of police. He was usually an officer of upwards of 12 years' standing. There was a collector who, under the old system, had very little to do, and was usually upwards of 10 years' standing. There was a register, who had generally arrived at from two or three to five or six years' standing, and there might be an assistant of any standing below that of the register. Under this system the magistrate was the officer most experienced, and highest in rank in the district; and he was, therefore, looked up to with a degree of respect, the recollection of which to those who, like myself, have known "the mofussil" in those old days, suggests a painful contrast with the uninfluential and comparatively insignificant and unregarded position of the juvenile functionaries, many of whom I have found ineffectually presiding over the zillah magistracies in my recent tours. But the magistrate of those days was encumbered by the weight of duty imposed upon him as the (to use the native phrase) "incarnation of justice," civil and criminal, over an unmanageable extent of country; and, partly with a view to remedy this, Lord William Bentinck's Government took the office of zillah magistrate from the judge, and gave it to the collector, turning the register, who had been a subordinate to the civil judge, into a subordinate to the collector-magistrate. Thus the zillah magistrate, though no longer the officer of highest standing in the zillah, was yet of sufficient standing, position, and experience to command respect, especially as at the same time the Government began to exercise a much greater degree of care than formerly in the selection of officers for collectorships. It happened, however, that about the same period an extraordinary activity was infused into the revenue administration in the Lower Provinces, which had been previously much neglected; and for some years after the offices of collector and magistrate had been united, the chief attention of the Government was given to remedying the grave neglects and deficiencies which had pervaded the revenue management of former times; so that the business of a collector became for a considerable time very engrossing and onerous, and the duties of the magistracy were comparatively disregarded. This, which experience has since shown to have been merely a temporary difficulty, was treated subsequently to 1838, and, in consequence of the report of the police committee of that year, as if it had been permanent; and the offices of collector and magistrate were separated, and put into different hands. But the number of the civil service employed in the Lower Provinces not being increased, but rather, I think, diminished, the inevitable consequence was, that the lower paid of these two offices, that of the magistrate, fell into the hands of functionaries who had previously been the subordinates of the collector-magistrate; and young officers became thenceforth magistrates at about the same standing at which they had formerly become registers, or (subsequently) deputy collectors and joint magistrates. At present the reasons which caused this change no longer exist. The nature of the duties and responsibilities of collectors' offices requires that they should be held by officers of a certain standing and experience; but the actual work of those offices has become, with a few exceptions, so notoriously light, that full leisure is left for the efficient performance of a magistrate's business; and there is undoubtedly nothing in the nature of the two duties in these provinces, where the collection of the Government revenue is almost mechanical, and the

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interference of the collector in the realisation of the zemindar's rent from his tenants is purely judicial, to make them in the smallest degree incompatible. To reunite them, therefore, is now the mere dictate of prudence. It will at once place the superintending magistracy of each district in experienced hands, will economise labour, will remove a standing reproach against the Government, and will restore to the mofussil administration that strength and weight which the present youth and inexperience of our "boy-magistrates" have very sensibly and seriously impaired. This measure was proposed by Lord Dalhousie in 1854; and the reasons in its favour which then existed have been greatly enhanced by the occurrences of the past two years. I earnestly trust that the advantages which it offers, and which are enjoyed by all other parts of India, including all our recent acquisitions, will no longer be denied to Bengal, where, in fact, they are most urgently needed, and where the theoretical objections to the system, weak as I believe them to be everywhere else, have literally no kind of practical application.

By those who object to this, in my judgment, most useful and necessary measure, two methods have been proposed of remedying the great present evil, which nobody denies, of the youth and inexperience of the magistrates. One is to make the magistrates and collectors, as it were, change places; to let the young and inexperienced officers become, after their present brief training, collectors, on the present salaries of magistrates, and to let them thence rise to the office of magistrate, receiving in that office the salary now given to collectors.

This would merely transfer a disease from one part of the administration to another part, and cure the defect in the magistracy at the expense of the efficiency of the revenue department. The revenue department, not less than the magistracy, requires maturity of standing and experience; and the Government as well as the people would suffer if the office of collector were placed generally in young, inexperienced, and unpractised hands.

44. Another plan is to keep the two offices separate, and to divide the aggregate salary of a magistrate and a collector equally between each office, so as to make the standing of a magistrate equal to that of a collector; bearing in mind that this is to be done with a limited service which, for many years to come, cannot possibly receive an increase of experienced officers, it will be obvious that this would not prevent as large a proportion as at present of officers in independent charge (whether magistrates or collectors) from being too young for the duties of their position. At present a young assistant becomes first a dependent and subordinate "joint magistrate and deputy collector," and next a magistrate of a zillah. And if there are a certain number of magistracies vacant, the junior officers must be taken to fill them whether they be experienced or inexperienced, two years out of college, or five or ten. This evil will not be cured by taking from the salary of a collector and adding to the salary of a magistrate; on the contrary, it will be in some degree increased. What is required is, that the office of magistrate shall be moved up higher in the scale, so as to be, as it were, out of the reach of the inexperienced junior until he shall have passed through further stages of probation. And this can only be done (the numbers of the service being inadequate as well as limited), by joining the magistracy to some existing higher office, such as the collectorship, and letting the young officer continue in the subordinate, though gradually improved and improving position, until time and experience shall have fitted him for an independent charge. Nor can it ever be too strongly insisted upon, that the nature of a collector's duties in this part of India is such as to offer no reasonable objection to the junction, but rather in many important respects to render it politic and advantageous.

45. If this were done, the step to which the junior now rises from his first and insufficient training, instead of being, as now, that of a magistrate in full charge of a district as large as three counties, would be, with perhaps the same or nearly the same pecuniary advantages, the more suitable position of a deputy or subordinate to the experienced collector-magistrate, and the zillah magistracies, instead of being in the hands of youngsters of three, and perhaps even less than three years' standing, would not be attained to under a standing of at least ten years, and probably much more.*

* Our present junior collector is of eleven years' standing, and this is at a time of unusually rapid promotion.

Increase of Deputy Magistrates.

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46. The next necessary measure is an increase to the magistracy, and this can only be by an increase to the number of uncovenanted deputy magistrates.

47. It is vain to talk of police reform so long as the police are under no closer superintendence than that of a magistrate from 30 to 60 miles off (or even more), in a country where, owing to the nature of the climate and the want of means of communication, a distance of 10 miles is often more than equivalent to 50 miles in England. I will not here parade any statistical facts. Every one acquainted with the country knows how few and far between are our magistrates in the interior as compared with even the worst-organised country in Europe, and every one admits that one of the first steps towards improvement must be to have magistrates at such tolerably convenient distances that each functionary shall not be, at all events, more than a few hours' journey from the most distant village in his jurisdiction. I think that the proper size of a deputy magistrate's jurisdiction was not unreasonably stated by an intelligent and experienced native friend, whom I consulted on the subject, as "so much as the magistrate could go to one end of in his morning ride, and the other end in his evening ride." This would probably comprise two, or at most, three thannahs. The total number of thannahs is 484. But of these some belong to the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and a good many are city thannahs, such as the 15 thannahs of the city of Moorsshedabad. These may be for our present purpose deducted, as well as the sudder or station thannah of each district, which should be under the immediate direction of the zillah or district magistrate. After these deductions, there will be left about 400 thannahs. If a deputy magistrate were appointed to every three of these thannahs, we should require 133 deputy or assistant magistrates. But we have already, between covenanted assistants and uncovenanted deputy magistrates, 33 out-stations or subdivisions established, so that the new appointments actually required would be 100, a number which would hereafter be liable to some diminution, as the lower ranks of the covenanted service were increased. Taking the number at 100, and placing this number on salaries of from 200 to 700 rupees, in the proportion now assigned to the uncovenanted executive service, the expense of this additional establishment would be 4,21,200 rupees in salaries. For a reason, however, to be hereafter stated, I am clearly of opinion that the maximum at present assigned to the uncovenanted executive service is too low. Instead of the highest class embracing only one officer on 700 rupees, the highest class should embrace two officers on 1,000 rupees each; below that should be a class of four on 800 rupees each, and then (omitting the present class of 700 rupees) the classes should proceed downwards in the same proportions as at present. This would raise the additional charge above quoted to 4,60,801 rupees. The additional establishments, allowing for some reduction in the present zillah magistrates' establishment, would certainly bring the expense up to five lacs and a half per annum, or say, with some additional thannahs, six lacs. For this amount, however, I think this very desirable, not to say necessary, reform might be made. And even then, and after adding the amount of 3,38,609 rupees required to render adequate the pay of mohurirs, jemadars, and burkundauzes,* which would raise the total additional annual expense to 8,88,609 rupees, or say, after allowing for all defects of the estimate, ten lacs of rupees, the police charges of Bengal would still be only a little more than the police charges of the North-western Provinces.† And it must be by no means left out of sight, that the diminution of expenditure at present, in consequence of the diminished number of junior civil servants, as compared with the year 1850, is more than a lac and a half of rupees;‡ and as it is in a great measure owing to this diminution that an addition is required to the uncovenanted magistrates, it is reasonable to set off a large part of this lac and a half, say at least a lac, against the additional charge now asked for, thus reducing the total to a maximum of nine lacs per annum.

48. My

* See para. 4 of this Minute.

† Provincial Police charges, 1851-52 :—

Bengal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,31,386.
N. W. P.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16,97,607.

‡ See para. 15 of Mr. Secretary Grey's letter to the Government of India, No. 2137, of 30th September 1855. The actual difference is 1,54,440 rupees.

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48. My reason for thinking it necessary to have a class on 800 rupees, and a class on 1,000 rupees per mensem, is that, although I should contemplate filling the new offices chiefly with natives, it would be indispensably necessary to have a certain number of well-educated and respectable Englishmen among them; and experience as well as theory has shown that these cannot be had for the same pecuniary inducements as natives of the country, but must be in general paid more highly. In districts where there are many indigo planters, it is absolutely indispensable to have English magistrates; and to attempt to administer the magistracy with natives in such districts will always be productive of dissatisfaction and disappointment.

Junction of Judicial and Executive Powers.

49. There is, however, an opinion which has found favour with some persons of just weight and authority in matters of this kind, and which has indeed a certain plausibility which tends to recommend it to many, and especially to those whose experience or whose mode of thinking has been derived from European rather than from Oriental habits, against which I am especially desirous of raising my testimony in this place, the rather, perhaps, that, in the days of my smaller experience, I myself have held and advocated the opinion, which I now very heartily condemn. The opinion to which I allude is this,—that magistrates of every degree should be debarred from all judicial powers, and should have nothing but the executive duty of preventing and detecting offences, and that separate judicial functionaries should always receive and try cases of every kind committed to them by the magistrates of various degrees. Thus it is, I believe, contemplated by some advocates of this system, that, at or near every place at which a deputy magistrate is stationed, there should be a moonsiff, or a Sudder ameen, or a judicial officer of some corresponding class, to try all cases sent to him by the deputy magistrate; and that, in the same way, all cases coming before the zillah magistrate, whatever their nature and importance, should be sent for trial to a judicial officer at the zillah station, native or European.

50. It is one very serious objection to this scheme that it will be very expensive, not unlikely, as I believe, to double the proposed additional charge. But I think this the smallest objection to which it is liable. It is a scheme foreign and unintelligible to Asiatic notions, and altogether founded on European ideas and habits, going, indeed, in its excessive provisions to a degree even beyond any general European practice.

51. I am very sure that our mofussil administration will, *ceteris paribus*, be generally efficient, while it is certain to be also acceptable to the people according to the degree in which it conforms to the simple or Oriental, in preference to the complex or European model. The European idea of provincial government is by a minute division of functions and offices, and this is the system which we have introduced into our older territories. The Oriental idea is to unite all powers into one centre. The European may be able to comprehend and appreciate how and why he should go to one functionary for justice of one kind and to another for justice of another kind. The Asiatic is confused and aggrieved by hearing that this tribunal can only redress a particular sort of injury, but that, if his complaint be of another nature, he must go to another authority, and to a third or a fourth kind of judicature, if his case be, in a manner incomprehensible to himself, distinguishable into some other kinds of wrong or injury. He is unable to understand why there should be more than one hakim, and why the hakim to whom he goes, according to his own expression, as to a father for justice, should be incapable of rendering him justice, whatever be the nature of his grievance, or whatever be the position of his adversary.

52. Accordingly, not only in all our recent acquisitions, such as Seinde, the Punjaub, Burmah, Nagpore, Oude, but in most of those which date thirty and forty years further back, such as the Nerbuddah territories, Assam, or Arracan, we have carefully framed our administration upon the Oriental plan, modifying it only where absolutely necessary to insure real benefit to the people. And while the Europeanised methods of our oldest territories have been notoriously unsuccessful, the result has, on the whole, been so decidedly favourable in the newer districts, that no sound Indian statesman would now dream of proposing for any new acquisition any other plan of administration. Now nothing can be

more

more opposed to the Oriental plan of administration than the entire separation of judicial from executive duties, which is advocated by the over-much Occidentalists to whom I have alluded, at the same time that it is going backwards from the course which experience has been gradually forcing upon our older territories ever since 1798. In that year the "regulation system" began by denuding zillah magistrates of almost all judicial powers. But this was soon found to be practically intolerable, and first in 1807, and afterwards at different intervals, the judicial powers of zillah magistrates were increased from the infliction of one month's imprisonment to that of six months, one year, two years, and ultimately three years, which is the limit of judicial power now exercised by zillah magistrates. I know that the general opinion of the most trustworthy officers is, that if the magistrates were not so young, that is, if by union of the office with that of the collector, or in any other way, the age and experience of the magistrates were raised to its former standard, it would be wise to increase (instead of diminishing) their judicial powers, and to give them, as is given to magistrates in several of the "Non-regulation" Provinces, a power of sentencing to imprisonment for as many as seven years, subject only to the revision of a higher authority. This was recommended by Mr. Dampier, in his Police Report for 1848, for all cases of simple dacoity.

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53. Before 1830, the trial of heinous cases in each zillah was by a circuit judge, who came at stated intervals, tried such cases as he found ready, and departed, to be succeeded on the next circuit by a different, and again, at another interval, by a third, and sometimes even a fourth, circuit judge. Among some evils peculiar to the system as it then existed, there was undoubtedly much that operated with advantage in these successive circuits by successive judges. That system has been succeeded by one in which each zillah station has its permanent sessions judge. And though this change effected an undoubted remedy for some of the more obvious evils of the previous system, it has been found in practice to be open to certain special objections, such as have been thought by many almost to counterbalance its admitted benefits; for, instead of the little known, and therefore the more honoured, circuit judge, we have now a judge who, in a small station and a confined society, must of necessity be in such a degree of close and incessant intercourse with the magistrate as usually breeds the familiarity which is proverbially destructive of respect. Small societies, too, are liable to jealousies, scandals, quarrels, over-friendships, over-enmities; and in all these, to the detriment of his official usefulness and his judicial dignity, the judge is not seldom found to bear a part. Sometimes the judge and the magistrate are in open enmity; and then every counter-decision is apt to be attributed, by their keensighted native observers, to the existence of ill-feeling between the two functionaries. As often, perhaps, the judge and the magistrate are in close intimacy;—they dine together, they ride together, they shoot or hunt together, their tastes and feelings are obviously in unison; and then every judicial affirmation of commitments and appeals is liable, by narrow-minded and interested by-standers, to be put to the account of friendship and influence. In one zillah the judge perhaps is weak, and exercises feebly and ineffectually the control over the magistrate which the system expects of him. In another zillah the judge may be vigorous, encroaching, overbearing, and then the magistrate is made a cypher, and his power, without his responsibility, passes into hands for which it was never intended. No one who is familiar with the state of the interior will deny that, amidst much that is good, our present system is often marred by one or other or all of the evils I have above depicted; and these evils, wherever they occur, arise undoubtedly from the antagonism of a locally-opposed judicial and executive authority. But conceive this local antagonism not merely at each zillah station, but all over every district, and the antagonism in each case, not of two liberally-educated Englishmen, but of two half-educated and Orientally-civilised natives, and let those who know the country and people declare what would be the practical result. Conceive every darogah opposed perhaps to an antagonist local moonsiff, and every native deputy magistrate to a native Sudder ameen at an out-station; imagine the bickerings, the criminations and recriminations that would ensue. For, though under the greatest provocation, corruption is the last thing which a native ever imputes to an English judge or magistrate, it is the first imputation which a native casts on a native, on great provocation, slight provocation, or no provocation at all. Thus, in but too many instances, would executive officers

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officers account for every failure by insinuations against the judicial department, and thus as often would the judicial functionaries retort by insinuations against the purity of the executive. At the best, all the difficulties and embarrassments which even now not unfrequently impede the administration, owing to divided authority at the chief zillah stations, would be multiplied a hundredfold. If it were asked why crime had increased in a given district, the executive officers would reply, "Because of the pertinaciously unreasonable acquittal of all our criminals by the judicial functionaries." If the judicial functionaries were in any way questioned for this result, they would answer, "It is because of the negligence and inefficiency of the executive." Nobody would be responsible. Power would be everywhere divided, and everywhere contending against power. The administration of the interior would be torn in sunder, and the result would be good made bad, bad made worse, and confusion everywhere worse confounded. No one, who has the personal acquaintance with the interior which my present position no less than my past experience has given me, can say that this anticipation is exaggerated. All must agree that the mischiefs I have anticipated would, under such a system, be very likely to break out.

54. I believe, too, that to deprive our magistrates of judicial power, while it would degrade them in the eyes of the native community, who can never understand why, when the hakim has caught a thief, he should not forthwith try and punish him, would take away a great cause of self-respect from the executive functionary and a great means of self-improvement. I have no doubt that the sense of judicial responsibility has a very large and important effect in raising the character and improving the conscientiousness of our executive magistrates, while it certainly adds greatly to their useful influence among the people; and I am satisfied that justice is not likely to be less truly or satisfactorily administered under the present system, which entrusts large judicial powers to magistrates and deputy magistrates, than under a system which, taking away from them all judicial power, should make them in their own view, and in the apprehension of the people among whom they act, nothing but a higher kind of police darogahs.

55. In recommending, therefore, a considerable addition to the number of deputy magistrates, I would be understood to advocate very strongly that they should, as at present, be permitted to exercise judicial powers varying with their known qualifications and experience, and subject to revision by a higher authority. This is in perfect accordance with recommendations of the recent Report of the Law Commissioners.*

Improved Administration of Justice.

56. The fifth and last general measure which I have enumerated is an improvement in our criminal courts of justice.

57. This part of the subject has repeatedly been brought to notice in Mr. Dampier's annual reports, and there is undoubtedly a general consent of opinion as to the urgent necessity for an improvement.

58. But, as might be expected on a subject so difficult, there is much variety of opinion as to the manner in which improvement can best be effected.

59. On the whole, and after much careful consideration, I give in my entire adhesion to the recommendations of the London Law Commissioners, as stated in their recent Report, but with certain modifications, the most material of which I shall now proceed to describe.

Jury Trial.

60. The plan of the London Law Commissioners provides† for trial of heinous cases by the sessions judge in each zillah, assisted by a jury in cases where certain privileged persons are defendants, or among the defendants.

61. The privileged persons are thus stated in the Report:—"A British subject,

* See pp. 98 and 99 of the Report.

† Chap. xix., p. 149.

subject, or an European, or an American, or an East Indian, or an Armenian, or a person of any other class to which the Governor-General in Council may see fit to extend this rule, registered according to such rules as the Governor-General in Council shall prescribe." Unanimity, or a majority of not less than two-thirds, with the concurrence of the judge, being necessary for a verdict of guilty. Of all other defendants the trial is to be before the sessions judge and two or more assessors; the decision being vested exclusively in the judge. I will enter in this place into no argument, but simply state that I disapprove of these provisions: and, instead of confining trial by jury to certain privileged classes, I would have all trials of heinous cases in the Mofussil before the sessions judge and a jury.

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System of Appeal to High Court.

62. The plan of the London Law Commissioners leaves the system of appeal very much as it is now, encouraging appeal by ensuring every appellant against any disadvantage, and giving him every possible chance of advantage by appeal.* But in cases of trial by jury, the High Court is not permitted to reverse a verdict as to facts; though it may try any point of law in appeal from such trials, and alter, in the way of mitigation, but not in the way of enhancement, any sentence passed by a Sessions Court in such trials.

63. If then jury trial were made the rule instead of the exception, there would be, even according to the scheme of the Law Commissioners, no appeal whatever from the Sessions Court on the facts, but only on the law. To this I have no objection. There would remain an appeal in mitigation of sentence, and this I should not object to leave, not however binding the High Court to take up any such appeal unless on strong *prima facie* ground, shown to their satisfaction, for questioning the justice of the sentence appealed against. But I would restore the wholesome power of enhancing within certain limits, as well as reducing sentences, which was formerly exercised by the Sudder Court. I can see no reason for withholding it, and a great many for giving it. Our zillah judges err at least as often by over-leniency as over-severity; and over-severity has never been imputed to the Sudder Court, but on the contrary.

Powers of Sessions Judges.

64. The plan of the Law Commissioners gives to the Sessions Courts the power of sentencing to any legal punishment short of death. Capital cases are to be referred to the High Courts.†

65. This entirely accords with my view of what is required. But the large powers of revision given to the High Court by Chapter xxv. are, in my judgment, for the most part unnecessary, and I would either abrogate or greatly reduce them. In this country it is quite sufficient to give a power of revision on appeal, without encouraging the High Court to take up cases regarding which no one has appealed or complained. This is one of those excesses of cautious investigation which so frequently disfigure our system, and by occupying time which might be better employed, as well as by adding to the uncertainty of sentences, do in the long run a great deal more harm than good.

Moonsiff Magistrates.

66. The plan of the Law Commissioners gives to subordinate magistrates much the same powers as at present, but it makes every moonsiff a subordinate magistrate. The present system leaves the Government the option of making a moonsiff a subordinate magistrate or not; and I think the present system in this respect very much the most prudent and proper.

Appeal to Sessions Judges.

67. The plan of the Law Commissioners gives an appeal of right against every sentence

* Chap. xxvi., p. 163.

† Page 96, and see note at p. 98; also Chap. xxii., Rule 304, p. 157.

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sentence or order, light or heavy, of every magistrate and subordinate magistrate, high or low, to the sessions judge. This is simply impossible, if the subordinate magistrates are increased as I propose to increase them. Even now, the appeals from magistrates and subordinates with the higher powers, go far to swamp the sessions (who are also civil) judges. And if, as I propose, the magistrates are doubled, it is vain to think that the present number of sessions judges can hear their appeals. And besides this there is good reason for leaving all the subordinate magistrates subject in all things to their chief zillah magistrate. It has always been a mistake to transfer them in any way to any other authority; every purpose for which the new arrangement is proposed, will be far better subserved if the deputy or subordinate magistrates were, as to their judicial not less than their executive functions, made liable to the complete authority of the zillah magistrate by whom they are to be posted, and guided, and controlled: by whom they are to be checked in their errors and encouraged in their successes; to whom they are to look for praise or blame, for repression or advancement; and to whom the Government must look for advice and opinions as to the conduct and qualifications of every member of the new organisation.

Effect of Act XXXI. of 1841.

68. But, both in regard to the revision of sentences of his subordinates by the zillah magistrate, and the revision of the sentences of the magistrate by the zillah or circuit judge, I would most earnestly counsel a return to the system in force before 1841, which gave no criminal appeal of right in any case, but allowed certain higher authorities a power of discretion, and on sufficient cause shown, of revising and amending sentences of certain subordinate courts.

69. The old system was by the Honourable Court* well and wisely contrasted and compared with the newer system of 1841, and the practical superiority of the former strongly and convincingly insisted on. "We apprehend," says the Honourable Court, commenting on Act XXXI. of 1841, "that in this enactment the analogy of civil has been erroneously applied to criminal judicature. In the exercise of the right of appeal given to a party in a civil suit, he has to take into consideration the increased costs with which he will be chargeable in the probable event of the original decree being affirmed. But the convict will have no such motive to discourage him from exercising his right to appeal. The execution of the sentence must be suspended, which will itself be a positive benefit, and the superior tribunal, when it confirms the sentence, cannot enhance its severity as a punishment for the exercise of a legal right. The Act in question indeed expressly prohibits such enhancement, so that a committed prisoner has no inducement to refrain from trying the chance of an appeal. It may, therefore, be expected that when that right comes to be fully understood and generally known, an appeal will be preferred against every sentence, and the great mass of the criminal business of the country will have to be done twice over."

70. "Under the former regulations, the Courts of Circuit, whose powers have since been transferred to the sessions judges, were authorised, upon petitions presented to them within a limited period, to call upon the magistrate for his proceedings in any case, and to pass such orders thereupon as they might deem proper and consistent with the regulations. Similar authority was also vested in the Court of Nizamut Adawlut over all inferior tribunals, and it is renewed in the Act now under consideration. This we apprehend to be the correct principle by which liability to error on the part of the subordinate tribunals should be guarded against; such an interposition of authority did not imply any right of appeal by a convicted prisoner, and was not open to the objections with which that right would be attended. The petition on which superior authority was interposed could only in a loose sense be regarded as at all partaking of the nature of an appeal."

* Despatch from Honourable Court, No. 1 of 1843, dated 1st February.

Sections XXIII. and XXIV., Regulation IX. of 1807.

71. And in a later despatch, dated 3 April 1854, remarking on the reply of the Nizamut Adawlut to the foregoing observations, the Honourable Court's opinion is thus repeated:—"We are aware that it was competent to the superior tribunals, upon petitions presented to them, to call for proceedings in criminal trials, and to pass such orders upon them as might seem just and proper. This exercise of authority, as we observed in the despatch above referred to, constitutes the correct principle by which liability to error on the part of the subordinate tribunals should be guarded against; but the petition on which it may be interposed, can only in a loose sense, as we also observed, be regarded as at all partaking of the nature of an appeal. In such a sense only we conceive the term appeal to have been used in the section pointed out by the Nizamut Adawlut. Otherwise it would imply that the right of appeal belongs to the prosecutor as well as to the prisoner, and it would require that the execution of every sentence should be deferred until the period after which the right ceases had expired, and that every case appealed should undergo complete investigation by the appellate jurisdiction, although, *prima facie*, there might be no ground whatever to doubt the justice and propriety of the original decision."

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72. "The statement furnished by the Nizamut Adawlut shows that the number of cases disposed of in 1843, in the Lower Provinces, amounted to 31,751, and the number of cases appealed to 5,212, or a sixth part of the whole. This is a large proportion of the criminal business of our system of judicature which has had to be done twice over; and it can hardly be doubted that the proportion would greatly increase, if it came to be fully understood, and generally known, that every appeal must be received as a matter of right, and must be completely investigated before the original sentence could be carried into execution.

73. "We therefore continue to think that in passing Act XXXI. of 1841, the analogy of civil has been erroneously applied to criminal judicature, and that the provisions of that Act require to be reconsidered and revised."

74. It is much to be wished that the sound advice of the Honourable Court should now be followed; for, unless this be done, such is the fondness for appeal in this country, that every addition to courts of first instance must be accompanied inevitably by a proportionate addition to courts of appeal.

Nomination of Jurors.

75. Under the plan of the Law Commissioners, the High Court is to make rules for the qualification, appointment, and other matters relating to jurors.* I am clear that the High Court had better be kept from this and all other executive business. A better system was, I think, proposed in the Draught Jury Bill, prepared by the late Mr. Bethune in 1849, and published in the "Gazette" of the 31st October 1849. By this the executive officers of Government, the collector, controlled by the Commissioner and by the Government itself, was to frame the jury lists. However this may be done, I should desire to see as much honour and dignity as possible attached to the rank of a jurymen. Perhaps it may not be possible here, any more than in England, to make the duty attractive. But something may be done to surround it with honour, and to make, as it were, some amends for the trouble and responsibility it must occasion.

Nomenclature.

76. Perhaps names are not much worth debating about; but, referring to the nomenclature of the Law Commissioners, I confess to a prejudice in favour of deputy-magistrate and assistant-magistrate, as compared with the long, and in the

* Chap. xix., section 267.

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the mouths of the natives, unmeaning and unintelligible appellations of judge of a subordinate criminal court of the first class, and judge of a subordinate criminal court of the second class.

77. It is impossible to imagine that anybody will ever use all these words in the hurry of business, and the process of abbreviation may possibly be somewhat arbitrary and uncertain. Besides, I have an old-fashioned objection to calling a magistrate a judge, and this, I fancy, will be shared by the natives, who have long been accustomed to associate distinct meanings with the terms judge and magistrate. If possible, then, I would put in a plea for the old terminology.

78. I make no remark in this place on the proposed constitution of the "High Court" of the Law Commissioners, nor on any other part of their plan that does not immediately bear on the administration of criminal justice, and thus on the improvement of the police.

Roads.

79. I have now recapitulated the five chief improvements which seem to me to be required to place the police of Bengal on a footing of reasonable promise, from which it may gradually advance to a better and still better condition. There is, however, yet another measure, which can hardly be omitted in this place, and which may seem of itself almost as important as any of the foregoing. I allude to a measure for the establishment of sufficient means of communication with the interior of districts. It cannot, indeed, be necessary to dwell on the importance of roads and communications to the well-doing of any police system. No system can work well while our police stations and our large towns and marts in the interior are cut off from the chief zillah stations, and from one another, by the almost entire absence of roads or even (during a large part of the year) of the smallest bridle-roads or footpaths. It may be impossible, in the present state of our resources, to make all over our zillahs such roads as are fit at all times for wheeled carriages, but, where better and broader roads cannot be made, it ought to be an indispensable part of our system to have from the chief zillah station to all police stations in the interior, and from each police station to the neighbouring stations, at least a raised and bridged foot or bridle-path, so that a man, a horse, a bullock, an elephant, or a palankeen, should at all times of the year be able uninterruptedly to pass and re-pass. There are but few of our zillahs where this might not be done at a comparatively small expense if the land were available; and of so much public import is it to have land available for such a purpose, that I should not think it unjust to propose a law making it binding on all zemindars, and other proprietors of land, to give up sufficient lands for the purpose, free of all cost to the State, except of any standing crops or agricultural produce. In most parts of Bengal the zemindars would do this willingly without any law, and the benefit to the surrounding lands would be of itself sufficient to over-pay the value of the land given.

80. By so digging the earth for the road as to form a small canal, a means of water communication in the rains might be secured, which would be of the highest value to agriculture and commerce, and which would easily bear a light toll, sufficient to pay for the repair (at least) of the road and the canal.

81. I think that the construction and repair of such roads ought to be an essential duty of each magistrate and division magistrate, that the expense should be estimated and passed once a year, separate from all other public works, and should be considered and calculated on as one of the charges of the police. Such a system, fairly established and energetically kept up, would by facilitating the movements of magistrates, of police officers, of despatches of complainants and of witnesses, do as much for the improvement of the police as any measure that could be devised, and, without it, I doubt if any measures could be fully successful.

Omlah.

82. It is a matter not absolutely essential, yet surely of much importance in this and other branches of the public service, that means should be adopted for encouraging

encouraging and rewarding good service among the native ministerial officers of our courts, popularly called the Omlah.

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83. It is usual to run down this class of men with undistinguishing severity, and to attribute to their pernicious influence the greater part of the mischiefs which beset our courts and impede the administration of justice. To a large and unhappy extent these imputations are, it must be owned, but too well deserved. Yet even here reprobation has been too indiscriminate, and too little regard has been had to the trials and temptations by which this class of officers is assailed and surrounded, to the real services which they render, to the extraordinary knowledge of business, industry, and ability by which so many of them are distinguished, and to the general neglect with which they are treated by the Government they serve.

84. They are for the most part paid at a rate that almost necessitates corruption; they have at the best little to look forward to as the honourable reward of a life of incessant toil; and they are liable to be turned off, and not seldom are turned off, without warning, and with the most trifling compensation, on any sudden change or remodelling that may occur in the offices to which they are attached.

85. Yet in the tours which I make through these provinces I have found, much oftener than I anticipated, and in various parts of the country, old, faithful, and useful servants of this class, to whose long, zealous, and often strikingly honest and uncorrupt labours the most convincing testimony is borne by all persons, European and native, with whom they have come into contact.

86. On such men as these I am occasionally solicited to bestow some official promotion as a reward for their past service, and as an incentive to the diligence and honesty of others. To these solicitations I have never been unattentive, and I have done all that I could to encourage meritorious native functionaries of this class by promoting them as far as I was able. But our system seldom permits of this kind of reward being bestowed. The most honest and capable serishtadar cannot rise as a judge without passing through the grade of a moonsiff; and for this he must undergo an examination, which is always insuperably distasteful to a mature man of business, and which is intended to prove, in younger candidates for office, that aptitude and that knowledge of which the old serishtadar has notoriously been long possessed, and which he has proved by a quarter of a century of constant and approved transaction of affairs. For a deputy magistrate he may be fitted by knowledge and experience, but seldom by personal activity or past habits; and, indeed, as natives of a certain age are remarkable for the absence of that pliability and versatility which enables a man to change himself with his circumstances, it is seldom that any of the most able and experienced ministerial omlah, who have long distinguished themselves in subordinate positions, are found to succeed, if transferred to situations of a different and more independent character.

Civil Order of Merit.

87. I am satisfied, however, that it would be greatly to the interest and advantage of Government if some means were devised of systematically rewarding all marked and distinguished service on the part of these and other native civil servants of the State; and I have long wished to see a civil order of merit established for this purpose, with various grades or classes, and moderate pecuniary advantages varying with each class.

88. It would not be difficult to frame a scheme for this purpose, which should cost in money nothing worth consideration, but which might, and probably would, produce the most beneficial effect on the character and conduct of the whole body of native civil servants. I desire to submit this suggestion for the consideration of higher authority.

Station Guards.

89. It may not be indispensable to the improvement of the police, but it is a thing very much to be desired for the security of the public peace, that there should

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should be available at the head-quarters of each station a small but well-drilled and trustworthy guard, to be used in case of riot or of opposition to the ordinary police. The same guard might be available for treasury guards and escorts, and for guarding the jails, and other duties of a like kind; and it would often save much harassing duty to the regular troops. I have already proposed the raising of civil police corps for this purpose, of which the expense would be met in part by a reduction of the present very inefficient jail and treasury guards. The Supreme Government has sanctioned the raising of one such corps, to be employed chiefly in the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and, as regards the main proposition, a reference has been made to the Honourable Court.

Honorary Magistrates.

90. It has been recommended, and the recommendation has recently been much canvassed, that commissions as honorary magistrates should be issued to certain carefully-selected indigo planters and zemindars, so as to enlist the wealth and influence of the Mofussil in the administration of its affairs. In favour of this proposition it has been urged that the zemindars and planters do now avowedly, and with the entire consent and satisfaction of the rural population, administer in all small matters, just that simple, ready, and paternal justice among their ryots, which the ryots best understand and appreciate; and that the jurisdiction which is thus assumed and exercised without law, being in itself useful and acceptable to the people, ought rather to be exercised with the full countenance and support of the law; that whether the law give it or withhold this jurisdiction, nothing can prevent the natural effect of wealth, position, influence, and authority among a docile and subservient population; and that it would be wise to enlist in the service of law and order that power which is now sometimes used against the public peace, and is at best, as between authority and crime, too often neutral, if not indeed sometimes ranged on the side of criminals and against the law; that many irregularities now caused by the exercise of unlawful power would cease, if this power were clothed with legal dignity and responsibility; and that by raising the position we should raise and confirm the character and improve the conduct of the entire class in question. On the other hand it is replied that, as regards the zemindars, they are, with rare and hardly ascertained exceptions, hard, selfish, corrupt, and grasping, or indolent, facile, and indifferent to the public good, while they are almost always ignorant and prejudiced. And that as regards planters, they have but too often, under a system which undoubtedly involves a certain extent of forced cultivation, interests so opposed to those of their neighbours and dependants, as to make it in the highest degree unjust and dangerous to entrust them with legal powers, which the very best might sometimes be tempted, and the worst would always be ready, to use for the prosecution of their own unlawful objects. That although indigo planters are as a class greatly improved during the past twenty or thirty years, and often the willing and energetic instruments of much public and private benefit to the neighbourhoods in which they carry on their important avocations, yet they have not yet altogether got the better of a tendency to right themselves in cases of dispute, without waiting for tardy processes of law; and there is still too much jealousy between them and their native neighbours, and too many constantly recurring causes of quarrel between them, to render it possible to entrust to any of them powers which, however honestly they might and probably in many instances would be used, would nevertheless always be contemplated with doubt and suspicion by those around them, and could never be otherwise than unpopular in the hands of even the most esteemed and worthy.

91. Although I somewhat lean towards the opinion that a careful and judicious enlisting into the service of the public of the rich and powerful zemindars and planters of the interior has in it much that seems to promise well, and that it should at all events be kept in view as a measure to be at some, perhaps, distant, future time gradually accomplished, I am not yet in a position to recommend it for present adoption. I have, however, called on a number of experienced officers for their views on the subject, and I may hereafter be able to offer a more decided opinion regarding it.

Vernacular

Vernacular Education.

92. Lastly, I would express my decided conviction that although the measures I have now proposed, improved and amended as they cannot fail to be during the further discussion to which they will be subjected, will in due time produce an improvement in the state of the Bengal police which cannot otherwise be effected, they are all of secondary importance, compared with the enlightenment of the people among whom they are to operate, and by whose co-operation alone they can be made fully effectual for the general good. While the mass of the people remain in their present state of ignorance and debasement, all laws and all systems must be comparatively useless and vain. Above all things that can be done by us for this people is their gradual intellectual and moral advancement, through the slow but certain means of a widely-spreading popular system of vernacular education, and money laid out on this great engine of improvement will, in the end, prove better spent and more enduringly profitable than on the working of the most excellent system of administration by the most efficient and costly establishments.

93. This greatest of our plans for the benefit of our Indian fellow-subjects has now under happy auspices been commenced. I earnestly trust that it may be prosecuted with persevering determination; that no reasonable expense will be spared to give it activity and extension, and that a large proportion of the rising generation may be embraced within its powerful and beneficent operation.

(signed) *F. J. Halliday.*

30 April 1856.

NOTE BY MR. SECRETARY GREY.

It has for some years been matter of complaint by the public in the Mofussil, and more especially the English public, that the office of magistrate in Bengal is held by officers whose junior standing in the service and consequent inexperience do not qualify them for the exercise of the very responsible duties which devolve upon them.

For several years the propriety of re-uniting the offices of magistrate and collector has been thought of and discussed, one of the main objects of such reunion being to place the chief magisterial power in every district in the hands of men of mature age and long experience of India.

It has been thought by most people that such a measure could not fail to produce good, because, while on the one hand the same average amount of natural inferiority and natural superiority was likely to be found in an equal number of men selected from two different ranks in the service, it was on the other hand inevitable that the men of the one rank, that is those of the longer standing, would possess a far greater amount of official experience and of acquaintance with the country and its people.

It has not been supposed, having regard to the manner in which the land revenue in Bengal is raised, that any theoretical objection, founded upon European ideas, would be urged against the junction of revenue and magisterial authority in the same hands, and this seemed the less likely, from the circumstance that in eleven of the Bengal Regulation Districts and in all the Non-Regulation Districts such union of authority actually obtained; this being the case, too, it may be remarked, in all the districts where the permanent settlement does not prevail.

After being talked about for some years, the proposition to reunite the offices of magistrate and collector was at length formally made by Lord Dalhousie in April 1854. The proposition was submitted to the Government of India, and no notice of it being taken for some months, the Lieutenant-Governor, in October of the same year, called the attention of the Supreme Government to the subject, and solicited permission to take advantage of then expected vacancies to

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reunite the office of magistrate and collector in some four or five districts, which were named.

This request was, however, refused in January 1855, and a Minute of the Honourable Mr. Grant's was sent for the Lieutenant-Governor's perusal, in which Lord Dalhousie's proposition was strongly objected to. The Lieutenant-Governor communicated his views upon the question to the Supreme Government in February 1855, and since that date nothing more has been heard on the matter from the Supreme Government.

The subject has, however, intermediately been twice brought incidentally to the notice of the Supreme Government. In September last, the Lieutenant-Governor, in applying for an increase to the uncovenanted executive service, took occasion to observe that such assistance, though greatly needed, would not cure one great evil of the present condition of the service; namely, the evil of advancing very young officers to appointments of responsibility and importance.

This evil, it was remarked, could only be cured by one of three measures, one of which was the reuniting of the offices of magistrate and collector.

No reply to this communication has been received.

The second occasion on which the subject of placing the chief magisterial and chief revenue control in a district in the same hands was brought under the notice of the Supreme Government, was in the instance of the districts of Bhaugulpore and Beerbhoom, when a portion of the magisterial jurisdiction of each of those districts was taken, after the Sonthal insurrection, to form a Non-Regulation province. It was then recommended by the Lieutenant-Governor as a measure of economy, that the separate magistracies of Bhaugulpore and Beerbhoom should be abolished, and that the collectors of those districts should be made also magistrates; to this proposition the Supreme Government at once assented.

With the above exception, the magistrate-collector question has not apparently advanced since Lord Dalhousie made his proposition two years ago.

My object in bringing the subject now briefly to the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor, is to beg his attention to a comparative statement which I have prepared, showing the standing of the magistrates in Bengal, that is to say, of the officers actually officiating as such at three different periods, namely, in April 1850, April 1854 (the date of Lord Dalhousie's proposition), and April 1856.

This statement will be found, I think, to show an urgent need of some means being adopted to procure greater experience in the magistrate's office than is now obtained.

The average standing of the magistrates of the 25 * districts which have separate magistrates was, in 1850, nine years and eight months. The average standing of the officers now serving as magistrates in the same districts is only six years and ten months.

In 1850, there were only two magistrates below seven years' standing, now there are 15 such.

The youngest officer officiating as a magistrate in 1850 was of five years' standing; the youngest officer now officiating as a magistrate is of less than three years' standing.

In the case of 1850, I believe it was a temporary appointment merely, as the Directory shows several officers of one and two years' senior standing not acting as magistrates. In the present year, when Mr. Wigram was appointed to act as magistrate of Beerbhoom, there was at the time no officer between him and Lord Ulick Browne, the next junior acting-magistrate, who was qualified and available for a magistrate's appointment.

Unless the number of the service available for duty in Bengal is increased at least to the strength at which it stood in 1850, or some other remedy be adopted, it is clear that the present state of things will continue.

20 April 1856.

(signed) W. Grey,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

* That is excluding the 24-Pergunnahs.

	Magistrates' Length of Service in 1850.	Magistrates' Length of Service in 1854.	Magistrates' Length of Service in 1856.
Behar - - - - -	17—1	11—4	5—6
Beerbhoom - - - - -	17—1	6—11	2—9
Shahabad - - - - -	15—10	5—11	11—0
Tirhoot - - - - -	13—8	8—3	7—11
Mymensing - - - - -	12—7	9—0	7—5
Jessore - - - - -	12—4	8—10	6—3
Dacca - - - - -	9—7	8—4	5—3
Sarun - - - - -	9—4	9—4	6—3
Patna - - - - -	9—3	8—5	5—6
Dinapore - - - - -	8—6	11—3	6—10
Monghyr - - - - -	8—6	8—5	4—7
Hooghly - - - - -	8—2	9—0	6—0
Midnapore - - - - -	7—6	6—6	8—6
Rajshahye - - - - -	7—6	8—5	6—4
Howrah - - - - -	7—11	5—4	6—7
Purneah - - - - -	7—3	7—7	9—7
Tipperah - - - - -	7—4	11—4	9—6
Burdwan - - - - -	7—3	7—6	5—6
Chittagong - - - - -	7—3	10—4	6—10
Nuddeah - - - - -	7—1	13—4	8—6
Backergunge - - - - -	6—4	5—5	7—5
Moorsheadabad - - - - -	5—0	9—2	5—1
Sylhet - - - - -	9—6	5—7	7—7
Bhaugulpore - - - - -	10—3	8—9	10—3
Rungpore - - - - -	10—8	6—11	5—0
25—	242—9	211—2	171—11
	9—8	8—5	6—10

No. 15.
Note by Mr.
Secretary Grey,
20 April 1856.

NOTE BY MR. SECRETARY BUCKLAND.

THE accompanying statistical returns* are not at all satisfactory to my mind, but they are the best that can be compiled from the materials at present available, viz.: the annual reports of the late superintendent of police's office, and the annual figured returns of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut; but it will be immediately observed that the returns of these two independent authorities neither tally the one with the other in those points where the figures might be expected to agree, nor does the one take up a subject at the point where the other left it off, or provide information as to the ultimate results. Nor are these returns themselves perfectly uniform for a term of 10 years. Headings have been altered, new definitions of crimes inserted, and for several years the returns of the whole Chittagong division do not appear in the superintendent of police's statements, an omission which occasioned me some perplexity at the sudden decrease of crime, until I ascertained the cause. At the present time, there is still greater difficulty in procuring statistical information. Since the commissioners of divisions became superintendents of police, there are only the annual returns for each division separately, and there is no compilation of a general return showing the results of a year's operations in the whole of Bengal collectively.

In the returns of the Sudder Court there is also an entire change in the form of tabular statements now submitted, a new set of forms having been forwarded by the Honourable Court of Directors, with directions to substitute them for those formerly in use.

It is very desirable that this want of uniformity should cease, and it appears to me that it would not be difficult so to remodel the multiform periodical statements, now submitted by the different authorities, as to make them more simple and easy for the compilers, and more practically useful for statistical purposes. I would merely observe that the Sudder Court has the power, by Regulation VII. of

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* Marked (A.) to (F).

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of 1829, to prescribe the form of periodical returns to be furnished by the judicial or police officers under this presidency, but since the appointment of a superintendent of police, that officer has always determined the forms to be used for police returns.

I now turn to the several statements which have been compiled.

Statement (A) is taken from the reports of the superintendent of police, and exhibits the total number of offences ascertained by the police to have been committed in the Regulation Districts of the Lower Provinces from 1843 to 1852, the total number of persons arrested, convicted, committed, and acquitted.*

This return embraces every kind of criminal offence, heinous and petty.

The sudden increase observable in the entry of number of cases in 1845, viz., 1,17,001 against only 43,487 in 1844, arises from the fact that in 1844 only the number of cases into which inquiry was made by the police was exhibited; whereas from 1845 the total number of offences actually ascertained to have been committed, though they led to no subsequent inquiry, has been entered.

Again, from 1845 the number of persons committed to the sessions is not separately shown, but the result is included in the convictions and acquittals without any distinction. I point out these discrepancies because they derange all averages which it is attempted to draw from a mere addition of the figures presented.

I am unable to find any explanation for the sudden falling off in the number of crimes shown in 1850, in which year, even including the Chittagong returns, only 90,154 offences are given, whilst in 1849 they amounted to 1,41,395. There is, however, not a corresponding decrease in the number of persons arrested (though there is a decrease), viz., 91,742 in 1850 to 97,645 in 1849.

But the returns for 1851 and 1852 continue to exhibit a gradual decrease, which shows a general result unfavourable to any presumption of activity on the part of the police. The rough average proportion of convictions to acquittals is five to three, but I place no reliance on such an average, as this return includes petty offences, and also the punishments inflicted on police officers and chowkey-dars by fines of small amount, for which the orders are passed merely on a darogah's report.

Statement (B) is also compiled from the reports of the superintendent of police, and exhibits the value of property stolen and recovered in each year from 1843 to 1852. It will be seen that the average value of stolen property reported amounts to 5½ lakhs per annum, but this is a return on which much dependence cannot be placed; as every one acquainted with the duties of a magistrate, must be aware how frequently losses are exaggerated on the one hand, and how frequently on the other hand losses are concealed; and often, when it is found impossible to conceal the outward signs of violence from burglary or dacoity, the owner of the house will stoutly deny the loss of any property, in order to avoid the further trouble of an investigation. There was a case at Serampore in Mr. L. S. Jackson's time, when the owner of a house in which a dacoity had been committed, on hearing that the magistrate was coming in person to investigate the crime, borrowed a quantity of brass vessels and ornaments from his neighbours, and tried by this device to support the story which he had told to the police, that the dacoits had carried off no property. But the magistrate observing that all the vessels, &c., bore marks of being in daily use, detected the scheme, and soon found all the broken chests and boxes of the house which had been carefully hidden away. In Baraset, a man who had been robbed of about 5,000 rupees in a peculiar iron safe, denied his loss on oath to the police at the time; and when, several years afterwards, the dacoity commissioner obtained a clue, which I think led to the recovery of the iron safe and part of the money, the owner at once admitted his loss, and had a very narrow escape of being punished for the perjury which he had committed.

The average amount of property recovered is a little above 14 per cent.; but I observe that, in the Chittagong division, in 1851, it came as high as 22 per cent.

Statement (C) is taken from the return of the superintendent of police. This return

* A statement, marked (D), has been compiled from the Sudder Court's returns, which shows the same particulars as this, but the figures differ throughout to the extent of two or three thousand in the totals of the number of persons arrested, and this difference pervades all the other columns.

return only commenced in 1845, and its object is to illustrate the practical working of Regulation II. of 1832, which prohibits the police from inquiring into cases of simple theft or burglary, except on the complaint and at the request of the individual injured, or under the special orders of the magistrate. The object of the law was clearly to protect the people from the police, to save a person who had been robbed from incurring the further loss and trouble attendant on an investigation by the police. It is submitted that the existence of such a law is condemnatory of the character of the police, and it is further submitted that this law, benevolent in its intention to the public, is practically most benevolent to the thieves. It is impunity which encourages crime, and if no attempt is made to trace the offenders, they enjoy a practical impunity.

The statement shows that for 14 burglaries committed, only one burglar is punished, the chances being thus 13 to one in the burglar's favour. In thefts the proportion is rather higher against the thieves, viz. as eight to three; the general average being three convictions to eight offences.

But in numerous cases of theft the offender is caught on the spot, and moreover cases of theft are concealed or not reported, in many instances, where the property lost is of small value, or the owner has a doubt whether his property has been lost or stolen. It would be contrary to all experience to suppose that burglaries are really more numerous than thefts; but it is most difficult to conceal a burglary, the sindh, or hole in the wall or tatty, being easily discernible for many days, even after it has been repaired. It is further to be noticed in this return that the acquittals considerably exceed the convictions. Out of every seven thieves arrested by the police, rather less than three are convicted, and rather more than four are acquitted. Among the burglars the proportion is a little more than one conviction to two acquittals. Nor does this show the true proportion.

It is very well known that, in spite of all orders to the contrary, the returns of the police do not show the true number of persons arrested by them on suspicion and subsequently released. Some of them draw a fine distinction as to the point where an arrest is consummated, this consummation not taking place until the proof for the conviction of the individual is obtained. I believe it to be entirely an erroneous opinion to suppose that an efficient police can work well without laying hold of a much larger number of persons who will be acquitted than those who will be convicted. I once had a police return from Liverpool in my possession, which showed an honest out-turn of only one conviction to eight acquittals in cases of theft which had come before the police. It is no doubt most desirable to protect the public from being exposed to unnecessary interference and arrest by the police; but this can be more effectually done by requiring a strict account of every individual whom the police sent for, than by seeking to maintain an average proportion between convictions and acquittals which is deceptive and unnatural. This proportion of convictions and acquittals has long been held by the Sudder Court to be a test of official character, and has led to the most contradictory conclusions. But in the course of last year, when a case came before the Court, which showed that, in a particular district, the police had never made a mistake as to the parties whom they arrested, the system was exposed, and a circular order issued with a view to secure the correct return of all persons apprehended and released by the police.

The statement marked (D.) is compiled from the returns of the Sudder Court, and has been already referred to in connexion with Statement (A.)

Statement (E.) shows the operations of the Sessions Court from 1843 to 1852, and is compiled from the returns of the Sudder Court. It appears that there are rather more than 4,000 prisoners committed annually to the sessions, and the result of the sentences passed in those courts gives about three convictions to two acquittals. This number of acquittals is high, considering the long inquiries which have been gone through by the police and the magistrate previous to commitment. But it is this long inquiry which gives the accused greater facilities of escape, chiefly by tampering with the weary and not unwilling witnesses. However, if the number of trials referred to the Sudder be counted, as they fairly may be, as regards the Sessions Court itself, for convictions in the Sessions Court, the proportion of convictions to acquittals in the sessions becomes about two to one.

The actual figures of this statement show an average on the ten years' of 1,935 convictions to 1,237 acquittals, with 512 prisoners referred to the Sudder Nizamut.

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The statement marked (F.) shows the result of the referred cases in the Sudder Court, and also of the appeals against the convictions of the sessions judges.

There is a discrepancy in the figures in these two statements (E.) and (F.), as to the total number of persons annually referred to the Sudder Nizamut. This is explained by the circumstance that the Statement (E.) includes only the persons sent up from the Sessions Court from 1st January to 31st December; but Statement (F.) includes only those cases received in the Sudder Court from 1st January to 31st December, so that the cases which have been referred by the sessions judges in the end of December, are taken into account in Statement (E.) for that year; but in Statement (F.) they only appear when they have arrived some time in January in the ensuing year. The average annual number of persons convicted in referred trials is 332 to 148 acquitted.

The result of the appeals against the orders passed by the sessions judges is only imperfectly shown in these returns; but from one of the figured returns (No. 2) prepared by Sir Robert Barlow, I find that from 1848 to 1852 inclusive, the number of petitions of appeal averaged 248, the sentences being modified or reversed in 85 cases, and upheld in 182 cases; as the average number of prisoners in each case appear to be about two and a half, the annual average of prisoners convicted at the sessions (amounting to 1,935) suffers a further reduction of 200 by the result of the appeal to the Sudder.

Of the total 4,000 persons annually committed to the sessions for heinous crimes, it thus appears that the conviction of 1,735 takes place in the sessions effectually, and 332 in the referred trials to the Sudder, so that of the whole number committed very nearly one-half is eventually acquitted.

The want of accuracy in the materials from which the present statements have been compiled, and the time that has been spent in fruitless endeavours to reconcile discrepancies, render an apology necessary for the meagreness of the conclusions which I have ventured to draw from them; but it seems to be very unsafe to build upon foundations so unstable, and which would probably be found on further inquiry to be still more untrustworthy than they appear.

(signed) C. T. Buckland.

30 April 1856.

(A.)

AN EPITOME of the TOTAL OFFENCES ascertained by the Police to have been Committed in the Lower Provinces from the Years 1843 to 1852 inclusive.

YEAR.	Number of Cases.	Number of Persons Arrested.	Number of Persons Convicted.	Number of Persons Committed.	Number of Persons Acquitted.	Number of Persons remaining for Trial at close of the Year.	REMARKS.
1843	44,774	86,543	40,280	4,409	34,611	4,950	1,090 died, transferred, or escaped.
1844	43,487	82,087	45,025	4,022	30,809	1,013	1,188 " " "
1845	1,17,061	86,623	50,235	-	32,831	2,537	1,020 " " "
1846	1,19,932	87,302	52,240	-	31,578	2,610	874 " " "
1847	1,29,708	89,789	53,454	-	32,722	2,548	1,065 " " "
1848	1,34,200	93,975	56,618	-	33,550	2,695	1,082 " " "
1849	1,41,895	97,645	59,246	-	34,733	2,651	1,014 " " "
1850	90,151	92,342	54,083	-	33,392	2,716	1,019 " " "
1851	90,743	90,432	52,053	-	34,005	3,137	1,278 " " "
1852	87,788	87,549	53,351	-	29,966	3,058	1,274 " " "
TOTAL -	9,99,682	8,95,238	5,17,215	-	3,28,197	28,845	10,904
Average of the Ten Years -	99,978	89,463	51,721	-	32,820	2,874	1,090

(B.)

VALUE of PROPERTY Stolen and Recovered.

Y E A R.	Computed Value of Property Stolen.	Computed Value of Property Recovered.	R E M A R K S.
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	
1843	4,70,548 7 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	86,108 9 5	18.5 percentage of recovery to loss.
1844	4,55,213 1 5	65,131 - 4	14.0
1845	5,75,572 10 1	85,115 12 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	14.7
1846	4,68,083 6 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	78,229 7 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	16.7
1847	5,69,851 10 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	82,726 15 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	16.2
1848	5,71,039 14 8	79,855 5 - $\frac{1}{2}$	13.9
1849	5,58,913 1 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	75,638 12 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	13.5
1850	5,49,823 7 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	81,292 14 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	14.7
1851	6,34,944 13 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	80,676 - 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	12.7
1852	6,10,279 9 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	61,462 8 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	10.0
TOTAL	54,63,262 3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,76,237 5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	14.2
AVERAGE	5,46,327 3 6	77,623 11 9	14.2

(C.)

STATEMENT of THEFT and BURGLARY from 1843 to 1852 inclusive.

Y E A R.	CR I M E.	Number.	Cases inquired into	Persons Arrested.	Convicted.	Discharged.	P E N D I N G.
1843	Theft -	-	-	-	-	-	Remark.—There is no Return of this nature for these two years, the Average is therefore Octennial instead of Decennial, as in the other Statements.
1844	Burglary -	-	-	-	-	-	
1845	Theft -	10,116	5,221	9,859	3,662	5,881	316
1845	Burglary -	11,227	2,323	3,773	1,288	2,280	205
1846	Theft -	9,956	5,162	8,932	3,209	5,278	355
1846	Burglary -	10,660	1,725	3,155	1,144	1,790	221
1847	Theft -	10,487	5,143	8,319	3,065	4,964	290
1847	Burglary -	11,570	1,858	3,826	1,345	2,319	162
1848	Theft -	11,291	5,153	8,451	3,283	4,929	239
1848	Burglary -	13,159	1,900	3,505	1,100	2,259	146
1849	Theft -	11,613	5,535	8,199	3,414	4,533	252
1849	Burglary -	14,143	2,161	3,454	1,236	2,068	150
1850	Theft -	12,881	5,799	7,948	3,365	4,325	258
1850	Burglary -	16,403	2,054	3,453	1,149	2,112	192
1851	Theft -	14,115	5,354	10,448	4,491	5,494	203 pending, 20 died, 10 escaped, 164 transferred 66.
1851	Burglary -	19,716	2,100	3,579	1,286	2,066	170 pending, 9 died, 4 escaped, 12 transferred 32.
1852	Theft -	13,531	5,486	9,640	4,217	4,987	203 pending, 14 died, 17 escaped, 199 transferred.
1852	Burglary -	18,987	1,997	3,658	1,413	1,993	189 pending, 10 died, 2 escaped, 51 transferred.
TOTAL	Theft -	93,990	43,153	71,796	28,796	40,390	2,606
	Burglary -	1,15,565	16,118	28,403	9,961	16,886	1,555
AVERAGE of 8 Years	Theft -	11,623	5,394	8,977	3,599	5,048	
	Burglary -	14,483	2,014	3,550	1,224	2,110	

No. 1.

(D.)

ABSTRACT STATEMENT of the Number of Persons brought to Trial, Acquitted, and Convicted, by the Magistrates and their Assistants in the Lower Provinces, and the Number Committed to take their Trial at the Sessions, from the Year 1843 to 1852 inclusive.

Y E A R.	Prisoners under Examination on the 1st January.	Apprehended during the Year.	Received by Transfer.	TOTAL.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	Committed.	Died.	Escaped.	Transferred.	Pending.			Explanation of Column 7.			TOTAL.
											In Jail.	On Bail.	TOTAL.	Summorsed by the Magistrate and his Subordinates.	Sent in by the Police.	Released on Bail by the Police and not required to appear before the Magistrate.	
1843 -	-	1,858	83,103	353	85,319	41,911	36,210	3,782	107	644	388	589	1,578	2,197	-	16,290	35,310
1844 -	-	2,167	85,318	345	87,830	46,609	33,935	4,085	92	564	541	594	1,410	2,004	-	10,666	33,935
1845 -	-	2,004	89,241	425	91,070	50,387	34,250	3,777	118	359	570	642	1,667	2,209	15,328	10,223	34,250
1846 -	-	2,309	90,041	373	92,623	53,060	32,866	3,522	65	442	386	760	1,502	2,262	16,417	8,651	32,866
1847 -	-	2,257	93,313	355	93,925	54,319	33,786	3,558	74	617	423	712	1,436	2,148	15,871	8,113	33,786
1848 -	-	2,147	96,806	215	99,168	57,550	34,678	3,484	105	742	292	671	1,646	2,317	17,356	8,110	34,678
1849 -	-	2,317	99,424	302	1,02,043	59,363	35,628	3,663	90	585	388	604	1,632	2,326	18,223	6,886	35,628
1850 -	-	2,326	93,606	420	96,352	55,252	34,292	3,615	83	493	468	637	1,512	2,149	18,633	6,886	34,292
1851 -	-	2,151	92,295	507	94,935	52,622	34,680	3,701	110	535	701	907	1,697	2,604	18,244	6,911	34,680
1852 -	-	2,601	89,109	405	92,115	53,692	30,784	3,805	137	611	589	820	1,677	2,497	15,734	5,922	30,784
TOTAL -	-	22,037	9,12,261	3,700	9,37,998	5,24,785	3,41,209	36,992	981	5,592	4,746	7,036	15,657	22,713	1,56,826	73,506	3,41,209
AVERAGE -	-	2,203	91,226	370	93,799	52,478	34,120	3,699	98	559	474	703	1,505	2,271	15,682	-	34,120

No. 2.

(E.)

ABSTRACT STATEMENT showing the Number of Persons brought to Trial, Acquitted, and Convicted by the Sessions Courts in the Lower Provinces, and the Number of Persons whose Cases were referred to the Nizamut Adawlut, from the Year 1843 to 1853 inclusive.

Y E A R.	Prisoners under Trial on the 1st January.	Committed during the Year.	Received back from the Nizamut Adawlut	Received by Transfer.	Total.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	Referred to Nizamut Adawlut.	Commitment cancelled.	Died.	Escaped.	Transferred.	Pending.
1843	453	3,789	20	8	4,270	2,096	1,113	592	14	25	6	15	409
1844	409	4,085	52	13	4,550	2,313	1,237	475	19	29	4	15	467
1845	467	3,780	16	13	4,276	2,131	1,969	471	28	30	1	8	318
1846	318	3,522	13	183	4,036	1,782	1,216	400	23	19	14	156	426
1847	426	3,576	13	241	4,256	1,764	1,301	504	54	20	-	201	413
1848	413	3,557	4	11	3,985	1,797	1,183	458	16	29	2	-	500
1849	500	3,663	6	8	4,177	1,839	1,361	535	32	24	1	2	383
1850	383	3,742	17	5	4,147	1,740	1,236	529	39	21	-	5	587
1851	587	3,707	63	12	4,369	1,945	1,270	523	67	17	3	5	539
1852	539	3,855	20	3	4,417	1,944	1,183	640	80	34	1	3	532
TOTAL	4,495	37,276	224	497	42,492	19,351	12,378	5,127	372	248	33	410	4,574
AVERAGE	449	3,727	22	49	4,249	1,935	1,237	512	37	24	3	41	457

No. 15.
Note by
Mr. Secretary
Buckland.
30 April 1856.

No. 15.
Note by
Mr. Secretary
Buckland.
30 April 1856.

No. 3.

(F.)

ABSTRACT STATEMENT showing the Number of Criminal Cases referred or appealed to the Nizamut Adawlut, with the Orders passed thereon, together with an Abstract Statement of Criminal Business disposed of, from the Year 1843 to 1852 inclusive.

TRIALS REFERRED UNDER THE REGULATIONS.										TRIALS CALLED FOR ON PERUSAL OF THE ABSTRACT.						PETITIONS OF APPEAL From Sentences of the Sessions Courts, presented to the Court or forwarded by the Sessions Judge.					
Y E A R.	Number of Cases pending on the 1st of January of each year.	Number of Cases received during the year.	Total Number of Persons under Trial.	Number of Persons convicted.	Number of Persons whose Cases were remanded.	Number of Persons whose Cases were remanded.	Number of Cases pending at the end of the year.	Pending on the 1st January of each year.	Received during the year.	Total.	Order confirmed.	Order modified.	Order reversed.	Pending at the end of the year.	Pending on the 1st January of each year.	Received during the year.	Total.	Petition rejected.	Petition admitted and the Case called for.	Pending at the end of the year.	
1843	-	8	256	560	373	125	37	9	1	20	6	2	12	1	14	181	195	136	38	21	
1844	-	9	199	472	265	179	14	7	1	19	7	4	9	-	21	246	267	117	137	13	
1845	-	7	215	518	315	114	10	15	-	8	-	-	5	3	13	319	332	100	221	11	
1846	-	15	204	453	303	110	10	20	3	14	5	3	7	2	11	238	249	48	199	7	
1847	-	20	201	480	331	141	4	3	2	7	3	-	5	1	7	218	275	22	198	5	
1848	-	3	198	438	285	141	4	4	1	16	8	1	8	-	5	227	232	21	207	4	
1849	-	4	241	583	398	133	10	14	-	16	6	2	7	1	4	285	289	2	286	1	
1850	-	14	202	519	305	176	16	8	1	25	10	4	11	1	1	378	379	48	325	6	
1851	-	8	227	522	318	173	10	10	2	22	8	7	8	-	6	489	495	108	374	13	
1852	-	10	244	652	431	188	16	6	-	27	18	3	5	1	13	607	620	153	448	19	
TOTAL	-	98	2,182	5,497	3,324	1,480	131	96	10	174	71	26	77	10	95	3,188	3,383	770	2,433	100	
AVERAGE	-	9	218	549	332	148	13	9	1	17	7	2	7	1	9	318	333	77	243	10	

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MINUTE by the Right Honourable the Governor-General.

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BENGAL POLICE.—The Honourable Court of Directors, in their despatch in the Judicial Department, No. 41, dated the 24th September 1856, have expressed their conviction that an immediate and thorough reform of the police in all the Old Provinces of India is loudly called for. They have pointed generally to the evils of the existing system, have suggested remedies for those evils, and have desired the Government of India to take the subject into its early consideration; and, after communication with the other Presidencies, to report fully its sentiments as to the expediency of the general reorganisation of the police throughout India upon some such system as that which obtains with respect to the police of the Punjab, or perhaps the constabulary of Ireland, and as to the mode and cost of the proposed reform.

2. This despatch has been communicated to the several local* Governments with a view to obtain the opinions of those Governments on the Honourable Court's suggestions. But we have already before us the recommendations of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on all the material questions of police and criminal justice relating to the Lower Provinces. These, therefore, we may proceed to consider without waiting for a further communication from the Lieutenant-Governor, whose opinion on the several points referred to in the Honourable Court's despatch are already on record.

3. As the Honourable Court has invited the Government of India to report fully its sentiments as to the expediency of the general reorganisation of the police of India upon some such system as that of the Punjab, or perhaps of Ireland, I conceive that I shall best answer that call by stating freely such objections to the Honourable Court's plan as have occurred to me, and by proposing the adoption of the course which has most recommended itself to my judgment wherever a departure from that plan appears to me advisable.

4. The Honourable Court are in favour of one general plan of police organisation for the whole of India, modified according to circumstances. The main features of this plan are that in each Presidency or Government there should be one general superintendent of police; that there should be a force under him, consisting of horse and foot, superintended in its larger divisions by European subalterns, and equipped, clothed, and disciplined, so as to render it efficient and serviceable without giving it an absolutely military organisation; that the duties of this force should be purely of a preventive character, namely, "the preservation of the public peace," and "the adoption of necessary measures for the prevention of crime;" that the detective police should form a constituent portion of each battalion of the preventive police under the European officers; that the preventive police should have nothing to do with the preparation of evidence, but that the detective police should for the present have power to make preliminary inquiries of a judicial character; that the size of the districts should be diminished; that the police of each district should be taken out of the hands of the magistrate and given to an European officer with no other duties, and responsible to the general superintendent; that no native police officer should be trusted with fiscal powers: and lastly, that the pay of the detective police should be raised, and more effectual measures taken to punish delinquency and reward good service.

5. I venture to think that the adoption of a common plan for all India, founded upon the suggestions of the Honourable Court as above stated, would involve much change and expense that is not really necessary. Reform of the police is most needed in Madras and in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, but the imperfections which abound in the systems of police in these two great divisions of India are not the same, and, except in one respect, of the insufficient pay of the native officers, have their origin in different causes. So, likewise, Bombay and

* Bengal, N.W. Provinces, Madras, Bombay.

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and the N. W. Provinces, where reform is much less needed, differ materially from each other, and from the other provinces in respect to the condition of the people, the nature of the land tenures, the physical aspect of the country, and other important characteristics; and a system of police which may answer well in the one would be inapplicable to the circumstances of the other.

6. We shall, therefore, in my opinion, be far more likely to arrive at a sound practical result, and to provide effectually for the protection of life and property throughout India, if we treat each Presidency and Lieutenant-Governorship separately, according to its own wants, of course bearing in mind certain leading principles which must necessarily be common to all, than if we postpone consideration of the Bengal question until replies are received from the other Presidencies, and endeavour to frame one scheme which, with minor modifications, shall be equally applicable to all.

7. In considering the reform of the police of Bengal, the first point upon which I shall touch is the appointment of a general superintendent of police for the whole Presidency, a point upon which the Honourable Court have strongly insisted, and to which they attach the greatest importance. The desire which the Court entertain of giving a semi-military organisation to the police of each Presidency naturally enhances in their view the importance of aiming at uniformity of system by the creation of a single and responsible head of the whole force. I am, however, convinced, for reasons that will be given presently, that any such semi-military organisation of the police of Bengal generally is inapplicable to the circumstances of the Province; and, therefore, I shall consider the question of appointing one general superintendent of police in Bengal with reference only to a police which is to be established mainly for detective purposes, and the apprehension of furtive criminals, but which will be aided by such semi-military force, like the station-guards at Patna, the Hill-Rangers at Bhaugulpore, or the new police corps for the Sonthal Pergunnahs, as may be found necessary for the suppression of disturbance in particular localities, or to support the ordinary police in case of resistance.

8. The Government of Bengal embraces an enormous extent of territory, extending from the magistrates' district of Champaraun in the Patna division to the district of Sandoway in Arracan, a distance of 1,000 miles; from the district of Debroogurh in Assam to the district of Pooree in Cuttack, a distance of 850 miles; and from the district of Tipperah in the Chittagong division to the boundary of the province of Nagpore, a distance of 650 miles. In this extended space there are five principal divisions,* in which as many different languages are spoken; and there are also numerous tracts inhabited by aboriginal and wild tribes, none of whom understand the languages spoken by the others or by the more civilised denizens of the plains. These several divisions and tracts are separated from each other, not only by diversity of language and custom, but by the absence of all means of ready communication; so that there is little community of feeling or interest between the corresponding ranks of the population in each, and none at all between the criminal classes, the individuals of which carry on their depredations within their own narrow and confined limits, and (except the Thugs who are now well-nigh exterminated, and the Bengal dacoits, the gangs of whom do not extend their operations beyond the districts adjoining that in which their headquarters are established) almost without concert of any kind.

9. The experiment of having one general superintendent of police for this large and incongruous territory has been tried, and has failed. The office of superintendent was created in 1837 and though it was found impossible to place under him any of the Non-regulation Districts,† or the province of Cuttack; and though it was afterwards found necessary to relieve him of the division of Chittagong, yet, even within this comparatively small, though actually most extensive sphere of authority, it was found that the superintendent could exercise little more than a nominal control over the district magistrates; that he was unable to visit the more distant districts except at rare intervals, and those nearer more than once a year; and that all that he did could be done far more effectually by the

* Behar, Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Arracan.

† Chota Nagpore, Assam, Arracan, Darjeeling, Cachar, Cossya Hills.

the local government itself, aided by local superintendents of police, each charged with the control of the police in manageable divisions, consisting of four or five districts. Accordingly, so lately as 1854, the general superintendency of police was abolished, and the duties of local superintendents of police were again assigned throughout the country, as they had all along been in a great part of it, to the commissioners of revenue. It has not, I believe, been found that the control over the police in Bengal has, in any respect, been weakened by this arrangement. The system prevails now not only in every part of the Bengal Presidency without exception, but in the Non-regulation Provinces of the Punjab, Oude, and Pegu, and it is everywhere found to work well, so far as the materials on which it has to work enable it to do so.

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10. It may be added, that, if it has been found that one general superintendent of police could not control the operations of the civil police in a portion of the Lower Provinces, there is very strong ground for presuming that such an officer, however great his aptitude and energy, would be unequal to the duty of controlling the semi-military and civil police, augmented as it will be in numbers, throughout the whole of those provinces.

11. The next question which arises for consideration is the constitution of the police force.

12. In the Punjab, from which the Honourable Court desire that the model should be taken for all India, the preventive or military police consists of six regiments of foot, containing 5,400 men, and 27 troops of horse, numbering 2,700 men, and is superintended by four British officers as police captains. The infantry furnish guards for jails, treasuries, frontier posts, and escorts for treasure and civil officers in transit. The cavalry are posted in detachments at the stations; and smaller parties, stationed along the grand lines of road, serve as mounted patrols.* Both horse and foot are ready to reinforce the civil police, "the former to crush resistance, the latter to expedite pursuit." The civil police in the Punjab are very much on the same footing as that in the North-western Provinces and Bengal, but they are much more numerous. The territory is divided into 228 police jurisdictions or thannaahs, in each of which is a police officer (darogah), on a salary varying from 100 rupees to 50 rupees a month, with one or two deputies, and about 30 policemen. The total strength is about 6,900 of all grades. But in the Punjab and the North-western Provinces the police establishments of the thannaahs are controlled by the tahsildars, each of whom, in addition to his fiscal duties, exercises a vigilant control over the police within his jurisdiction, which on an average consists of about three thannaahs. This is an important link in the chain of police management between the district magistrate and the darogah, which in Bengal is either wholly wanting, or is imperfectly supplied by the joint, deputy, or assistant magistrates in charge of subdivisions.

13. It is to be observed that the immediate duties of the military or preventive police are, strictly speaking, not those of policemen at all. It is not by them that crime is either detected or prevented, or criminals traced or arrested. Their primary business is of a military rather than a civil character; and they are much more frequently employed in relieving the regular troops of irksome duties than in assisting the police. They are brought into play as a civil power only when resistance is offered to the police, or when speed is necessary in the pursuit of offenders along the principal lines of road. Moreover, the detective police do not form a constituent part of the preventive police, but are quite independent of them, and under a perfectly separate organisation.

14. Now, in Bengal the nucleus of a semi-military force, sufficient for the occasional support of the ordinary police, as well as for other duties, already exists in the Patna Station Guards, the Bhaugulpore Hill Rangers, and the corps which has recently been raised for police service in the Sontal pergunnahs. The Patna Guards have been organised on their present footing since 1848. They supply personal guards to the commissioner of the division and the judges of the districts named in the margin.† They also furnish jail, treasury, and opium guards

* Punjab Report for 1850-51, para. 162.
Patna, Shahabad, Behar, Sarun, Chumparun, Tihooh.

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guards for these districts, and escort for treasure and prisoners. A portion of the force remains at head-quarters at Patna, where they are drilled and disciplined under the eye of the European commandant, and are available for relief and for aiding the police in any emergency. The Bhaugulpore Hill Rangers, in like manner, supply personal and station guards in the districts of Bhaugulpore, Purnea, and Monghyr, and are also available for escort duty, and as an auxiliary police force in case of need.

15. In 1845 the Government of Bengal proposed to form three corps of station guards, one for the districts in the neighbourhood of Patna, a second for the districts of the Delta and Western Bengal, and a third for Bengal north and west of the river Ganges. This resulted in the establishment of the Patna police-guard, by way of experiment; but the formation of the other two corps was postponed, partly on the ground of economy, and partly owing to a doubt whether two additional corps would suffice for the duties assigned to them in the wide extent of territory in which it was proposed to employ them. Since then, and not longer ago than last year, the Lieutenant-Governor has proposed to raise three such corps, in addition to the one already sanctioned for the Sontal pergunnahs.

16. It appears to me, that if the civil police force be reorganised in the manner hereafter to be mentioned, and if due provision be made for its proper supervision and control, all the objects of a military police, so far as concerns Bengal, will be answered by the enrolment of two more corps of station guards, under the same organisation as that of the Patna station guards and the Sontal police force. I am disposed to think that if the corps of Bhaugulpore Hill Rangers be made, as it ought to be, a purely civil corps, by means of it and of the Sontal police regiment, station guards could be supplied to all the Bengal districts to the west of the Bhagerutty, as well as to Dinagepore and Malda; and then one corps with its head-quarters at Berhampore, and another with its head-quarters at Dacca, would probably give all that is required. The additional expense involved in entertaining these two corps of station guards would be trifling, as a large number of burkundauzes now employed to guard the several gaols and treasuries would be dispensed with.

17. The head-quarters of the Behar corps would be, as at present, at Patna, where it is most needed. The hill-rangers would have their head-quarters at Bhaugulpore; the Sontal corps at Soory; and the Berhampore corps at Berhampore, all within reach of the Sontal pergunnahs; and the Dacca corps would have its head-quarters at the spot in Bengal at which it has been most frequently surmised that resistance to the constituted authorities may occur.

18. Cuttack is to a certain extent supplied with a reserve police force in the Balasore paiks; Chota Nagpore is preserved against resistance or disturbance by its local battalion. Assam has a similar protection, and so has Arrakan.

19. For these several corps no general superintendence but that of the local Government, and no special organisation other than that of internal discipline, is required. The commandant of each should be under the orders of the commissioner in whose division he is placed, and the detachments in each district under the orders of the local magistrate. Discipline might be insured by occasional inspection of the men at head-quarters by a military officer selected for the purpose.

20. I now come to the constitution of the civil police. On this subject we have had before us for a long time a recommendation from the Government of Bengal, that the salaries of the mohurirs and jemadars who occupy the position of the deputy police officers in the Punjab, and also the salaries of the burkundauzes should be considerably increased. The Lieutenant-Governor, in a letter dated 30th April 1855, has submitted a definite proposition on this head, involving an additional expenditure of 3,38,609 rupees a year. It is proposed by His Honor that the mohurirs, instead of their present pay, varying from 20 to 5 a month, should one quarter of them receive 40, another quarter 35, and the rest 30 a month; and that the jemadars, instead of their present pay varying from 15 to 4 a month, should one quarter of them receive 20, another quarter 15, and the rest, 10 a month. It is further proposed that the burkundauzes, who are now paid at rates varying from 6 to 2 a month, should one quarter of them receive 6,

another

another quarter 5, and the rest 4 a month. The proposed increase of cost is as follows :—

	Rs.
For Mohurirs -	1,01,971
„ Jemadars -	54,640
„ Burkundauzes	91,998

TOTAL - - - Rs. 3,38,609

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The absolute necessity for some such measure as this has been long since recognised* by the Government of India. The proposal has been agreed to by my Honourable Colleagues, and should be at once sanctioned. It is, to my mind, an essential point in police reform, without which no other improvements we can adopt will be of any avail; but I am led to entertain some doubt whether any burkundaz ought to receive less than five rupees a month† in any part of the country, and there is still abundant reason to fear that the police in every grade is numerically insufficient, and that it will be found necessary, besides increasing the pay of the existing establishment, considerably to augment its strength. I think the designation of mohurir, meaning strictly “a clerk,” should be changed to that of naib darogah.

21. The Lieutenant-Governor has proposed, that a “few considerable prizes be held out to darogahs, in the shape of increased salaries for particularly distinguished service.” To this I do not object, provided it be shown in each individual case that the deserving officer is not qualified for promotion to the deputy magistracy. I think that this sort of promotion is the natural and proper reward for a successful darogah of police, and likely to be the most effective in its influence, and I hope that it will be found practicable to award it more generally than the Lieutenant-Governor supposes, especially now that the higher offices in the police are beginning to be filled by natives of character and English education. In this view it appears to me that the Government of India might agree to grant not more than 10 special salaries of 200 rupees, and as many of 150 rupees for distinguished service, to be given only on the condition above expressed, and not by any means as a matter of course.

22. The next point of importance, as it seems to me, is to supply the want which is felt in Bengal from the absence of the tahsildars, who occupy so prominent a position in the system of the Punjab and the North-western Provinces. The number of thannahs in the Lower Provinces, after deducting for city thannahs of a very small extent in the cities of Patna, Moorshedabad, and Dacca, and for the thannahs at the Sudder stations, is said by the Lieutenant-Governor, in his Minute of the 30th April last, to be about 400.‡ The geographical extent of the Bengal thannahs is generally greater than that of the thannahs in the North-western Provinces and Punjab, and the facility of communication from one part of a district to another is less. Making allowance for this, and remembering, on the other hand, that the tahsildars are burdened with heavy fiscal duties, I am disposed to think that the police subdivisions in Bengal may properly consist, on an average, of from three to four thannahs, each under an officer exercising plenary police powers, and also judicial powers, either of an ordinary assistant, or of an assistant with special powers, or of a joint magistrate, according to circumstances. Of these officers, who, if uncovenanted, may very properly be designated deputy magistrates, and who may occasionally be members of the covenanted service, 133 will be required.

23. The

* Note.—In 1843, the Government of India, in sanctioning the augmentation of the darogahs' salaries, desired that the principle might be carried still further, and extended to other classes of police officers; and promised to approve such extension if the increase in the darogahs' pay was found to answer. The Honourable Court, in reference to this, merely observed that the present rate of charge should not be increased without their previous sanction; and nothing has since been done in the matter.

† Note.—Mr. Dampier recommended, in 1840, that there should be two grades of burkundauzes on 5 and 6.

‡ There must be some error in this. The number of thannahs is stated in Mr. Secretary Grey's letter, of the 30th April 1855, to be 527; so that, after allowing for city and Sudder thannahs, there must be about 450 rural thannahs to be provided for.

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23. The Lieutenant-Governor states, that there are only 33 officers already available for this service, and that, therefore, 100 more will be needed, whose salaries, according to the scale already fixed for the uncovenanted executive service, will amount to 4,21,200 rupees. This number, His Honor observes, may be diminished, if the strength of the covenanted service be increased. The ordinary strength and pay of the uncovenanted service in Bengal is shown in the margin;* but there are at present 10 supernumeraries, all of the lowest grade, whose salaries amount to 24,000 rupees a year, making the total present expense 4,45,200 rupees a year. Now, if the number be made up to 200, the gradations may be properly arranged somewhat on the present scale, and with some addition to the number of those who are paid at the higher rate, though I am not prepared to agree with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that a higher rate of salary than 700 rupees a month, with a pension in prospect, is necessary for securing the most efficient service. I propose, therefore, the following scale:—

					Rs.
First Class	- 10	at	700	-	7,000
Second Class	- 15	at	600	-	9,000
Third Class	- 25	at	500	-	12,500
Fourth Class	- 40	at	400	-	16,000
Fifth Class	- 50	at	300	-	15,000
Sixth Class	- 60	at	200	-	12,000
TOTAL 200					71,500
					12
					Rs. 8,58,000

The total increase of expense under this head will be 4,12,800 rupees, and I believe it to be absolutely necessary.

24. With assistance of the character thus obtained, and with subordinate police, stimulated to a zealous discharge of their duties by fair wages and a prospect of promotion, I am not inclined to think that any of the districts of Bengal will be too extensive to be managed by a magistrate at its head-quarters, even though he be employed on duties of another kind, or that any division of such districts is required, at all events as a general measure. To any special application for the division of a magisterial district, the Government of India will doubtless always be ready to attend.

25. I now come to the important question discussed in some of the papers before us, as to whether, in certain Regulation districts in the Lower Provinces, the offices of magistrate and collector should continue separate, or whether they should be united in one person. After giving the subject my best consideration, and carefully weighing the arguments which have been adduced on either side, I have come to the conclusion that the two offices where now separate should be reunited, and that the system which is found to work equally well in the Non-Regulation districts in the North-Western Provinces, and in several districts of the Lower Provinces, should be uniformly adopted. It seems to me, speaking with sincere deference to the opinion of my honourable colleague, Mr. Grant, that reason, no less than experience, points to the necessity of concentrating the whole executive power of the Government, in each district of Bengal, in the hands of one experienced man. We have the authority of Lord Dalhousie, after

				Rs.
1 at 700	-	-	-	700
9 at 600	-	-	-	5,400
15 at 500	-	-	-	7,500
20 at 400	-	-	-	8,000
25 at 300	-	-	-	7,500
30 at 200	-	-	-	6,000

35,100

per annum, Rs. 4,21,200

four years' experience of local administration, in favour of the measure ; and we have the earnest and repeated recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor on the same side. The system of separating the two offices seems to have been adopted rather on theoretical grounds, and in the hope that any change would conduce to the improvement of the police, than from the experience of practical inconvenience from their union ; though if it had been otherwise, the previous system can hardly be said to have had a fair trial, seeing that it existed only a few years, and at a time when the chief energies of the collector-magistrate were taxed for the performance of the onerous duties imposed by the sudden and energetic enforcement of the resumption laws

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26. The Honourable Court have in their recent despatch expressed a clear opinion, that though the union of fiscal and police powers in the hands of a subordinate native officer is to be avoided, and where it exists to be discontinued, there is not "the same objection to the combination of magisterial and fiscal powers in the hands of our European officers, because we can better hope that they will not abuse their power, and because by employing the collector as the principal magistrate of each district, we are able to obtain for the chief administration of the penal laws a more efficient, and especially a more experienced class of officers than would otherwise be available."

"This," they add, "is an important consideration, which ought never to be lost sight of." I beg respectfully to express my thorough concurrence in this opinion.

27. I agree with the Honourable Mr. Grant that a system of administration which suits an uncivilised country may not be adapted to one more advanced in civilisation, but there still remains the question whether the districts in Bengal, in which the offices have been divided, are in that advanced state of civilisation which renders the division of magisterial and fiscal function a preferable mode of local administration to that in which these functions are united ; and whether there is such material difference in point of civilisation between those districts and the districts in which no such division has taken place, or between those districts and all the districts of the North-western Provinces, as to require a separate and more theoretically perfect system of administration. Judging from all the evidence before me as to the state of things in the Upper and Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, I find myself constrained to answer this question in the negative. I think that, in Bengal especially, the efficient administration of the penal laws requires all the force and influence which the Government can bring to bear upon it, and that this force and influence will be increased by substituting for the divided authority now partially existing in these provinces that union of local control which, as it seems to me, is much better suited to the character and wants of the people. I do not think that the case would be met by raising the salaries of the magistrates and reducing those of the collectors, or by putting them upon an equality. An inexperienced collector may be as mischievous as an inexperienced magistrate, and it is not desirable that any man should exercise independent authority of any kind over a whole district until he is ripe for it. And even if experience could be secured in both offices, the division of authority is to be avoided rather than sought. As regards the people, I fully believe that what has been called the patriarchal form of government is, in their present condition, most congenial to them ; and best understood by them : and as regards the governing power, the concentration of all responsibility upon one officer cannot fail to keep his attention alive, and to stimulate his energy in every department to the utmost, whilst it will preclude the growth of those obstructions to good government which are apt to spring up where two co-ordinate officers divide the authority.

28. Neither do I think that a parallel can be drawn between a Bengal mofussil district and the presidency town of Calcutta in respect to a division of offices. In the former the collector is and must be an officer of high authority, whose relation to the zemindars and to the rest of the agricultural community, in connexion with the settlement and collection of the land revenue, and the disposal of quasi-judicial questions relating to it, must always be one of influence and power, and whose co-operation with the magistrate it is most important to secure by the closest union. In Calcutta, on the other hand, the magistrate, an officer of long experience, with an expensive and numerous staff of European and native police at his command, and

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assisted by justices of legal attainments and practice, would derive no appreciable addition of power from being charged with the collection of petty ground-rents, and the excise upon spirits, a duty entrusted to an uncovenanted officer under the control of the collector of the 24-Pergunnahs. Moreover, the concentrated wealth and civilisation of the town of Calcutta are such as to require and support a more perfect division of labour in its local administration than any entire district or town of the mofussil can be expected to claim, upon like grounds, for many generations to come.

29. I propose, therefore, that the Lieutenant-Governor be at once authorised, as opportunities occur, to reunite the offices of magistrate and collector throughout the Lower Provinces wherever they have been separated, assigning to the united offices the salary of 27,000 rupees a year, now drawn by the collectors and magistrates in the North-western Provinces, but liable to reduction on the report of the Commissioner on Civil Salaries, and absorbing as many of the separate magistracies as may be necessary to avoid any additional expense, leaving the remaining salaries now assigned to magistrates available for paying the covenanted officers who will then be employed as joint-magistrates and deputy-collectors in each district, precisely on the same system as in the North-western Provinces. It is to be observed that the officers are now united in thirteen of the Regulation Districts, viz., the three districts of the Cuttack Province, Chumparun, Baraset, Furrceepore, Bancora, Noakolly, Pubna, Bogra, Malda, Beerbhom, and Bhaugulpore. In the two last-mentioned, it was brought about only last year, with the sanction of the Government of India, after the suppression of the Sontal insurrection.

30. But I think it will be advisable, as it is certainly in accordance with the views of the Honourable Court, that the joint magistrate in each district should be charged with the immediate responsibility of controlling the police of the district, somewhat after the fashion of the district superintendent of police in Bombay. The Bengal joint magistrate, like the Bombay superintendent of police, would be under the general orders of the magistrate; but while the magistrate confines himself for the most part to judicial and administrative matters, the joint magistrate would have the control of the executive police, and take the initiative in the prevention and detection of crime. I have already mentioned my reasons for thinking it inexpedient to give a more military character to the Bengal police than it now bears; and it is in accordance with those reasons that I propose that the immediate control of the police should be in the hands of a civil rather than in those of a military officer. The station guards, when their interference is needed to aid the civil police, will be at the disposal of the magistrate and his deputy, but there seems no necessity for placing them, as regards discipline or internal organisation, under any other command than that of their own officers, who will be bound, however, to pay implicit obedience to the authorities of the district in which they are stationed.

31. Having considered the questions which relate directly to the constitution of the stipendiary police of Bengal, I proceed to offer a few remarks on the cognate subjects referred to in the Lieutenant-Governor's Minute of the 30th April last. I propose to discuss in a separate Minute the very important subject of the village watch, the condition of which, owing to the uncertainty which has been suffered to exist as to the persons who are liable to pay for its support, has become deplorable.

32. I agree generally with the Lieutenant-Governor in the remarks recorded by his Honour in the 49th to the 55th paragraph of his Minute, regarding the union of the judicial and executive powers in the same hands. I conceive it to be quite in accordance with the notions entertained by the people of these provinces, and well adapted to their state of civilisation, that the officers who are charged with the duty of superintending and directing the operations of the police should also exercise the powers of a magistrate, to try and punish offenders except in heinous cases. In regard to the magistrate of a district, I am of opinion, that — although it is convenient that he should make over the immediate management of the police to his head-assistant, the joint magistrate, and devote a greater portion of his attention to the trial of the heavier cases within his competence, and the preparation of cases which have eventually to be committed to the sessions for trial—it is most conducive to the public good that he should exercise

a general

a general control over the proceedings of his subordinate officer, and interfere when it may be necessary for him to do so. On the other hand, I see no reason why the joint magistrate should not devote some portion of the time he can spare from police duties to the disposal of judicial business. And with respect to the deputy magistrates in charge of subdivisions, though their attention should be primarily given to police matters, it seems desirable that they should also exercise judicial authority* in a large class of cases, referring only such cases as they may not have leisure to deal with to the moonsiff for disposal. In the event of too much being left to the moonsiff, the monthly statements furnished by the deputy magistrate to the magistrate would show it immediately.

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33. I am not averse to that part of the scheme of the Indian Law Commissioners which would invest all the moonsiffs with criminal powers, at any rate, to the extent of those now exercised by assistant magistrates; and I think it expedient that the Lieutenant-Governor should vest with the higher or special criminal powers all such of the class of native judges as are capable of exercising them. All petty complaints of which the police do not take cognisance* might be received, in the first instance, by the moonsiff; and the police might be empowered to send to the nearest moonsiff for trial all cases which seem to them of such trivial importance as not to require the interference of the magistrate, or the deputy magistrate; but I do not think that it would be conducive to the convenience of the people, or otherwise expedient to denude the magistrate, or the deputy magistrates, of all judicial powers, or to prevent the magistrate from exercising a control over the judicial proceedings of the moonsiff on the criminal side.

34. Regarding the salaries and position of the native judges, I shall record my opinion in a separate Minute.

35. I incline strongly to the opinion that the proceedings of the subordinate criminal courts should be of the simplest possible description. I am also of opinion that there should be no appeal of right from the sentence of a subordinate court in criminal matters; but that the magistrate should have authority to revise or modify the decision of every assistant or officer exercising the powers of assistant within his jurisdiction, and that the judge should, in like manner, have authority to revise or modify the decision of every magistrate or officer exercising the powers of a magistrate. The review would take place as a matter of course, and any person would be competent to call the attention of the magistrate or judge to any point upon which the decision had done wrong to any one.

36. In the last paragraph of their despatch the Honourable Court suggest whether the influence, services, and means of information of the landholders and European residents in the Mofussil might not be made more available than at present for purposes of police, especially for the prevention and detection of the more heinous crimes. This subject is treated in the 90th and 91st paragraphs of the Lieutenant-Governor's Minute of the 30th April last, and his Honor, after recapitulating the arguments which may be used in favour of, and against, the measure, though he does not recommend its immediate adoption, leans to the opinion, "that a careful and judicious enlisting into the service of the public of the rich and powerful zemindars and planters of the interior has in it much that seems to promise well, and that it should, at all events, be kept in view as a measure to be at some, perhaps distant, future time, gradually accomplished."

37. As bearing on this point, I desire to submit for the consideration of the Council the fact that, in the island of Ceylon, a considerable number of unpaid justices of the peace have, for some years past, been appointed to aid the stipendiary magistrates in the disposal of cases. Many of the European planters, and most of the respectable natives of each province, have received a commission. They are not vested with a power of punishment, but they can remand a prisoner for further examination, or commit him to take his trial before a competent court, and they can take recognisances for good behaviour. They have also the power

* Such as adultery, abusive language, calumny, slight trespass, or petty assault.

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power of issuing warrants, summons, and subpoenas through the police. The system is said to work well, and to give satisfaction to the people; while the commission is valued by those who hold it, especially the natives, as a social distinction which they would not willingly sacrifice by the abuse of any power which it gives them.

38. I am strongly disposed to think that a similar system might, safely, and with great advantage, be adopted in the interior of India, and that in Bengal especially, where so many persons, both European and native, of wealth, influence, and intelligence are to be found, there are peculiar reasons, not only as relating exclusively to the administration of police and criminal justice, but of a wider political character, which render it advisable that an attempt should be made to enlist their services in the cause of order and good government. I should be disposed to authorise the Lieutenant-Governor to vest with the powers of an assistant magistrate, under Act No. XV. of 1843, scarcely equivalent to those of a justice of the peace under the English law, any persons of respectability whom he may consider fit to be entrusted with such power. Persons so empowered would be competent to receive complaints in all except heinous offences, including affray, to issue summons, warrants, and subpoenas, to take evidence, to punish up to fifteen days' imprisonment, and 50 rupees fine; and in cases of theft with one month's further imprisonment, in lieu of stripes, and to refer to the magistrate, or deputy magistrate, for final orders, cases requiring a severer measure of punishment. It is difficult to conceive that powers like these would be abused, except in very rare instances, by the persons whom the Lieutenant-Governor would select to exercise them. Even in the absence of a higher principle, the fear of losing a marked social distinction, and the influence which accompanies it, would prevent such a result; and the benefit which a judicious exercise of such power would be certain to confer on the public, seems to me to demand an early trial of the experiment. We know that, as it is, a quasi-magisterial power is assumed by many zemindars and planters; that, although not recognised by the law or the Government, it is acquiesced in by those around them, and that, upon the whole, advantage results from it. I should consider it a great gain if the Government should be able to obtain the open and active co-operation of the best men of those classes for the furtherance of justice and the maintenance of order. To the public the gain would be, that justice would be brought nearer to every man's door than can otherwise be the case; and to a government it can never be a matter of indifference to enlist amongst its officers and coadjutors the most intelligent, wealthy, and independent members of the community. I would try the experiment, and I would not be discouraged if here and there the trust should not be satisfactorily discharged, or even should be abused.

39. In the 16th paragraph of their despatch the Honourable Court observe, that they "think it desirable that an enactment should be passed, vesting in the magistrate or superintendent of police the power of summarily inflicting severe punishment on policemen in proved cases of delinquency, and that the Local Government should be invariably apprised of instances of their intelligence and integrity, and be prompt and liberal in rewarding such conduct."

40. So far as Bengal is concerned, the law as it stands enables a magistrate to inflict summary punishment on police officers convicted of delinquency of any kind, and the Local Government has the means, which it frequently exercises, of rewarding deserving police officers, either by promotion to the higher grades of the service or by special rewards.

41. To recapitulate, my proposals are:—

First.—That the police of Bengal be reorganised at once without waiting for a plan applicable to the whole of India.

Second.—That there be no general superintendent of police for Bengal, but that the police be superintended, as at present, by the commissioners of divisions acting under the general control of the Government.

Third.—That the police of Bengal be not organised after a military fashion, but that two or perhaps three additional corps of station guards be formed, to protect the offices, jails, and treasuries, to furnish escorts, and to aid the regular police in case of need.

Fourth.—That the salaries of the mohurirs, jemadars, and burkundauzes be raised,

raised, as proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor, to an annual additional expense of 8,38,800 rupees.

Fifth.—That special salaries be assigned to deserving darogahs, at a maximum annual cost of 20,000 rupees.

Sixth.—That either covenanted officers, or uncovenanted deputy magistrates, be placed in charge of subdivisions consisting of from three to four thannas each, and that 20 members be added to the subordinate executive service at an increased annual expense of 4,12,800 rupees.

Seventh.—That the offices of magistrate and collector where now separated in Bengal should be combined in the same person, and that such of the covenanted officers as are now magistrates and are not absorbed in the higher office, should be employed as joint magistrates and deputy collectors, but without any increase of salary.

Eighth.—That the joint magistrate in each district should ordinarily have the superintendence of the police under the general control of the magistrate.

Ninth.—That the deputy magistrates exercise judicial as well as police powers.

Tenth.—That the moonsiffs generally be vested with the criminal powers of an assistant magistrate, and with such higher powers as the Local Government may think proper to confer in particular cases.

Eleventh.—That the proceedings of the subordinate courts be made as summary as possible, and that there be no appeal of right.

Twelfth.—That the local government be authorised to vest respectable residents of the interior with the powers of an assistant magistrate.

I was in hopes that the chief part of these reforms might be carried into effect in anticipation of the sanction of the home authorities, but considering the large increase of expense involved, and the terms of the Honourable Court's recent despatch, it will be better that the subject be referred home with our strong recommendation for the issue of early orders. The only exception to this is the reunion of the office of magistrate and collector, which involves no increase of expense, and is in accordance with the views of the Honourable Court. This change, if the Council should so determine, may be carried out at once.

Canning.

18 February 1857.

— No. 17. —

MINUTES by the Honourable J. A. Dorin and Major-General the Honourable J. Low.

Improvement of the Police in the Bengal Provinces.

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and Major-General
the Hon. J. Low.
21 Feb. 1857.

I AM prepared to assent generally to all the proposals set forth in the Minute of the Right honourable the Governor-General, and more especially do I concur as to the expediency of the measures suggested in the fourth, sixth, eleventh, and twelfth of them.

It is utterly hopeless to look for a good police, unless you pay the members of it at a rate to ensure honesty, and place them under efficient supervision and control; the expense of doing so is undoubtedly heavy, but it is an expense that must necessarily be incurred, if security of life and property is worth having, and is to be maintained.

I would most earnestly recommend the measure of enlisting the co-operation of respectable landholders and residents in the profusion in the cause of order and good government, by entrusting them with limited magisterial powers. The measure may possibly fail, and it is not improbable that, in some instances, the power may be abused; but I think it is of such infinite importance to attempt to bring justice nearer than it has ever been yet to the masses of the people, and this seems to me such a reasonable method of doing so, that I would persevere in the trial of the plan at almost any hazard.

I quite agree as to the propriety of making the proceedings of the subordinate courts in petty criminal jurisdiction as summary as possible, and of preventing appeals.

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appeals, which are the bane of our judicial system. No officer, however conscientious, will do his best, if he knows that his decisions are to be open to endless appeal; the greater the responsibility, the better chance is there of substantial justice.

I somewhat question whether less than three additional police battalions will be sufficient for the wants of the Bengal provinces; and I think it would be useful if a military organisation were so far given to them, that they should not be always stationary at the same places, but be liable to relief at moderate intervals of time. I believe that the local connexions and prejudices formed and created by long residence in the same spot are highly prejudicial to efficiency. In this case I think there should be one general superintendent, not of police, but of police corps.

The union of the offices of collector and magistrate in one person is, I have little doubt, wrong in theory, but I believe it will work better in practice than any other plan that can be afforded at present, and I recommend that it be carried into effect without further delay.

21 February 1857.

(signed) J. A. Dorin.

23 Feb. 1857.

I have carefully perused these interesting papers; I do not see any necessity for there being "one general superintendent, not of police, but of police corps;" but, with that single exception, I fully concur in all the sentiments and remarks recorded in the above Minute by my honourable colleague, Mr. Dorin.

23 February 1857.

(signed) J. Low.

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9 April 1857.

— No. 18. —

MINUTE by the Honourable J. P. Grant.

Bengal Police.

9 April 1857.

1. I PROPOSE to discuss the several points raised in the papers before us, in the order in which they are treated in the Minute of the Right Honourable the Governor-General.

2. *Separate Treatment of this Matter.*—I agree most fully with his Lordship in thinking that the question of improving the police of Bengal should not be delayed for the purpose of introducing one uniform scheme of reform at all the Presidencies. To mature such a uniform and general scheme, assuming the expediency of establishing such uniformity, must be the work of a very considerable time; whilst the weakness and defects of the Bengal police are too notorious; the interests at stake in this the most important division of the empire are too great; and the contrast between the provision made for the police of other more favoured but less important provinces, and that made for the police of Bengal, is too glaring, to warrant any avoidable delay. Delay is not unavoidable, because the evil can be remedied, for present purposes, without reference to the systems, present or prospective, of the other Presidencies. Whether, therefore, it be decided that a uniform system should be eventually introduced all over India, or that each Presidency, and each division of a Presidency, should have such a system as may be thought best for itself (on which question I am not in a position to form an opinion at present), I earnestly hope that we may be immediately authorised to do what is pressingly required for Bengal.

3. This will not stand in the way of any more general and uniform reform at any future time. For what is it that is most pressingly required for Bengal? Many projects, more or less differing from each other, are proposed by way of reform; but there is one foundation on which they are all built, and in respect to the necessity of which all are agreed, namely, a largely increased expenditure upon the native police—such an expenditure at the very least as will raise the expenditure upon this department of administration in Bengal so as to approach to

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to what is due to the population, the wealth, and the taxation of this part of the empire; such an expenditure at the very least as will give Bengal a police which, in mere physical strength, is not palpably inadequate. I take the liberty of appending to this paper a copy of a Minute I recorded in another department, under date the 27th of November 1854, which bears so directly upon the present point, that its reintroduction here will save the repetition of an old argument in new words. If an additional expenditure upon the native police of Bengal of all grades, to the amount of some fifteen lacs of rupees a year, is allowed, no matter upon what system the additional force is organised, we cannot fail to do great good. If this expenditure of money is not allowed, no change of system will avail.

4. *A general Superintendent of Police for the whole Bengal Presidency.*—On this point I agree thoroughly with the Governor-General, for the reasons assigned by his Lordship. It seems to me that the divisional system is the best system now in force in India. Under this system the local administration in all executive departments of what may be called a small province of manageable extent, consisting of five or six districts, is (or should be) entrusted to a single officer of mark and experience, as commissioner; and the general superintendence of the police of his division seems to me an essential part of the business of such an officer, without which the object of the system is not attained.

5. *The Constitution of the Bengal Police Force.*—I agree generally in his Lordship's remarks respecting military police. I would adopt, however, in Bengal exactly the Punjab system of police corps, converting, as is proposed, the Behar Station Guards (which body I am inclined to think partakes too little of the military character), the Hill Rangers (which body being now purely military must partake too much of that character), and the new levy of Punjabees, into police battalions formed on the Punjab model. I do not see why the Calcutta militia should not undergo the same conversion; it seems to me that a third class of corps between the class of civil and the class of military corps is unnecessary. I feel doubtful whether two additional police corps, as proposed, would quite suffice to protect Bengal as it should be protected, considering the remarkably small number of regular troops which are now or hereafter are likely to be cantoned within its limits. I fear one corps at Dacca will be an insufficient provision for Eastern Bengal. The Sontal side of Bengal is now amply provided for. There is no reason to suppose that because the last outbreak was there, the next will be there also. I look upon the Sontal Pergunnahs as quieted for ever; but I regard the Ferazy population of Eastern Bengal, filling extensive and populous districts now wholly unprotected, as a source of very serious danger, though a danger which requires only the securities provided in every part of India except Bengal, in order to be fully guarded against.

6. I am also doubtful how far we can fairly lay claim to the pay of burkundauzes now employed as jail and treasury guards, as a partial set-off against the cost of the new police battalions. For whatever number of men, whether men of a police battalion or burkundauzes, are employed as jail and treasury guards, that number will be wholly useless for the purposes for which the new police corps are wanted. When, therefore, I speak of the number of new police corps that will be required, I mean corps of such strength as will afford enough movable men, over and above such immovable guards as may be supplied by them.

7. What is at present our disgrace and our danger in Bengal is, not merely that our police burkundauzes are infinitely too few in number to keep the peace among 40 millions of souls, but that the *morale* of the policemen we have is such that they won't fight, even when in sufficient numerical strength at any spot. They are wholly useless, not only in such a grave affair as the Sontal insurrection, but in the common affrays that occur constantly in Bengal. They cannot face the professional latials. There are numerous cases of European civil officers, with large guards of burkundauzes, put to the rout by rioters less formidable than the professional latials. It is, in my opinion, not enough that there shall be, as is proposed, at every head-station of a district a body of men to be relied on, who can be sent in force to any part of the district where a formidable rising may take place. Such a body of men at the head-station would be of great occasional use, and would tend to give a general sense of security to the whole district; but we want also other men of the same sort for every day use. For this purpose, there

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there must be, I think, if not at every thannah, at least in every small circle of thannahs, a body of men who can be relied on when opposed by such classes as our lattials and dacoits are composed of; and who shall ever be at hand to suppress or prevent the common affrays, and the common acts of force, by which the strong oppress the weak in these provinces. In short, the physical force which every darogah must have at his command, should be a real force, not as now merely a nominal force, which fails him whenever it is wanted for use; and for this purpose, I see nothing for it but to supplant our thannah burkundauzes by semi-military policemen. The detection of crime, I do not doubt, will be best managed by quite a different class of men, whose numbers will be comparatively very few, and whose qualifications must be very different from those required of a sturdy and spirited body of fighting policemen. As a class, I cannot very clearly distinguish these proposed detective policemen from the class to which the present thannah mohurirs belong.

8. I can myself hardly hope that less than three new police battalions will secure Bengal; and whatever number of battalions there may be, I think the strength required for purely police purposes must be provided, over and above the number required as jail and treasury guards. The plan I should prefer would be to have a small separate police corps for every division. This would require for Bengal and Behar several small corps.

9. *District Civil Police.*—I agree with the Right honourable the Governor-General in thinking that the designation of mohurir should be changed to that of naib thannadar, and that these naib thannadars should be classed, and should have their pay raised in the manner and to the full extent recommended by the honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. I think also that the proposed classification of the subordinate class called jummadars, is very desirable, and the proposed increase of their pay indispensable.

10. As to the thannah burkundauzes, if they are retained at all, I agree with his Lordship in thinking that five rupees a month are not too much for the lowest class. But my own opinion is that, however much we pay them, these men will be useless; and that unless we replace them by a useful body of men, our intended reform will fail. We require a body of men enlisted on the side of order, who shall be equal in point of courage, and superior in point of discipline and organisation to the professional lattials. These thannah burkundauzes are infinitely inferior to the lattials in all three points. Now, raising their pay might enable us to get men of sufficient courage; it might put the magistrate on a more equal footing in the lattial market with the zemindar and planter than he is on now, but it would do nothing for discipline or organisation. To attain these objects we must have a semi-military body; and as we are to have such a body in the police battalions, I would look to those battalions exclusively for my physical force at the thannah, as well as at the Suddar station. If this use is not made of the proposed police corps, then such corps will be merely what the Calcutta militia are now, which for all common police purposes is not, and was not intended to be, of any use. If this use is made of the proposed corps, then I believe the lattials' occupation will be gone.

11. I am unable to agree with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that the thannadars generally are not inadequately paid at present. It appears to me that no increase in the pay of the men under the thannadar will be worth what it must cost, unless the thannadar himself, on whom everything rests, is put upon a respectable footing; raising the pay of the men without raising that of the master, whose pay is already too low, will tend still further to degrade the position of the master. I believe that in thinking the pay of darogahs sufficient, the Lieutenant-Governor is not supported by the general feeling (whether official or unofficial) of the mofussil. However this may be, it seems to me at least certain, that if the proposed increase in the pay of the assistant (the mohurir or naib darogah) is not excessive, the general pay of the responsible head of the office, at its present rate, is by much too small. By the proposed plan, the assistants of the first class will draw 40 rupees a month. Now the pay of the mass of darogahs is only 50 rupees a month; and the average pay of the whole body is only 59-7-9 rupees a month. The distinction of 10 rupees a month between the chief's staff and the chief himself, who is solely responsible in theory for the state of his thannah,
and

and who is all in all in practice even more than in theory, appears to me plainly to be quite insufficient.

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12. For this reason, and because I agree with the Governor-general in thinking that the proper reward for eminent good service as a darogah is promotion to a higher grade in the department, such as that of deputy-magistrate; instead of allowing 20 special salaries at the enhanced rates of 150 rupees and 200 rupees a month, I strongly recommend that no officer of the class of darogah, being the responsible head of an office, should receive less than 100 rupees a month. That is now the pay of the first class of darogahs; but it is no more than the pay of the lowest class of moonsiffs. The main objects of civil and criminal justice, namely, the protection of honest industry, and the security of life, person, and property, depend more upon the darogah than upon the moonsiff. The temptation, in most parts of Bengal, to which the darogah is exposed, is infinitely greater than that to which the moonsiff is exposed. His duties are much heavier, and, if honestly performed, much more irksome, and much more likely to bring down upon him the vengeance of an influential neighbour, than those of the moonsiff. On no principle do I think it defensible to pay him less than the moonsiff. I shall look upon all the money spent in the contemplated police reform, as to a large extent misspent, if the general position of the darogahs is not raised, as it is proposed to raise the general position of their subordinates. The expense of raising the pay of all darogahs to that of the lower grade of moonsiffs, I believe, would not very greatly exceed two lacs of rupees a year; about the same as the proposed increase of the pay of mohurirs. To this, in my opinion, should be added what is necessary to raise the pay of one-fourth part of the whole body of darogahs to an equality with that of the higher grade of moonsiffs, namely 150 rupees a month.

13. The heaviest item of increase proposed is 4,12,800 rupees for 100 additional deputy-magistrates. I doubt the necessity of going to so large an expense on this account. If the old Indian theory, to me a most unaccountable theory, under which we are prohibited from making use of our lowest class of civil judges for the trial of the smallest and simplest criminal offences, is to be persisted in, so that these deputy-magistrates would be the only petty criminal judges away from the head station in a large district; then I should think, not only that this large item of expense must be incurred, but that to do anything like justice to the people, without harassing them by dragging them to distant courts, in small matters, this item should be doubled or trebled. But even the Lieutenant-Governor does not recommend a continued strict adherence to this remarkable theory. He contemplates the grant of criminal power to certain moonsiffs. He would not, indeed, grant such powers to all, generally; he would make such grant in each instance a special case, as I understand him, regulating himself by reference, not to what the local want of a petty criminal judge may be, but to what the personal character of the judge may be. However imperfect, as a provision for the wants of a district this scheme would be, it may still be taken as an admission on the part of his Honor, that there is nothing in the nature of things in India to prevent a petty civil judge being also a petty criminal judge. For my own part, I cannot conceive a man who is fit for the one duty being unfit for the other. The scheme of the Law Commissioners, whose proposed code is now under the consideration of the legislative council, is to give criminal powers to the moonsiffs universally; and I shall be very much surprised if this part of the scheme of those eminent gentlemen has not the unanimous support of the legislative council. Now, if this is so determined, there will be no necessity, so far as the object of bringing petty criminal justice within a moderate distance of every man's door is concerned, for so large and costly an increase of deputy-magistrates as is proposed. It is, indeed, true that the Law Commissioners intend to give only small powers to moonsiffs; in which they agreed with a zillah scheme propounded by me in a minute which is amongst these papers, dated the 23d November 1854.* To provide for cases more important than the very lowest class, I had proposed to use Sudder ameens, who should have had higher criminal powers than moonsiffs will have. The Law Commissioners propose to abolish the class of Sudder ameens; but it would be a small modification

* Paragraph 28.

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cation of their system to give moonsiffs of the first grade higher criminal powers; and then if such moonsiffs were properly distributed in the interior of zillahs, the object would be attained.

14. If 100 additional deputy-magistrates are not wanted as judges, I do not think that so large an increase can be wanted merely as assistant-superintendents of police.

15. If, however, economy does not drive Government to stint the plan of police reform in some other more essential point, in order to find funds for this heavy item, the police will gain by this accession of strength. I am only anxious not to spend 300 rupees or 400 rupees in a circle of thannahs upon a single officer not absolutely necessary, whilst I foresee great difficulty in obtaining what is absolutely necessary for paying the requisite quantity of real physical force, without which no number of deputy-magistrates can defend the circle from the lathials.

16. On the whole, I recommend the suspension of sanction to this part of the present plan until the Code of Criminal Procedure is passed.

17. *Union of Offices of Magistrate and Collector.*—Upon this question, as I have had opportunities of recording my sentiments in full in previous Minutes,* I should have abstained, and gladly abstained, from writing another word now beyond a simple statement of my respectful adherence, after careful reconsideration, to my original opinion, had not something new occurred since I last wrote on the subject, directly bearing on the question at issue, which, in my judgment, imperatively demands the especial attention of the Government of India. The occurrence, or rather the series of occurrences, to which I allude are, the Report of the Madras Torture Commission;† the Resolution of the Madras Government thereupon;‡ and the debate in the House of Lords thereupon.§ The general question, however it may be determined here, will be finally decided at home. In the view I take of it, I should not be doing my duty if I did not, with sincere deference and respect for the better judgments of those who differ from me, submit, for the consideration of those on whom the responsibility of final judgment will rest, the view I take of the bearing of this new matter upon the general question.

18. I do not understand the Honourable Court, in the passage of their recent public Despatch referred to in his Lordship's Minute, to have intended to pronounce a definite judgment on this question. They say, that the same objection which exists in the case of native officers does not exist to the combination of magisterial and fiscal powers in the hands of European officers; and this is undeniably true. The objections in the two cases are somewhat different in their nature, and very different indeed in degree. But, nevertheless, in both cases objections more or less important may exist. If I had understood this passage otherwise, I should have considered the question closed and been silent.

19. In my Minute of the 23d of November 1854, I made a remark, which I will take the liberty to repeat in the margin.|| The inquiry to which I then alluded, resulted in the Report of the Torture Commission above mentioned.

20. There is no longer any question as to the necessity of separating the functions of revenue and those of police and criminal justice, so far as native functionaries

* Dated 23 November 1854; and 8 May 1855.

† Dated 16 April 1855.

‡ Dated 17 June 1855.

§ On the 14th of April 1856.

|| "At this moment, in the Madras provinces, an inquiry is on foot into the truth of a charge that has been made formally in Parliament, to the effect, that in those provinces where magisterial and fiscal powers are in the same hands, the Government revenue is systematically raised by the use of torture, inflicted by the native officers vested with these double powers. I trust that the charge, in the main, will be disproved; but I myself heard, when I was in the south of India, some such stories as would naturally have given rise to the charge. I myself heard, what makes me very glad that the fact is to undergo inquiry. Now no one can deny that, under the Bengal system, no such charge could stand a moment. Every one knows that in Bengal, police, peons, and darogahs, often torture prisoners for police purposes; but no one for the last 70 years has ever suspected that a rupee of revenue was ever raised in Bengal by the help of torture. This is one of the views in which, I submit, the smoothness and silence with which public affairs go on, when all power, in all departments, is centred in the hands of one train of officials, cannot be regarded as good for the people, however agreeable they may be to the administrator."

functionaries are concerned. This one decisive effect the Torture Report has had upon the European mind universally. So much of the "native system" (at one time lauded beyond measure and without qualification, both in its revenue and its police aspect) has been abandoned by all. The Honourable Court's present Despatch pronounces judgment against it in respect to native officers. That is to say, it is now, by universal consent, pronounced to be insupportable, if its action is intrusted to those who invented it. The Torture Commissioners are in nothing more confident than in this,—that, bad as the system has been as worked under us, it was infinitely worse as worked under native rule. "The native system," then, was an abomination, as is now universally recognised, when worked in the only way its inventors contemplated its working; and, but for the miracle of the country having fallen under the dominion of strangers from a distant Western Island, it must now be admitted that the theory of the propriety of this union of dissimilar functions, as an Indian practical question, would have become hopeless. Therefore, the contention of all the supporters of this union who accept the judgment of the Home Government, as pronounced in this Despatch, must now be narrowed to this position,—that the Mahomedan system, though abominable under the Mahomedans, became, by a wonderful accident, the best possible system for the country they misgoverned, when put into the hands of Englishmen, though confessedly it is a system which is contrary to all English principle and practice, and is disagreeable to the commonplace English mind. And it is further contended, that the fact that Englishmen are in a particular province (Bengal) a numerous and a fast increasing part of the community, forming already one of its most important classes, and promising to become quite its most important class, is no special objection to the adoption of this Mahomedan system in that particular province.

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21. Here is a great step gained. The question is very much narrower and very much simpler than it once was. I do not know if the full extent of the decision, that the united functions cannot be intrusted to native hands, has been seen. Not only must revenue and police powers be disjoined in the case of the peons and the tehsildars, the principle of the reform applies as strongly to the deputy-collectors and the deputy-magistrates, who are mostly natives. Yet the functions of these last-mentioned classes of officers are in quality the same as those of collectors and magistrates. A deputy-magistrate of experience has always the full powers of a magistrate. However this difficulty may be treated, I see not how incongruity of system and invidious and offensive class distinctions are avoidable, if the union in European hands is persisted in.

22. What the effect of their inquiry has been upon the minds of the Torture Commissioners on this point cannot be doubted. In an early part of their Report, in explaining the absence of torture within the collectorate of Madras, they lay stress not upon the mere fact that the revenue and police peons are separate in that collectorate, but that "the native revenue servants and police are perfectly distinct bodies, under separate heads and management,—the former under the collector, having no police power whatever as" [he has] "in the provinces, the latter being entirely under the control of the chief magistrate, who is also superintendent of police;" consequently "the revenue officers here are in fear of the police authorities." Every officer of Indian experience will understand why the fact of the two classes of native officers being under different European heads, causes in the one class a wholesome fear of the other. A European officer is always the last person to hear of the malpractices of his own native subordinates. The people will complain to any one else, but it is hard to induce them to complain to a chief of the conduct of those under that chief's orders. A European will hear plenty of evil of the conduct of native officers over whom he has no control; but he will hear little against those who serve him, or serve under him; and what little he does hear will be probably in the shape of charges which, in the manner and form alleged, are false. It is immaterial to the present question whose fault this is; it is the fact alone which is material to our present purpose, and no one will question the fact.

23. It is hardly necessary to cite proof of a fact so notorious. But the ready manner in which the people came great distances in numbers to make their complaints to the Torture Commissioners, as soon as they heard of the object of the appointment of that body, contrasted with the extreme paucity of complaints on

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the same subject made to the local officers, whose regular and constant duty it is to hear them, is in itself remarkable evidence of the effect which the disconnection of the officer, who is to hear a complaint, with the department complained against has upon the native mind. "I did not complain," says one witness; "it must be by the collectors' orders that the tehsildars perpetrate such cruelties." * Others say, "I did not complain, as it is not usual for such complaint to be listened to;" † and "I did not complain to the collector—what is the use of a poor man like me complaining?"—and "I did not complain to the gentlemen; for who will hear?" Yet the same people travelled great distances to make, as volunteers, the same complaint to "the gentlemen" the moment they heard of gentlemen open to such complaints, and officially disconnected with the native officers against whose abuses of power they had to complain. The truth is, as the Torture Commissioners have explained to the world, and as every intelligent Indian officer has known since his first assistantship, that it is the banded body of omlah, belonging to the department with which he is concerned, that a native complainant is afraid of; and that all omlah under one head, whatever may be their respective designations, are one band.

24. A remarkable example of the effect of this unnatural union of functions was disclosed only the other day in the Legislative Council, in connexion with a matter which was under my own charge. I had introduced a bill to get rid, in the Bengal Presidency, of the system of the unnecessary impressment of carriage for troops marching. They had formerly had, at Madras, a regulation precisely the same as the Bengal impressment regulation which it was my object to get rid of; but Sir Thomas Munro's Government had repealed it, on the ground that it was the cause of grievous oppression; and that it was unnecessary, because, by proper commissariat management, carriage could be procured for Government in the same way as private parties obtain it, when they want it: that is, by previous arrangement, and by paying the price of what they want. But in the course of discussion, what I knew very well long ago was fairly admitted by Mr. Elliot, the Madras member of the Council; namely, that impressment is practised to this day at Madras, contrary to law, with all the abuses which Sir Thomas Munro had forcibly exposed, exactly as if the whole law authorising the practice had remained in force. The explanation of this is, that Sir Thomas Munro died soon after the repeal of the regulation which he had condemned; that the commissariat arrangements he would have carried out have never been taken in hand by his successors; and that the collector-magistrates, by reason of their double power, are practically above all law. Now, it is only under a system by which the functions of the collector and those of the magistrate are united in the hands of one man, that this habitual and universal breach of law could have continued unchecked for so many years. For it is the collector who breaks the law by seizing carriage; and it is the same gentleman, in his magisterial phase, whose duty it is to release the carriage, to restore it to its owner, and to punish the offence of unlawful seizure. None but the offender has any power of dealing with the offence.

25. The Torture Commissioners' Report gives a cruel case of this very kind; a case which bears truth upon its face. ‡ Thousands, strictly speaking, thousands of such cases occur annually in every army division when regiments march. The same report shows how labour is forced; and property, without payment, is taken for revenue works § by collector-magistrates. Whenever such cases occur, the person who offends, or is charged with offending, in one capacity, is the person to whom alone, in another capacity, this union system gravely professes to look for the due inquiry into the fact, and the due infliction of the penalty of the law. How just was Mr. Fullerton's observation, that "the exclusive privilege of receiving criminal charges carries with it a power not less dangerous than that of inflicting punishment, namely, a power to exempt individuals from the penalties of the law." ||

26. I freely admit that, so far as the officer's own acts and omissions are concerned, the evil of the combination in the hands of a high European officer is very

* Report, p. 28.

† Report, pp. 25, 26, 27.

‡ Appendix (F.) No. 30.

§ Appendix (F.) No. 29.

|| Cited in the Torture Report, p. 69.

very much less in degree than when in the hands of a native. But my argument is that the main part of the evil is not in the effect of the combination upon the European officer's own acts, but in its indirect effect upon both the classes of native officers under him, and upon the minds of the natives of his district. Yet even so far as the European officer's own acts and omissions are concerned, I cannot admit that the evil is so small in degree as to be otherwise than material. I wish I could make this admission; but I cannot do so with truth. I cannot rise from a perusal of the Torture Report, without feeling that there has been a degree of blindness, slowness, dulness, and inaction in the Madras collector-magistrates in relation to the practice of realising revenue by torture, which certainly so many active and intelligent gentlemen would not have shown, if the torturers had been private persons, and the object had been something in which those collector-magistrates had no official interest. I say this with sorrow; and I make allowance for the false position in which these officers are placed. But taking the view I do of the fact, I should be unpardonable if I did not do all in my power to relieve them from this false position, and to oppose with all my strength the extension of the system which, in their case, has had such lamentable consequences.

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27. From their resolution upon the report of the Commissioners, we find that the Madras Government are deeply sensible of the importance of this question; they feel the difficulty of making so great a change of system as the sudden separation of the collector's and magistrate's functions would involve; but they state that the subject has been for some time under consideration, and that no half-measures will answer. I think I cannot be wrong in inferring from what is upon record, that the wish of the Madras Government is for the separation. It is, at least, certain that the Madras Government, in spite of the difficulty of a fundamental change of system, are so impressed with the disadvantages of the union of these functions, as to be anxiously considering the propriety of incurring all that difficulty in order to escape these disadvantages. Now, with deference, I must say, that I think it would appear to the public a capricious proceeding for us in Bengal, driven by no necessity, and pressed by no serious inconvenience, to undergo the certain evil of change for the sake of the theoretical advantages which some of us anticipate from a particular union of functions here; whilst the Madras Government at the very same moment, pressed by the experienced ill-consequences of that same union there, and smarting under the discredit which those ill-consequences have brought upon their administration, are anxiously pondering the proposal to undergo the certain evils of change, for the sake of a separation of those same functions. I look upon this as an argument to be maturely considered, even by those who differ from me on the theoretical and abstract merits of the question, before determining to take a step here, which cannot fail to appear like a prejudgment of the question that Lord Harris's Government has at this moment before it.

28. I now come to the third occurrence to which I have above alluded, namely, the debate in the House of Lords on the 14th of April 1856, when certain resolutions were moved, and with some little modification, were carried unanimously, concerning torture in Madras. As some of her Majesty's Ministers took part in that debate, not merely expressing their opinions as individuals, but also, as I understand it, holding out expectations on the part of Her Majesty's Administration in this very matter, I think the Government of India will act prudently if it take no decided action in the matter, without respectful advertence to what passed on that occasion.

29. I have the volume of Hansard, containing that debate, now open before me. I find that the union of the powers of magistrate with those of collector was strongly animadverted upon by several of the speakers, as one of the causes of the prevalence at Madras of torture for the realisation of revenue; and that this union was defended by none. I may fairly rely on the tenour of the speeches of the noble lords who spoke on that occasion as showing how the highest English feeling regards the question I am discussing; and as an argument to be weighed even by those who take a different view from mine on the abstract question.

30. I believe that I shall not be wrong in quoting here some expressions of Lord Ellenborough's, by way of supporting my argument by the high authority of
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of a former Governor-General of India. His Lordship said; * "I rejoice that the noble duke (the Duke of Argyll) has stated it to be his opinion, and, as I understand, that of Her Majesty's Government, that it was absolutely essential to separate the functions of the police from the collection of the revenue. I have always been of opinion that the police and the revenue should be in different hands; but the noble duke will find, and the Government here will find, more practical difficulty in carrying that separation into effect than they expect, and unless the greatest resolution is shown by the authorities here, you may depend upon it failure will ensue. I say this with the more confidence, because this was the only subject on which I and my council did not agree. I never could get them to adopt the view which I always entertained as to the necessity of separating the police from the revenue department." I cannot refrain from supporting another point in my argument by the same high authority. His Lordship said, † "There is nothing more dangerous or improper in the state of India than the connexion between the persons in the police and the persons who were generally understood to have the ear of the collector. It leads to the keeping back of complaints which ought to be made, and to the defeat of justice when complaints are made." It is obvious that, whilst one man is chief of the police and criminal judge in his capacity of magistrate, and chief of the native revenue servants in his capacity of collector, the greatest possible facility is given to that connexion to which Lord Ellenborough objects.

31. The first of the above extracts from Lord Ellenborough's speech will show what one of Her Majesty's Ministers was understood to have said, and to have said on the part of Her Majesty's Government, on the present question.

32. Now, what I very respectfully submit for consideration, with advertence to this debate, is this: If, notwithstanding the earnest endeavours of Lord Harris's Government, that separation of offices in Madras which has been held out as in prospect should not be achieved, because of some difficulties which cannot in the case of that presidency be got over, there would be even in this event great disappointment amongst those who interest themselves in Indian affairs at home. I am myself sure that no insurmountable, and, indeed, that no important difficulty in the way of the contemplated separation, will be found to exist at Madras; and I feel confident that Lord Harris's Government will propose the separation. If, however, I should be mistaken on this point, as no expectation has been held out of anything beyond a sincere attempt to make, if practicable, an unobjectionable change of system at Madras, which shall include the separation, no feelings beyond disappointment might be aroused. But if, whilst a measure of fundamental change involving this separation of offices is thus pending at Madras, the Government of India, itself divided in opinion as it is upon the abstract merits of the question, goes out of its way to make a fundamental change involving the union of these same offices in Bengal, where they are now separated; and where they were separated not twenty years ago, in consequence of the strong and unanimous recommendation of a Committee of distinguished and experienced officers, who carefully inquired into the working of the union, and with the concurrence of all practical mofussil men in and out of the service pronounced against it; then I think feelings beyond those of mere disappointment very likely to be raised.

33. I respectfully ask if the proposed decision of the question in Bengal is intended to operate as prejudging the same question in Madras? If this be the intention, I ask if the Government of India will not be in an awkward position, should Lord Harris's Government, as I believe it will, come up to us with a simple and unobjectionable project, based on general principles, for the separation of these offices at Madras, a week after we, on general principles, have united them in Bengal? In this case we must reject the project on the ground that we have prejudged the question. If this be not the intention, I ask if the Government of India will not be in an awkward position, should Lord Harris's Government come up in the same manner, driving us, a week after we have united the offices in Bengal, to separate them in Madras?

34 On

* See p. 989.

† See p. 991.

34. On the one hand, after all that has occurred at Madras and at home, I cannot see how the Government of India could dare to refuse the separation at Madras, if the Madras Government should demand it; on the other hand, I do not see how any such case, or any fair show of such a case of difference of circumstances can be set up, as would justify a simultaneous and contrary action at the two presidencies.

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35. It is quite true, that, under the Bengal revenue system, revenue officers have not so much temptation to extract payment of revenue by unlawful means, as they have under the Madras system. But it is equally true that rent is every day extorted in Bengal by unlawful means; and rent is the mother of revenue. I should think it a very hard task to convince an English politician, that although the fact of ryots being tortured with impunity in order to extract payment from them has proved the necessity of disjoining the functions of police and criminal justice from those of the collector of revenue, where the ryot pays directly to the public treasury, the same fact does not make it undesirable to unite the same functions, where the ryot's money reaches the treasury through a middle-man.

36. The natives have been torturing each other for three thousand years, just as they have been poisoning each other for the same period. When we are blamed because of the existence of these criminal habits, we are blamed foolishly and unjustly. We cannot justly be blamed, in a moral point of view, if we use every means in our power to bring these crimes to light, and to punish them, when they occur. And we cannot justly be blamed, in a political point of view, if we take all becoming pains to show the world that we are sincere in our abhorrence of these crimes, and in our endeavours to check them. In my view of the requirements of police and criminal justice* (and I view these matters as the mass views them, having no Indian or other theories to gratify), we do not justly escape blame, either in a moral or in a political point of view, so long as we confound police and criminal justice with the fiscal department of administration, subordinating, at least to all outward appearance, the former to the latter.

37. But if the Bengal revenue system is still thought a material distinction in favour of the union in Bengal, as a specialty, I would ask if Bengal has no specialties to be weighed in the opposite scale, in its thick population, its great general wealth, its high value of land, its large number of native nobility and gentry, each possessing immense wealth and power, its large number of European residents, planters, and traders, its vast internal and external commerce, with all the complicated transactions of its people, arrived at a stage of progress which, if it has not all the moral, has all the immoral qualities of the highest state of civilisation? Beyond all question, the union will be very distasteful to all those important interests, the existence of which in great strength forms the distinctive feature of Bengal.

38. The system whereby various functions, each of which is separate in other well-administered countries, are sometimes united in India, is represented in its most amiable view when it is called patriarchal. It is suitable and convenient as a temporary expedient in a new acquisition; and it is a necessary expedient in a poor and ill-peopled province of great geographical extent. It is a very silent system, and goes on with little trouble to rulers, so long as the remembrance of the ancient misrule lasts, and so long as few Europeans, or others who have been accustomed to a regular government, fall under its operation. It is a great favourite with those whose administration is known to the public only by their own reports of it. But it has its long undiscovered abuses and its sudden explosions; witness the Madras Torture Commission. Without, however, questioning the system, where it is appropriate, I ask if such a country as I have above described Bengal to be, is a fit country for a patriarchal experiment? For this system two parties are required: the sage and paternal ruler of a district and the dutiful family of subjects. Not to speak of the first requisite, I may safely deny that Bengal affords the last. One has only to read a native or English newspaper

* As a criminal judge, a magistrate's power extends to sentences of imprisonment with hard labour for three years.

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newspaper with a mofussil circulation, to see that those for whom such mental food is provided have no filial regard for Government officers. They are past the patriarchal epoch. What they ask for are good laws, well administered by as many functionaries as the country can fairly claim with reference to its general circumstances, and the taxes it pays. These classes want nothing from Government more paternal than this; less than this they will not accept, and all this they have a right to have. My mature conviction is, that they never can have this, unless incongruous functions are kept in separate hands, and every functionary is required to mind his own proper business.

39. On this whole question my strong opinion is that the Government of India ought not to pronounce in favour of the proposed union, until the same question comes up from Madras, and that even then it ought to take no step towards effecting such a union without a previous reference on the whole subject to the Honourable Court.

40. I have now recorded all I have to say on the general question; and I much regret that I have been unable to deal with the subject more briefly. As a point of mere detail, I have to call attention to the circumstance that there will not be money enough available to afford the collector-magistrate a subordinate officer as joint magistrate, as is proposed. A Bengal collector draws 23,000 rupees a year, and a Bengal magistrate draws 10,800 rupees a year, making together 33,800 rupees a year. From this aggregate sum deducting 27,000 rupees a year, the proposed salary of the collector-magistrate, there remains only 6,800 rupees, which would be inadequate for such an officer as is contemplated in the capacity of joint magistrate. These officers in the North-western Provinces draw 12,000 rupees a year. Nor can any general reductions of salary that may be made in consequence of Mr. Rickett's Commission be drawn upon for the difference; because such reductions would take full effect if things remained as they are; and a re-arrangement of things, which would prevent their having full effect, would be equivalent to an increase of expenditure. The plan I have ventured to propose in a former Minute, whereby the salaries of magistrates and collectors in Bengal would be equalised, and the number of the former-reduced, has this advantage of detail, that it would be a saving of expense, independent of any general reduction that may result from Mr. Rickett's Commission.

41. Another point of detail to which I may call attention is, that, by the plan now proposed, all the joint magistrates who are to have the immediate control of the police (a duty requiring experience as much at least as the other duties of a magistrate) will be as young as the magistrates now are; for I suppose that the plan contemplates having joint magistrates wherever there is now a magistrate or an independent joint magistrate and deputy collector. The ground on which the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor presses the union is the expediency of remedying the present evil of having very young men acting as magistrates. This is an abnormal state of things, arising partly from an unusual run of rapid promotion lately, but chiefly from the omission of the home authorities for many years past to supply more young men than formerly at the bottom of the service, in proportion to the increased number of higher offices which late accessions of territory have rendered necessary. These two causes are now both at an end, and in a few years the evil would be remedied in the natural course of things. In the meantime, however, it must be admitted to exist to an inconvenient degree. The plan now proposed will not remedy it, so far as the immediate control of the district police is concerned. The plan I ventured to propose before, as it would have reduced the number of magistrates to an equality with the number of zillah courts, would have had the advantage of increasing the experience of the youngest officer in immediate charge of the district police by three years or so, whilst it would have considerably more than doubled the average experience of magistrates; and it would have made the standing of the oldest magistrate exactly what it will be under the system of collector-magistrates now proposed.

42. *Union of the Functions of Superintendent of Police with those of a Criminal Judge.*—This, as a question of criminal procedure, is so peculiarly a subject for discussion in this Council in its larger form, when reinforced by the learning and local experience of its legislative members, that it is not necessary for me

me to discuss it here. It will come up for discussion, in connexion with the new codes; I will, therefore, here indicate my views upon it very shortly. The one point for decision, as it appears to me, on which alone the whole question turns, is this, in which way is crime more certainly discovered, proved, and punished, and innocence more certainly protected: when two men are occupied, each as thief-catcher, prosecutor, and judge, or when one of them is occupied as thief-catcher and prosecutor, and the other as judge? I have no doubt that the principle of the division of labour has all its general advantages, and an immense preponderance of special and peculiar advantages, when applied to this particular case; and I have no doubt that if there is any real difference between India and Europe, in relation to this question, the difference is all in favour of relieving the judge in India from all connexion with the detective officer and prosecutor. The judicial ermine is, in my judgment, out of place in the by-ways of the detective policeman, in any country, and those by-ways in India are unusually dirty.

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43. Indeed, so strongly does this feeling operate, perhaps unconsciously, upon the English minds of the honourable body of men from whom our magistrates are chosen, that in practice the real evil of the combination is, not that a judge, whose mind has been put out of balance by his antecedents in relation to the prisoner, tries that prisoner, but that the superintendent of police, whose nerve and honesty are indispensable to the keeping of the native police officers in order, abandons all real concern with the detection of crime and the prosecution of criminals, in the mass of cases, and leaves this important and delicate duty almost wholly, in fact, to the native darogahs. He does this instinctively, because he knows that he will have to sit on these cases as judge, and he feels that he cannot, with satisfaction to his own conscience, or even with outward decency, take an active share in both of his mutually repugnant duties.

44. If the combination theory were acted upon in reality,—if an officer, after bribing spies, endeavouring to corrupt accomplices, laying himself out to hear what every tell-tale has to say, and putting his wit to the utmost stretch, for weeks perhaps, in order to beat his adversary in the game of detection, were then to sit down gravely as a judge, and were to profess to try dispassionately, upon the evidence given in court, the question of whether he or his adversary had won the game, I am well convinced that one or two cases of this sort would excite so much indignation as would save me the necessity of all argument *a priori* against the combination theory. The real question is, not whether respectable European superintendents of detective police shall also be high criminal judges, with powers to try all but the most heinous cases, but whether you will have any respectable European superintendent at all effectively at the head of your detective police. The consequences of there being now no real check of a European superior over the darogah in the detection of crime, and in the getting up of cases, are deplorable. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal appears to me to be less than just to our higher criminal courts, in the blame he casts upon them. There seems to me to be something inconsistent, after the stress laid on the youth of the magistrates, and the necessity of a change of system in order to substitute more experienced men, in supposing, when these youths and very much more experienced men differ, the youths to be generally in the right. It is the duty of judges to acquit all prisoners whose guilt is not proved, and this duty they perform without fear of man. That justice labours under heavy disadvantage, in a country where in many cases no quantity of mere swearing will in itself carry conviction to a sensible mind, is manifest. If, after making due allowance for this disadvantage, it is found still that crime too frequently escapes punishment, surely the remedy is not to complain of cool and disinterested men, who, upon their judicial oaths, acquit whenever they find no proof of guilt, but to apply ourselves to the root of the evil by doing what we can to stimulate the active pursuit of offenders, and to check false prosecutions, and, what is perhaps equally common, the getting up of false evidence against real criminals.

45. The Lieutenant-Governor's objections to this division of business, after the best attention I can give them, seem to me to be founded on imaginary evils. His Honor anticipates such extreme antagonism between the native police officer and the native judge as would be materially inconvenient. Under a

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moderately sensible European magistrate, controlled by an intelligent commissioner, who would not talk or act as if police peons and darogahs were infallible, and dispassionate judges were never right, I cannot see why there should be any such consequences. At any rate, if this be a valid objection, it is an objection to giving criminal powers to any moonsiff; but this deduction is inconsistent with the views of the Lieutenant-Governor himself, who would not refuse all moonsiffs criminal powers.

46. *Appointment of Public Prosecutors.*—This is a point not noticed in the papers before us, but it is intimately connected with the last question. Sir Arthur Buller mooted this subject the other day in one of our legislative sittings, when the code of criminal procedure was under discussion, and I believe his suggestion has met with general approval. I am myself convinced that the appointment of European officers to manage the prosecution of important criminal cases is indispensable to the success of any reform in our criminal procedure. The whole scheme of the penal code of the Indian Law Commissioners rests, avowedly, on the assumption that there will be a public prosecutor. I do not believe that code to be workable otherwise. The plan which I have before proposed provided for this duty, without additional expense to the State, by entrusting it to the magistrate, and his deputies and assistants. Under the plan now proposed, as well as under the existing system, either this great want must be left unsupplied, or a considerable additional expense must be incurred to provide for it. And even if the money is no obstacle, I do not know where the men are to be found.

47. *Vesting private Gentlemen with the powers of a Magistrate's Assistant.*—For the purpose of receiving complaints, or issuing warrants, or sending up prisoners to a criminal court, the powers of our darogahs are sufficient. The Ceylon system, simply, would be therefore inapplicable in Bengal. As petty criminal judges, these special assistants would have effectual powers, similar to, but less than those of a moonsiff under the new code. I see no objection to the proposed experiment.

48. *Conclusion.*—In conclusion, and by way of a summary of my recommendations, I will observe that the improvement of the quality and the large increase of the strength of our district policemen; also the augmentation of the pay of our district police officers of all grades; appear to me indispensable reforms, which it concerns the character of the British Government to introduce in Bengal forthwith. As these reforms would interfere with no ulterior arrangements that may be introduced, and as we know the general feeling of the Honourable Court to be in favour of very material reforms, all in this direction, as being, in the present state of the country, indispensable though costly measures; I should have gladly joined in a large measure of immediate progress, in secure anticipation of the approval of the Home Government. As it is, I respectfully concur in the proposed recommendation on these points to the Honourable Court. All the questions relating to judicial procedure discussed in the papers before us, must be considered of course in the Legislative Council, in connexion with the new codes prepared by the Law Commissioners in England. As to the question of creating collector-magistrates, which also is not wholly unconnected with the general question of criminal procedure, I am myself against the union, on general principles; and irrespectively of all opinions on the question generally, I think that no decisive step should be taken in relation to it, until we have before us the decision of the Madras Government on the same subject-matter; and even then that the union should not be carried into effect without the special instructions of the Home Government. I adhere to my original project of zillah administration, which, though it has yet found no favour, and is, I doubt, very open to improvement, I cannot help regarding as a project which promises to avoid all the experienced evils of our present system, without any unnecessary organic changes. By way of summary, I note here the zillah establishment as it would be under that project:—

Covenanted—European.

A zillah judge, with civil and criminal powers as at present.

A collector, having no functions other than those in the revenue department as at present, but on a reduced average salary.

A magistrate, having, as at present, no functions in the revenue department,

ment, and having no judicial powers, but being chief of the police of the zillah, public prosecutor in heinous cases, and superintendent of the prosecution of all criminal cases in the zillah, on an average salary raised to the reduced amount to be fixed for the collector.

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Covenanted assistants very much as at present. They should be available for assisting in all departments, as required, viz., in the revenue, civil, criminal, and police departments, and, as a rule, in the course of their training, should pass through all four.

Uncovenanted—Natives chiefly.

Deputy-collectors, with no powers of a deputy-magistrate.

Deputy-magistrates, with no revenue or judicial powers, to be located in the district away from the head station, each having one or more circles of thannahs under him.

Principal Sudder ameens, with both civil and criminal judicial powers, as proposed by the Law Commissioners. Where there is more than one in a zillah, one only to be located at the head station.

Moonsiffs of the first grade, with civil and criminal powers, as proposed by the Law Commissioners, the latter higher than those of a moonsiff of the second grade, to be distributed over the zillah equally, their higher criminal powers extending over their whole circle. Four thannahs, or so, under a moonsiff of the first grade, will form a circle.

Moonsiffs of the second grade, with civil and criminal powers, as proposed by the Law Commissioners, to be stationed throughout the zillah as at present; three moonsiffs, or so, of the first grade, and one of the second grade forming a circle.

Darogahs, as at present, one in each thannah.

Naib darogahs, of whom all but one to be located in charge of subordinate thannahs or pharees.

Jemadars, detective policemen, and native constables under the darogah.

Detachments of police corps under the deputy magistrates and darogahs, of whom at least one not inconsiderable body to be posted in each circle of thannahs.

(signed) J. P. Grant.

9 April 1857.

(Copy.)

MINUTE by the Honourable J. P. Grant.

27 Nov. 1854.

Punjab Report for 1851-52 and 1852-53.

Dated 27 November 1854.

I CORDIALLY agree with all that has been recorded by the Governor-General, in acknowledgment of the services of those officers under whose immediate administration the wonderful results of the first lustrum of our government of the Punjab have been achieved. Of the merits of Mr. John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, in connexion with these results, it would be very difficult to speak in terms of exaggeration. At the same time it will not, I think, escape the notice of the public (I am sure it will not escape the notice of the Honourable Court), that all these services could have been of little avail, but for the well-considered and prudent liberality with which the scheme of Punjab administration was originally devised, and has ever since been supported by the Governor-General.

The Punjab has been fortunate in the selection of its workmen; but its peculiar good fortune has consisted in this, that its workmen have not been required to make bricks without straw.

For 19 districts of moderate size, containing a population of something upwards of 10,000,000, 7 police battalions of foot, and 27 troops of mounted police, have been provided, at a cost of about 16½ lacs of rupees a year. Altogether, for the civil duties of this territory, 8½ battalions and 38 troops,

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consisting of 12,000 men in organised bodies, are set apart. Besides these, for the same territory, there are about 10,000 men called detective policemen, maintained at a cost of about 8½ lacs of rupees a year, and all this is besides the old village chowkeydars, or watchmen of the country. Knowing this, I was prepared to hear that the extinction of dacoity, and of all crimes of organised violence, in the central districts of the Punjab, may be pronounced complete.

It is only by comparison that the strength of this police force can be tested. For about 30 very large districts in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, containing a population usually estimated at 40,000,000, the number of policemen provided is little more than 8,000, at a cost of 4½ lacs of rupees a year.* To these must be added, in order to show the whole physical strength provided "for the civil duties" of the Lower Provinces, a few hundred men, forming an organised body called the Behar Station Guard (which is a body corresponding with the Punjab police battalions), and probably the several jail and treasury guards who, I suspect, are not included in the return from which I have taken the number, of police burkundauzes in Bengal. Also, allowance must be made for from 3,000 to 4,000 men employed in the Punjab on frontier duty; military, rather than civil. But, all allowances made, the disproportion is enormous.

The leading journal of the world, in a laudatory notice of the first Punjab Report, asked why the rest of India was not equally well governed. That question touches us all. I have never been immediately connected with the government of any other part of India than Bengal; but with the Government of Bengal I have been, as secretary, closely connected. As far as Bengal is concerned, I think I have in the above figures sufficiently indicated what the true answer to that question is. And as the Government of India and the Home Government hold the purse-strings, if comparisons unfavourable to Bengal must in candour be made, when reading of the astonishing success of the youthful Government of the Punjab (and I, for one, confess that I cannot in candour avoid making such comparisons), I think I have in the above figures sufficiently proved that it would be very unjust to infer, from such comparisons, any comparative inefficiency in the Bengal workment, from its Government downwards, or any comparative inferiority in the law of Bengal, or in the theory or form of its administration.

27 November 1854.

(signed) J. P. Grant.

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— No. 19. —

MINUTE by the Honourable B. Peacock.

Bengal Police, &c.

Dated 30 April 1857.

I CONCUR entirely with the Right Honourable the Governor-General as to the first proposal made by his Lordship, viz.: "that the police of Bengal be reorganised at once, without waiting for a plan applicable to the whole of India;" also as to the third proposal relative to the organisation of police. I do not think that any great benefit is likely to arise from increasing the pay of the present mohurirs from an average of less than eight rupees a month to an

average

				Number.	Cost.		
					Rs.	a.	p.
* Jummadars	-	-	-	670	62,633	8	-
Burkundauzes	-	-	-	7,601	3,62,850	-	-
TOTAL	-	-	-	8,271	4,25,183	8	-

average of upwards of 33 rupees a month. I believe that, as a class, they are wholly unfit for the duties intrusted to them, and that no increase of salary will ever qualify them for the discharge of those duties. I think that they should be altogether superseded by a new class of officers, to be styled naib darogahs, at the rates of salary proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor for the mohurirs. The naib darogahs should be chosen from young men of education, who, if the offices of darogah and of deputy magistrate be open to them, will probably be induced to accept employment as naib darogahs, in which they may be trained for the higher offices above mentioned. This seems to be, at least, one great object of the proposed increase of expenditure.*

If any of the present mohurirs are qualified for the duties, they may be selected for the employment of naib darogahs.

I concur in thinking that the salaries of the jemadars and burkundauzes should be increased as proposed; but I think that no police-officer under the rank of a naib darogah should be allowed to exercise the powers of a darogah, or to hold investigations, except in a case of emergency, in which they may be specially appointed for the duty. At present a jemadar is considered as the third officer at a thannah, and, in the absence of the darogah and mohurir, is authorised by law, without any special appointment, to exercise all the powers vested in a darogah. (Regulation XX. of 1817, Section 4, Clause 3). His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor considers that the darogahs and mohurirs are amply sufficient for all investigations of a serious character, and that, as regards cases of secondary importance, jemadars selected from burkundauzes, and receiving from 10 to 20 rupees per month, may safely be trusted to conduct the necessary inquiries. (Letter, 30 April 1855, No. 774, para. 31.) If the deputy magistrates proposed be appointed, I hope that it may be found unnecessary to authorise the jemadars to act as darogahs, or to make investigations, in any case; for I believe that great corruption and oppression are the consequences of the powers now vested in the lower classes of the police.

I doubt whether any salary less than 5 rupees a month will be sufficient for the burkundauzes. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor proposes—

- ½ at 6 rupees a month.
- ¼ at 5 "
- ¼ at 4 "

I think that they, or at least such of them as are intended to act as preventive policemen, should be selected from men who can be relied on for courage and energy when opposed to such classes as the lattials. I agree with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that the burkundauzes should have promotion to look forward to as a reward for good conduct, and that they should be eligible for employment as jemadars.—Letter as above, No. 774, paras. 29 to 35.

I concur as to the 5th and 6th proposals of the Governor-General.

If the proposed number of deputy magistrates be sanctioned, there will be 200, which, after deducting from the whole number of thannahs those in the Sontal districts and in large cities, will give nearly one deputy magistrate to every two thannahs, or at least one to every two of the most important thannahs.

It appears to me, however, that the deputy magistrates, or, I would rather call them, deputy superintendents of police, should not exercise any judicial powers, as proposed by the Governor-General.† I think it should be their duty to superintend the police within their districts, and the investigation of all cases of crime committed therein, and, with the assistance of the darogahs and naib darogahs, to collect evidence, to take the depositions of witnesses, and to bind them over to give evidence; also to see that every case of crime committed within their districts is taken before the proper court for trial, with the necessary witnesses and evidence to establish the charge. They should communicate with the deputy magistrates of the adjoining districts, with a view to the apprehension of criminals, and with the superintendent of police of the zillah in which their own districts are situate; and the darogahs and naib darogahs should be bound to communicate to them every case of heinous crime committed within their respective thannahs, and should report to them whenever they have occasion to leave

* See Letter from Secretary to Government of Bengal, 30th April 1855, No. 774.

† See Proposal, No. 9.

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leave the thannah for the purpose of making investigation. These, and other duties connected with the prevention and detection of crime will require them to be constantly moving about their districts. The Lieutenant-Governor remarks—"I think that the proper size of a deputy magistrate's jurisdiction has not been unreasonably stated by an intelligent and experienced native friend, whom I consulted on the subject, as so much as the magistrate could go to one end of in his morning ride, and the other end in his evening ride."* This would probably comprise two or at most three thannahs. This is evidently impossible, when it is considered that the size of a thannah, according to regulation, is 10 coss square, which, if the district of a deputy magistrate comprised only two thannahs, would involve the necessity of a morning ride of 40 miles from his head-quarters to one end of his jurisdiction and back, and another ride of the same extent in the evening; but it shows that he should be constantly moving about his district.† If his own head-quarters and the two thannah stations subject to his jurisdiction were most favourably situate, he could not even visit each darogah's station every alternate day, without travelling at least 20 miles a day. To exercise judicial duties, a deputy magistrate ought to be stationary, or at least he should have fixed times for holding his court at particular places; otherwise, when a prisoner is sent up to him for trial, together with the witnesses, from a considerable distance, it may be found that, in the discharge of his police duties, he is at quite a different part of his station. Independently, therefore, of the objections so powerfully urged by our honourable colleague, Mr. Grant, against the union of judicial and police functions, I think it is impossible for the same officer to exercise any active superintendence over the police of his district, if he be expected to exercise judicial powers.

I therefore think that it will be better to have all judicial powers to be exercised by the Sessions Court, the magistrate, and the subordinate criminal courts, as proposed by the Law Commissioners.

The deputy magistrates, however, should be authorised to take the depositions of witnesses, and to submit their proceedings to the magistrate in all cases beyond the competency of the subordinate criminal courts; and in such cases the magistrate should be authorised to order the offender to be sent up for trial before himself; or, if the case be beyond his competency, to commit it for trial before the Sessions. This would greatly relieve witnesses in cases triable only by the magistrate and Sessions Courts—an object which it is most desirable to attain.

I have already written a minute upon the subject of the union of the offices of collector and magistrate. I still retain the opinion which I then expressed, that the two offices should not be reunited, if the magistrate is to continue to have any superintendence over the police of the district.‡

If the magistrate be relieved from all police duties, I do not think that the union of the offices of collector and magistrate will be so objectionable. I feel very great doubt, however, whether the collector will have time properly to attend to the judicial duties of magistrate if the new Sale Law be passed.

But whether the offices of collector and magistrate be held by the same person or not, it appears to me that the management and superintendence of the police in each zillah should be entrusted to a European officer, who should have no judicial or other duties, and should be required to be frequently moving about in his district.

This leads me to consider the second proposal of the Governor-General, viz., that the police be superintended, as at present, by the Commissioners of Divisions acting under the general control of Government.

I think it is very important that the police, in addition to the European superintendent in each zillah, should be subject to Commissioners of Divisions; but, as far as the police are concerned, I think it would be better that the divisions should be larger than those now entrusted to the Commissioners of Revenue. One superintendent of police for the whole of the Lower Provinces has been found insufficient; but I think that two Commissioners of Police, or three at most, would be fully able to discharge all the duties belonging to his office. I doubt very much whether it is necessary to continue the Commissioners of

* Minute on Police and Criminal Jurisdiction, para. 47.

† See Minute, dated 15th May 1856.

‡ 22 of 1793, section 4.

of Revenue in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, with the exception of the Commissioner of Cuttack. Those commissioners were appointed under regulation I, of 1829, the preamble of which points out the defects which it was intended to correct.* Since that time many of the duties which those commissioners were intended to discharge have been transferred to other functionaries; † the North-western Provinces have been placed under a Lieutenant-Governor, and a Sudder Board of Revenue for those provinces has been appointed, and the duties of the Commissioners of Revenues, in respect of the determination of questions relative to the assessment of lands, so far as the permanently-settled districts are concerned, are absolutely nothing.

I think it is, therefore, well worth consideration, whether, of the eight Commissioners of Revenue in the Lower Provinces, seven might not be abolished, leaving the Commissioner of Cuttack alone, and substituting two or three divisional commissioners of police.

If this can be done, there will be a saving of four commissioners at 36,000 rupees a year each, and of their establishments, amounting, I believe, on an average, to 910 rupees a month, or 10,920 rupees a year for each commissioner; and possibly for the two or three commissioners of police a less salary than 36,000 a year, and less expensive establishment might be considered sufficient.

This saving ‡ would go a great way towards paying the zillah superintendents of police at the same rate of salary as is now paid to the magistrates.

I concur in thinking that the moonsiffs should be vested generally with criminal powers; and I am inclined to think that they may be trusted with the powers proposed by the Law Commissioners to be vested in subordinate criminal courts of the 2d class, viz., imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, and fine not exceeding 200 rupees; but it appears to me that it will not be safe at present to entrust the native judges, or the subordinate criminal courts, with power of awarding punishment to the extent above mentioned upon summary conviction without appeal. That would be giving them greater power than is now vested in justices of the peace in England.§

If the regular courts of justice be authorised to try criminal cases to the extent proposed by the Law Commissioners, I think it will be scarcely necessary to invest unofficial residents of the interior with criminal jurisdiction; and if the proposed number of deputy-magistrates be appointed, I do not think that it will be necessary or advisable to invest such residents even with power of committing offenders for trial.

Upon this point, however, I would rather not express any positive opinion, until after the code of criminal procedure has been passed, and the official establishments for the administration of criminal justice and police have been finally determined upon.

30 April 1857.

(signed) B. Peacock.

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Hon. B. Peacock.
30 April 1857.

— No. 20. —

LETTER from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Judicial.—No. 774.

Sir,

Dated Fort William, 30 April 1856.

I AM directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to submit, for the consideration of the Supreme Government, the following propositions for the improvement of the mofussil police in these provinces.

2. Two

* Such as the principal duty of holding sessions of jail delivery, which has been transferred to the sessions judge.

† In 3d part of the recital of Regulation I. of 1829.

‡ 1,87,680 rupees a year.

§ In expressing this opinion, I wish to guard myself against its being understood to extend to trials before the Superior Courts and a jury.

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2. Two considerable defects in the police of Bengal are—
First. The unsatisfactory footing on which the village watchmen are now maintained; and
Second. The deficient number, and inadequate pay, of the regular police.

3. With regard to the village watch, local investigations have been in progress during the past cold weather, the results of which will be communicated hereafter to the Supreme Government.

4. With regard to the regular police, I am now desired to submit the following statements and suggestions:—

5. Up to the year 1843, the police darogahs throughout the Lower Provinces received salaries varying from 100 rupees to 25 rupees a month. Out of 508 officers of this class, 490 drew salaries of 30 rupees a month and under, and of these no less than 375 received only 25 rupees a month.

6. In 1843 the Deputy-Governor of Bengal, Mr. W. W. Bird, proposed to the Government of India to raise the salaries of the darogahs in the following manner, namely, 25 to receive 100 rupees a month each, 50 to receive 75 rupees, 100 to receive 50 rupees, and the remaining 333 to receive 25 rupees. This proposal was calculated to involve an additional annual cost of 74,371 rupees, and thus, it was observed, “a commencement would be made, at comparatively little expense, to supply those incentives to good conduct in the police, without which any improvement in the existing system has been found to be utterly unattainable.”

7. The scheme was sanctioned by the Government of India, and its immediate introduction authorised. It was at the same time observed that while the President in Council “admits * the inadequacy of the existing rate of pay of darogahs, and the necessity for removing as much as possible so evident a cause of corruption amongst this class of police officers, by rendering their remuneration equal to their decent support, and by opening to them the reward of good service in advancement or promotion, he is very desirous that the principle of the arrangement should be carried still further, not only in respect to darogahs, but to other classes of police officers, and the Government will be prepared to approve the extension of the measure, if, in due time, it is found that the arrangement now sanctioned has tended to raise the character and insure the usefulness of those whom it is intended to affect.”

8. The Honourable Court fully approved of the principle of increasing the pay of the police darogahs, and desired that it might be at once carried out to the full extent previously recommended by the Police Committee in their report of 1838, viz., that there should be fifty darogahs on 100 rupees, one hundred on 75 rupees, and the whole of the remainder on 50 rupees each.

9. This extended measure, providing for 527 darogahs, as shown in the margin,† was accordingly carried out at an increased annual expense of 2,13,871-9-0 rupees, and the establishment, as then revised, has been in force ever since.

10. As regards the “other classes of police officers,” referred to in the Despatch of the Supreme Government of 1843, no steps have, up to this time, been taken to improve their position. Of such officers the most important are those termed respectively mohurirs and jemadars, one or more of whom is attached to each thannah,

Mr. Secy. Davidson's letter of the 31st May 1843.

	On 100.	On 75.	On 50.	Total.
† Regulation Provinces.	44	88	337	469
Arracan - - -	1	2	10	13
Assam - - -	3	6	15	24
South-western Frontier	2	4	12	18
Cachar - - -	0	0	3	3
	50	100	377	527

thannah, in addition to the darogah. The pay of the mohurir is rarely more than eight rupees a month, and often less; and that of the jemadar is about the same, though sometimes as low as four rupees. These officers are employed to assist the darogah, and are vested by law with the same powers as that officer, exercising them either in the darogah's absence from the thannah, or when deputed by the darogah on special duty, or when placed by the magistrate in charge of an independent jurisdiction.

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11. It cannot fail to be perceived, that if a salary of 25 rupees was insufficient to secure the services of respectable and honest men as darogahs, a salary of 8 rupees a month (which is somewhat above the average) must be still more insufficient to secure the services of honest men as mohurirs and jemadars.

12. The position of these officers was brought specially to the notice of Government in 1853, in connexion with a very striking case, in which three persons who had been sentenced for dacoity by the Sudder Court, in 1851, to twelve years' imprisonment, were subsequently proved to be altogether innocent of the charge. When the innocence of the convicted men was brought to the notice of Government, the case was referred to the Sudder Court for report, and the following is an extract from Mr. J. R. Colvin's minute, from which it will be seen that the cruel injustice which was inflicted upon these innocent men, and from the full measure of which they were saved only by the merest accident, was believed to be mainly owing to the misconduct of the jemadar employed to conduct the inquiry.

13. "The best security," Mr. Colvin observed, "we can have for the correct and safe administration of justice, is in the doing all that gives reasonable hope of success towards employing an honest police for the instituting of inquiries, and collecting evidence in regard to crimes committed. It cannot be too often, or too earnestly impressed upon the Government, that it is not only the pay of the darogah of a thannah that should be made sufficient for respectability. The mohurirs and jemadars, who are and must be daily employed (as in this case) with independent powers, are excessively underpaid; Mr. Wauchope notices that the investigation in the present instance was held by a jemadar receiving six rupees per mensem. It cannot be matter of surprise that parties so paid, and exercising such great authority, under very little practical check, should be found to be open to temptation, and to lend themselves, as there is every ground to fear has been done here, to the gratification of private malice."

14. The above extract was forwarded by order of the most Noble the Governor of Bengal to the late superintendent of police, with a view to his reporting as to what measures he would recommend, so that the investigation of all heinous crimes might invariably be conducted by an officer of the rank and pay of a darogah.

15. Mr. Dampier's answer was briefly as follows, and the correctness of it cannot be impugned:—"I know of no method," he said, "which can be devised, by which the investigation of heinous crimes may not, under any circumstances, be entrusted to an officer below the rank and pay of a darogah, excepting by a very great addition to the number of those officers."

16. Mr. Dampier, it is to be observed, has on other occasions expressed his opinion as to the necessity of raising the pay of the mohurirs and jemadars, both as a measure of policy and of justice. Appended to this letter will be found extracts from his reports on this subject. Mr. Mills likewise, than whom there is no one whose opinion on the subject is entitled to greater consideration and respect, has thus referred to the matter in one of his circuit reports; "The whole police system needs a change; but to remodel it effectually, a considerable outlay and increase of expenditure must first be assented to by Government, and, until that be done, it is useless to occupy space with a description of the reforms which should be introduced. In the present system there is one great and striking anomaly. The pay of a darogah ranges from 100 rupees to 50 rupees, and that of a mohurir, who holds almost as many local investigations into crimes as the darogah does, and performs other equally responsible duties, is only eight rupees

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per month. I think that the police mohurir's pay should be raised at once to 20 rupees, and the jemadar's to 12."

17. In addition to what is urged above, the Lieutenant-Governor desires me to observe, that another consideration has arisen of late years, to which almost every officer who has been connected with the police administration has called the attention of Government.

18. The expediency of selecting an increased number of our native officials from among persons educated in English schools and colleges is now recognised, and, to a certain extent, acted on.

19. As regards the police department, Mr. Dampier issued a circular in May and June 1850, calling upon the magistrates of Bengal Proper to encourage men of education to come forward as candidates for police employ, and to address the heads of the different colleges and schools for the purpose of obtaining the names of candidates. In the course of last year a return was called for of the results of the above circular, and the replies of several commissioners on the subject have been received.

20. These officers are unanimous in opinion as to the result of the attempt, viz., that although the magistrates would be very glad uniformly to employ educated natives as darogahs, from the greatly increased degree of confidence which they would have in their integrity, as compared with the old class of darogahs, and, eventually, also in their ability and competence, as soon as they should have gained sufficient experience; yet that it is impossible, except in very rare and special cases, to appoint men to darogahships who have had no previous training at all in police duties, in the lower and less responsible grades, and that they cannot find educated men who are willing to accept the appointments of mohurir or jemadar, even with a specific promise of early promotion to darogahships, so long as the pay of those appointments is what it is at present.

21. It certainly seems to the Lieutenant-Governor that it is impossible to expect that young men who have passed several years in acquiring, frequently at considerable expense, the high class education given at our English schools and colleges, should accept the position of mohurirs and jemadars, as these appointments are paid at present, not only because the allowance is inadequate to provide them with the merest necessities, but because those appointments will not be held in respect by their countrymen, whatever the character of the incumbents, so long as the low pay must perpetually give rise to the suspicion of its being eked out by dishonesty and corruption.

22. The other alternative, that of appointing educated men at once to the post of darogah, has, it appears from the Commissioners' Report on this subject, been frequently tried, but even under the ablest magistrates has been found not to answer, except in very rare cases of remarkable ability.

23. The majority of the commissioners have recommended that a salary of 30 rupees a month should be paid to the thannah mohurir, a somewhat lower rate being paid to the jemadars.

24. With a view to determine the lowest rate of pay which it is proper to assign to the class whose services it is desired to obtain for these important duties, an estimate is annexed in the margin,* of the actual expenses which it is believed that

* Food for himself and two servants at the very lowest scale	-	-	10	-	-	(a)
A cook	-	-	3	-	-	
A man to fetch the bazar, look after his clothes, &c.	-	-	2	-	-	
Clothes, &c.	-	-	2	-	-	
Washing, barber, pans, &c.	-	-	1	12	-	
Rent (average) of lodgings	-	-	1	4	-	
Travelling expenses in moving about the interior of his thannah jurisdiction (for which he receives no allowance)	-	-	5	-	-	
Total	-	-	25	-	-	

(a) This is based on an actual estimate of the cost of the several items of expense on this head incurred by natives of the class referred to.

that a native officer of the class and position referred to must absolutely incur. This estimate, it will be observed, leaves out of a salary of 30 rupees a month, little or nothing for the support of his family; and as some of the items specified are below what would be necessary in many localities, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the salary of a police mohurir should not, at all events, fall below, and probably ought, in some cases, to exceed, 30 rupees a month. The Lieutenant-Governor would recommend that there should be three rates of pay for mohurirs, viz., 30, 35, and 40 rupees a month.

No. 20.
Letter from the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal to the
Secretary to the
Government of
India.

30 April 1855.

25. The number of mohurirs now employed on each grade of salary in the Regulation and Non-regulation Provinces under this Government is given in the margin. It will be seen that out of the 522 officers of this class in the Regulation Provinces, no fewer than 485, or nearly 93 per cent., draw salaries of eight rupees a month and under.

26. The present annual expenditure on account of salaries of these officers for the Regulation Provinces only is 48,796 rupees. To raise their pay in the following manner, namely, one-fourth to 40 rupees a month, one-fourth to 35 rupees a month, and the remaining two-fourths to 30 rupees a month, would involve an annual increase of 1,62,524 rupees, or a total expenditure of 2,11,320 rupees. To raise the pay of these officers in the same manner in both Regulation and Non-regulation Provinces, would increase the annual expenditure from 61,828 rupees to 2,53,800 rupees, being an increase of 1,91,971 rupees.

27. The number of jemadars now employed on each grade of salary is shown in the margin.* Out of 783 officers of this class, 702 draw salaries of eight rupees and under. The annual cost of this force is 74,420 rupees.

28. The extent to which the pay of police jemadars should be raised must depend upon the settlement of the following questions:—

- 1st. From what class are they to be appointed? And,
- 2d. What are to be their duties?

29. The

* MOHURIRS.			
Regulation Provinces.		Non-Regulation Provinces.	
1 at 20	20	10 at 20	200
6 at 18	108	1 at 16	16
1 at 16	16	7 at 15	105
6 at 15	90	19 at 12	228
3 at 12-5-4	37	29 at 10	290
2 at 12	24	5 at 8	40
16 at 10	160	8 at 7	56
2 at 8-5-9	16 11 6	21 at 6	126
193 at 8	1,544	5 at 5	25
20 at 7-8-0	150		
2 at 7-5-0	14 10		
267 at 7	1,869		
2 at 6	12		
1 at 5	5		
522	4,066 5 6	105	1,086
		627 persons monthly	5,152 5 6
		Annual Rupees	12
			61,828 2 -

† JEMADARS.			
Regulation Provinces.		Non-Regulation Provinces.	
1 at 14	14	2 at 15	30
4 at 12	48	13 at 12	156
7 at 10	70	36 at 10	360
15 at 8-5-9	125 6 3	26 at 8	208
2 at 8-5-8	16 11 4	1 at 7	7
1 at 8-5-0	8 5 0	18 at 6	108
534 at 8	4,280	1 at 5-3-7	5 3 7
1 at 7-8-0	7 8	5 at 5	25
39 at 7	273		
2 at 6-4-4	12 8 8		
73 at 6	438		
1 at 5	5		
1 at 4	4		
681	5,302 7 3	102	899 3 7
		784 persons monthly	6,201 10 10
		Annual Rupees	12
			74,420 2 -

No. 20.
Letter from the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal to the
Secretary to the
Government of
India.
30 April 1855.

29. The Commissioner of Rajshahye has recommended that the officers from whom it is desired to recruit the body of darogahs should all, in the first instance, be appointed to the grade of jemadars, and subsequently promoted to the grade of mohurir and darogah. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, thinks that this proposal is unadvisable, as it would deprive the burkundauze class, as a rule, of all hope of bettering their position, and, therefore, of that incentive to integrity and exertion which is at present so much needed. If the burkundauzes have promotion to look forward to, they will be efficient, instead of inefficient, and will be well content, while waiting for it, to receive a lower rate of pay than they otherwise would be satisfied with, and will be less likely to resort to corrupt sources of gain.

30. The mohurirships will, I am to observe, form a sufficiently large school for the darogahs, and the only material question is, whether darogahs and mohurirs, without the aid of the jemadars, will be sufficient for the higher and more responsible duty of holding investigations.

31. The Lieutenant-Governor considers that they will be amply sufficient for the investigation of all cases of a serious character; and that, as regards cases of secondary importance, jemadars drawn from the burkundauze class, and receiving a salary of 10 to 20 rupees a month, may safely be trusted to conduct the necessary inquiries. The jemadar's duty, however, as a general rule, ought not to be of this description, and his position requires rather the possession of a natural sagacity, conjoined with bodily energy and courage, than an education of any high order.

32. The Lieutenant-Governor would recommend that the jemadars should likewise be divided into three ranks in the same proportion as that proposed for the mohurirs, salaries of 10 rupees, 15 rupees, and 20 rupees a month, being assigned to each rank. The Lieutenant-Governor does not consider 20 rupees a month to be too high a rate of salary to assign to a small number of this class of officers, because it is obvious that if the increase to the salaries of the mohurirs shall have the effect of inducing a superior class of persons to take office in that grade, it will become a thing of almost impossible occurrence that a jemadar—originally a burkundauze—should ever rise to be a darogah. If the proposed increase should be extended to both the Regulation and the Non-regulation Provinces, the annual expenditure on this account would be 1,29,060 rupees, being an increase of 54,639-14-0 rupees.

33. But however great the importance of the measures above recommended, the Lieutenant-Governor attaches little less importance to the improvement of the character of the ordinary constabulary, the police burkundauzes. The presence of the jemadars and mohurirs in the interior of their police jurisdiction is, at most, exceptional; but the burkundauzes are everywhere constantly moving over the whole of their thannah circle, so that acts of oppression or extortion on their part are felt in every homestead. Their power for evil, though on a smaller scale than that of the higher grades, is more extended in its range.

34. With the stimulus to good conduct which the hope of promotion to properly paid jemadarships will open to them, the Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that it will be sufficient to raise one-half of the whole number of burkundauzes above four rupees a month, but he would have none under that amount. He would propose to pay one-fourth of the whole number at the rate of six rupees a month, and one-fourth at the rate of five rupees a month; the remainder receiving four rupees a month.

35. This rate of pay will be enough to enable a man of honest intentions to be honest. And there are, no doubt, certain emoluments which these men will always receive in addition to their pay, and which involve no actual corruption or dishonesty, such as presents at marriages, festivals, and the like, which may be reasonably taken into account in estimating the pay which they should receive.

36. The total number of police burkundauzes and their present scale of pay
is

is shown in the margin.* The annual cost of maintaining these 9,077 persons is now 4,37,382 rupees. If one-fourth of the whole number be paid at the rate of six rupees a month, one-fourth at the rate of five rupees, and the remaining two-fourths at four rupees a month, the total annual increase of expense, in both the Regulation and the Non-regulation Provinces, will be 91,998 rupees per annum.

No. 20.
Letter from the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal to the
Secretary to the
Government of
India.

30 April 1855.

37. The following table exhibits the financial result of the different changes proposed.

	Present Scale per Annum.	Proposed Scale per Annum.	Increase per Annum.	Remarks.
MOHURIRS :	<i>Rs. a.</i>	<i>Rs. a.</i>	<i>Rs. a.</i>	
In the Regulation Provinces -	48,796 2	2,11,320 -	1,62,523 2	
In the Non-Regulation Provinces -	13,032 -	42,480 -	29,448 -	
TOTAL - - -	61,828 2	2,53,800 -	1,91,971 2	
JEMADARS :				
In the Regulation Provinces -	63,629 7	1,12,320 -	48,690 9	
In the Non-Regulation Provinces -	10,790 11	16,740 -	5,949 5	
TOTAL - - -	74,420 2	1,29,060 -	54,639 14	
BURKUNDAUZES :				
In the Regulation Provinces -	3,75,336 -	4,59,564 -	84,228 -	
In the Non-Regulation Provinces -	62,046 -	69,816 -	7,770 -	
TOTAL - - -	4,37,382 -	5,29,380 -	91,998 -	
GRAND TOTAL - -	5,73,630 4	9,12,240 -	3,38,609 -	

38. The outlay involved in these changes is doubtless considerable ; and it is not to be concealed that it cannot be looked upon as a final outlay, for our police establishment in the Lower Provinces is not only ill-paid, but it is also even now numerically weaker than it should be, and it cannot but be supposed that, as trade and civilisation expand themselves throughout these provinces, covering them with lines of communication, and giving birth to a busy, energetic race of people, larger measures will be needed for the protection of property and the preservation of good order than now exist. Already this has been practically illustrated

* BURKUNDAUZES.

Regulation Provinces.

58 at 5	-	-	-	-	-	290	-	-
24 at 4-8	-	-	-	-	-	108	-	-
7,421 at 4	-	-	-	-	-	29,684	-	-
298 at 3-8	-	-	-	-	-	1,043	-	-
51 at 3	-	-	-	-	-	153	-	-
7,862						31,278	-	-

Non-Regulation Provinces.

5 at 6	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-
354 at 5-8	-	-	-	-	-	1,947	-	-
160 at 5	-	-	-	-	-	800	-	-
325 at 4	-	-	-	-	-	1,300	-	-
298 at 3	-	-	-	-	-	894	-	-
67 at 2-8	-	-	-	-	-	167	8	-
16 at 2	-	-	-	-	-	32	-	-
1,224						5,70	8	-

9,077						36,448	8	-
TOTAL - - -						36,448	8	-

Annual Rupees - - - **4,37,382** - -

No. 20.
Letter from the
Secretary to the
Government of
Bengal to the
Secretary to the
Government of
India.
30 April 1835.

illustrated in the police establishments which it was found necessary to place upon the Great Trunk Road.

30. The immediate object of the outlay now proposed is to remove what has hitherto been a standing reproach of Indian administration in Bengal, and the Lieutenant-Governor would urge the matter upon the attention of the Supreme Government with an expression of earnest hope that a public measure which is, in his opinion, surpassed by no other in importance, may be recommended to the Honourable Court. The inadequate payment of the subordinate officers of police was one of the matters, it may be remarked, which formed the subject of investigation before the late Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire into the operation of the Charter Act of 1834.

I have, &c.
(signed) W. Grey,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

— No. 21. —

No. 21.
Extract from a
Police Report of
the Superintendent
of Police, Lower
Provinces.
24 Dec. 1840.

EXTRACT from a Police Report of the Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, for the first Six Months of 1840; dated the 24th December 1840.

Part of 892d para. But these arrangements will have no good effect, if higher pay is not given to the persons composing the police, and more substantial rewards held out to them for general good conduct and particular cases of exertion.

893d. The pay of a darogah at present is 25 rupees per month, of a mohuri 8, of a jemadar 10. Now considering that these officers, the darogahs in particular, have to keep up a respectable appearance, to proceed at any time to any part of an extensive jurisdiction, and must, the mohurir and darogah certainly be persons of education and capability of taking, following up, and judging evidence, I think these sums will be admitted to be too low to render employment in the line a desirable object for a respectable man; those who do enter the service, enter it for the perquisites, and as no higher pay is to be obtained by any exertions or honesty of proceeding, they have nothing held out to them beyond occasional rewards, as an encouragement for good conduct. I recollect it used to be a common saying amongst the people about the courts, "that every darogah had his lotah and mat in the jail," meaning that the service was one most likely to lead to punishment, and in which a man anxious about his character would not enter.

894th. If our present system is to be adhered to, there should, I think, be two grades of burkundauzes at 5 and 6 rupees per month. The mohurirs, on whom all the details of the thannah fall, and who are responsible for keeping up with regularity all the books and statements, should receive 25 rupees, and after 10 or 15 years' service 30 rupees per month; the jemadars 12, and when in charge of a pharee or ghattee 15 rupees per month.

(True extract.)

(signed) Hodgson Pratt,
Under-Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

EXTRACT from a Letter from the Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 646 A.), dated Monghyr, the 1st April 1845.

No. 21.
Extract from a Letter from the Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

1 April 1845.

Para 5. I trust I may be excused if I bring to the notice of the Right honourable the Governor of Bengal, the miserable pay received by the mohurirs and jemadars of thannahs, who in many instances exercise the power and authority of the darogahs, and investigate cases of as great importance, are put to nearly the same expenses for conveyance when on duty, and are frequently in charge of considerable outposts. I have adverted to this in the 893d and 894th paras. of my police report for the first six months of 1840, and I feel sure that it will be requisite, if we wish to carry out reform in the police, to hold out higher salaries to these grades of officers, and also to have two grades of rank amongst the Burkundauzes, who, from their limited number, have very hard work to get over.*

(A true extract.)

(signed) *Hodgson Pratt*,
Under-Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

* I had a representation sent to me by the jemadars and burkundauzes of a district, urging their claim to some increase of salaries.

EAST INDIA (ROADS).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 25 July 1856;—for,

COPIES “ of MINUTES and CORRESPONDENCE between the late Governor-General and the Home Departments of the Government of *India*, in reference to the Project of the *Hindustan and Tibet* Road, with the several Reports of Major *Kennedy* and Lieutenant *Briggs* relating thereto, and an Account of the Expense attending Construction thereof: ”

“ And, of REPORTS of Engineer ; and an Account of the Expenditure incurred in reference to the Construction of the New Road between *Kalka* and the Military Sanitary Station of *Dugshai*.”

East India House, }
2 February 1857. }

JAMES C. MELVILL.

(*Mr. Kennedy.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
4 March 1857.

L I S T.

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Letter from Major Kennedy to Sir H. Elliot; dated 24 November 1850	14
Letter from the Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road to the Secretary to the Government of India with G. G.; dated 21 December 1850	14
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Letter from the Superintending Engineer, N. W. P., to the Secretary to the Government of India; dated 24 February 1851	21
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Letter from the Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road to the Secretary to the Government of India; dated 2 May 1851	27
Minute by the Governor-General; dated 7 May 1851	29
Letter from the Superintending Engineer, N. W. P., to the Secretary to the Government of India; dated 8 May 1851	29
Ditto - - - ditto - - - ditto; dated 14 May 1851	30
Letter from the Executive Engineer 12th Division, P. W., to the Secretary to the Government of India; dated 14 May 1851	31
Letter from the Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road to the Secretary to the Government of India; dated 21 May 1851	31
Minute by the Governor-General; dated 9 February 1852	32
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Letter from the Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road to the Secretary to the Government of India; dated 16 April 1852	35
Minute by the Governor-General of India, concurred in by Council; dated 5 and 6 May 1852	35
Letter from the Superintendent Hill Roads to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India; dated 1 October 1852, and (3) Sketches	36
Minute by the Governor-General of India, concurred in by Council; dated 11, 13, and 17 November 1852	61
Letter from the Superintendent Hill Roads to the Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India; dated 1 September 1854	55
Ditto - - - ditto - - - ditto	56
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Letter from the Under Secretary to the Government of India to the Superintendent Hill Roads; dated 15 January 1856	91
Letter from the Superintendent Hill Roads to the Secretary to the Government of India; dated 12 June 1856	91

COPIES of MINUTES and CORRESPONDENCE between the late Governor-General and the Home Department of the Government of India, in reference to the Project of the *Hindustan and Tibet Road*, with the several Reports of Major *Kennedy* and Lieutenant *Briggs* relating thereto, and an Account of the Expense attending Construction thereof: And, of Reports of Engineer; and an Account of the Expenditure incurred in reference to the Construction of the New Road between *Kalka* and the Military Sanitary Station of *Dugshai*.

(No. 37.)

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated 9 May 1850.

IMPRESSMENT OF COOLIES IN THE HILLS, AND THEIR REMEDY.

1. I HAVE read with great satisfaction the letters of the Superintendent of Hill States to the Board of Administration, regarding the improvement and ultimate abolition of the system of forced labour which prevails in these hills.

2. My first experience of the system, when my camp came to Simla in April 1849, satisfied me that it was a great and crying evil, and I have since that time both seen and heard much that has not only confirmed my conviction of the reality of the oppression, but has determined me to omit no effort to effect its removal.

3. The first step towards this end is the formation of a road from Simla to the plains at Kalka, capable of being easily and safely travelled by baggage animals.

I will not enter into the details contained in Mr. Edwards' letter, the sum of which appears to establish fully the practicability of speedily forming such a road.

4. I approve of the formation of a committee, as suggested, and request that no time may be lost in entering on the active prosecution of the undertaking.

5. When the road has been completed to Kalka, all carriage of Government stores, baggage, the Governor-general's and Commander-in-Chief's camp, &c., will be supplied by baggage animals, and resort to impressment of labour by the officers of Government will, in accordance with the suggestions of the Superintendent, be prohibited by the Government.

I do not consider that it would be prudent, at all events for some time to come, even if the road should be formed, to surrender altogether the right of calling for coolies for public purposes; the enforcement of the right, however, should be forbidden, except in cases of unquestionable emergency; and after the full establishment of the new system of carriage, I am sanguine in the expectation that no necessity will exist for the exercise of the right.

6. The impressment of labour for private purposes between Simla and Kalka I understand has already been in great measure abandoned; so soon as the road for animals is completed, it should be prohibited in every case without exception.

7. The absolute necessity of people getting to and from the plains might possibly have formed a plausible excuse for the occasional enforcement of labour on the line I have just mentioned between Simla and Kalka; but the same palliation cannot be alleged for the enforcement on the roads between Simla and the interior, since in that direction they are required merely for excursions of pleasure

or for change, and on this line, therefore, I think that the contemplated improvement of the existing system may at once be commenced.

8. I see no reason whatever why the public should not be left to make their own arrangements for their own purposes with the inhabitants of the country, allowing the latter to make their own bargains with tourists, entirely exempt from any interference by the Government or its servants.

Sudden changes, however, are undesirable, if they can be avoided; and I am willing to accede to Mr. Edwards' proposal, that for this season, and experimentally, 200 of the Government train of mules should be placed at his disposal, for the use of travellers in the interior beyond Simla, if that number is available at Kalka.

9. Having thus stated my opinion on the several leading points in this important subject, I have to request that the following instructions be issued without any delay, in order to commence at once the abolition of a system which is oppressive to the people, and discreditable to our rule.

(a). The Superintendent of Hill States will appoint at once the committee regarding the road from Simla to Kalka. The Governor-general will be glad to afford him any aid which may be in his power. Reports should be submitted to the Board of Administration, and simultaneously to the Governor-general, regarding the proceedings of the committee.

(b). On the completion of this road, the Governor-general will gladly issue positive orders to the local officers that the enforcement of coolie labour for public purposes shall never be resorted to, except in a case of utmost emergency.

The details of the arrangements for maintenance of cattle for conveyance of Government and military stores, baggage, &c., will be made by the proper departments in the interval. The impressment of labour for private purposes will be absolutely prohibited.

(c). A letter is to be addressed to the Adjutant-general, requesting to know whether his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief would have any objection to the employment of a company of sappers from Loodiana during the present season for this purpose. A full explanation of the purpose for which they are required should be supplied to his Excellency.

(d). A letter is to be addressed to the Superintendent of Government mule train at Kalka, requesting to be furnished with a distribution statement of the train, and desiring to be informed whether 200 to 300 mules can be made available at Simla during the present season.

(e). Acquaint Superintendent that if these animals should be found available, the use of them experimentally for the service of travellers during this year will be sanctioned, and the impressment of labour for private purposes beyond Simla may be strictly and immediately prohibited. No further instructions seem necessary at this stage.

10. I annex a memorandum, furnished by the Superintendent, at my request, regarding the construction of an improved line of road between Multecanee and Kunnawur, in substitution of the present very bad one along the valley of the Sutlej.

This road had been mentioned to me before as being of great importance with reference to the large trade which it is believed might be attracted to the plains of India from the countries beyond the Himalayan range.

It has again been brought to view, in connexion with the visit which I propose to pay to Kunnawur during the ensuing rainy season, in compliance with medical advice, and for the purpose of confirming the health which the Court of Directors permitted me to repair by having recourse to a sea voyage.

11. I think the opportunity is a favourable one in every way, and I request that the details regarding pioneers, &c., may be embodied in the letter above-mentioned to the Adjutant-general.

His

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has, I understand, been consulted demi-officially, and has no objection to the employment of these sappers, as proposed.

Instructions in the proper quarters should be issued on the remaining details.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley,*

Under Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

(No. 195.)

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated the
2d September 1850.

HILL ROAD.

1. ACQUAINT the Superintendent of the Hill States that, without further information, I decline to give my sanction to the measure he has proposed, for employing a large number of hired labourers in the construction of the new road now in progress from Kalka through the hills. The application of the Superintendent involves a wide departure from the conditions on which I gave my assent to the commencement of this work, and entirely alters its character.

2. My chief motive in assenting to the commencement of this road was the consideration, that it would enable the Government to relieve the native States and their subjects from the oppressive burden of supplying vast numbers of coolies for portage, a measure to which it was necessary to resort several times in every year, from the want of roads which could be traversed by beasts of burden. The native States are bound to supply labour for the formation of such roads; and their people would benefit directly and permanently by their construction. It was therefore reasonably expected that the States and the people alike would readily furnish the labour which was requisite.

The supply of such labour gratuitously would of course relieve the Government of an expense in the formation of a hill road, which, under existing circumstances, it could not otherwise have undertaken.

3. On the strength of these considerations, I consented to the commencement of the work; I gave, further, the services of sappers and pioneers, of officers and non-commissioned officers, and expressed my readiness to give such extra allowances as would make the superintendence of the works effectual, and advance them more rapidly.

4. The proposal which the Superintendent now submits entirely alters these arrangements. He proposes to employ hired labour, at an expense of nearly 6,000 rupees a month; not the slightest reference is made to how long this expense is to continue, nor is the commonest information given in the outlines of the plan, or on the details on which this expenditure is to be disbursed. This departure from the principles of the scheme to which I gave my sanction is objectionable; and the whole proceeding is unbusiness-like and unsatisfactory to me.

The Superintendent is in error when he states, in para. 7, that I have given my sanction to the hire of 600 coolies from Kooloo, in addition to the number required from the State of Bussahir. I sanctioned the hire of these men because the State of Bussahir had failed to supply the number of men they were directed to furnish, and were considered capable of furnishing with ease. The hire of men was to supply the deficiency to be paid for by the Bussahir State, not to give an increase of force to be paid by the Government of India.

5. It may possibly appear to me expedient hereafter to sanction the hire of labour, in order to complete more rapidly the road from Simla to Kalka; or arrangements may be made with the native States for this purpose. But I require first information on the points before adverted to, and desire that it may be supplied to me at once.

6. I beg the secretary to address a letter to Major Kennedy, who is superintending the construction of this road. State that I have received an application from the Superintendent of Hill States for authority to hire a large body of labourers for employment on the road, to which it is impossible for me to give any sanction without much more information than I now possess. I have already expressed my sense of the public spirit and zeal exhibited by Major Kennedy, in volunteering to superintend the survey and construction of this work. I am most unwilling to impose on him any labour in the execution of the task he has been so good as to undertake, which can possibly be avoided. But application having been made to me to sanction a considerable monthly expenditure, it is necessary that I should request Major Kennedy to address to me a report, stating generally what has been done towards the commencement of this road, and what is the course which he proposes to pursue, together with a sketch of the line itself. It is obvious that I cannot consent to involve the Government in an expenditure, such as is proposed by the Superintendent of Hill States, without such information on these points as will enable me to judge of the cost to which it is proposed to subject the State.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. M. Elliot,*
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

(No. 226.)

EXTRACT Fort William Foreign Consultation, dated 11 October 1850.

LETTER from Major *J. P. Kennedy*, Superintendent Simla and Konawar Road, to Sir *H. M. Elliot*, K.C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

Sir,

Simla, 17 September 1850.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter, No. 1796, communicating the desire of the most Noble the Governor-general to be furnished with a report, stating generally what has been done towards the commencement of the new road under my superintendence, as well as the course which I propose to pursue for its further progress.

All that I have done has been in accordance with his Lordship's public announcements, expressing his intention to relieve the population of the Hill States from the oppressive practice of beggar, or forced labour, as soon as a road should be constructed that would admit of the transport of public baggage in these districts on four-footed animals or carts instead of coolies, as well as in reference to his desire to open a mercantile road through the Hill States, between the plains of Hindoostan and Thibet.

My first care was to frame the accompanying instructions, marked No. 1, for the guidance of all persons engaged in its superintendence. I then obtained the voluntary assistance of Major M'Murdo and Major Napier, and lost no time in minutely examining the country from the foot of the hills to the crest of the great snowy range of the Himalaya south of the Sutlej.

Two officers (Lieutenant Briggs and Captain Weller) have likewise been employed in examining and reporting on the district extending beyond the Huttoo range towards Konawar.

It was quite clear that the old existing lines of road had been laid out so erroneously, both as regards their general directions and their minor details, that it was impossible to use any portion of them in connexion with an improved line.

The fact of the main line running to the north from the plains at Kalka, rising at once over the heights of Kussowlie, about 3,000 feet above what would be admissible for a general line of road at that distance, and then plunging rapidly down to the bed of the Gumbur River at Hurreepore, probably 1,500 feet too low, was quite sufficient to condemn every portion of the old line between Kalka and Simla. Any attempt at improvement of this line would have been but a fruitless waste of means.

The obviously correct mathematical line for a road passing from the plains northward

northward through the Hill States, offering at once a commercial communication with Central Asia through the Hill States, and an approach to our several sanitary stations, was indicated by the course of the rivers Jumna, with some of its tributaries, and the Sutlej. These two streams are separated by a district and continuous range of hills, which shed their waters in both directions, and offer convenient passes, and ample bases, for excellent carriageable inclines in the required direction of the road.

The Government having already, at a very heavy cost, made considerable progress in the construction of a new road from the foot of the hills at Kalka to the military cantonment of Dugshai, it appeared desirable, if possible, to take advantage of that road in connexion with the new project; and although upon examination it might not have been in the precise position that should have been selected for the terminal division of the hill road leading to the plains, it will answer every present object; and in effecting a junction with it I have not been obliged to outrage any principle. The northern neck of Krole uniting that and the Dugshai ranges with the Simla range, was an obligatory point which must have been adopted in any correct line of road going from Simla to the plains. The best continuation from that point would have been the line of the Jumna River, and that line can, at any future day, be adopted. In the meantime, the course I thought most expedient, was to run a branch of about 10 miles from the Krole neck into the Dugshai Road a little below the cantonment. This branch varies but little from a continued level. It would, under any circumstances, have been required, and for the present it serves to open the communication remarkably well with the plains, saving the construction at this moment, when so much work is in hand, of many additional miles of new road which would otherwise be required.

My own observations, united with the reports of others, have enabled me to decide upon the whole line as far as Chini, with the exception of one portion, where a question of some intricacy exists, connected with the passage of the Naugurree River. This I have reserved for further investigation. The remainder of the line is now in rapid progress of construction. The maximum incline I have established is 3 in 100, or about the rate permitted on the best mail-coach roads in England.

The only question that I have as yet decided with reluctance, in the selection of this very beautiful line of road, was that of crossing the Sutlej at Wangtoo, instead of following the Nagkund, a level by the left bank without falling, till it should reach the Sutlej higher up; but with every anxiety to adopt the latter course, after much consideration, it appeared to be quite inadmissible, because, being the only road of communication by that line, it would have been shut up by the snows for several months in every year. It may hereafter become a question whether that branch should not likewise be opened as a season road, in the event of an extensive traffic growing up.

The course that I have adopted, in the present case, was that of selecting the very best general line, as regards levels, that the nature of the ground and climate would allow, looking forward to the use of wheel carriages; and having laid out the line upon that principle, I have sought to open it as rapidly as possible to a width that would make it available for the present traffic of the country. Accordingly, after having traced out the line most accurately as a guide to the workmen, the next operation now in progress is that of widening the track to a breadth of five feet, making numerous passing places of 12 feet wide. This affords a scanty mule track, but much better than anything previously existing. Having accomplished this throughout, the next operation is to widen the whole to eight feet, which would furnish a very commodious communication for loaded animals.

Having thus brought the road up to the absolute requirements of the present traffic in the districts, it would then be for his Lordship to decide whether any and what degree of further enlargement might be advisable.

By this course the required improvement, under existing circumstances, can be accomplished at the smallest amount of cost, and an effectual progress will have been made towards the most perfect work that any future state of civilisation or advancement in the country can require.

The returns in my office at present show that the number of days' work registered, from our commencement in June to August inclusive, has been about 68,895. This was, with few exceptions, tribute labour; but if the whole had

been paid for at the market price, its value would not have amounted to more than 1,076*l*. I now estimate that, by the labour of 3,000 men a day for the three months of September, October, and November, the road can be completed to eight feet wide throughout, from the plains to Chini, with frequent places of passage 12 feet wide. The expense, then, at the end of November, would stand as follows :

	<i>Days.</i>	<i>£.</i>
Labour to the end of August -	68,895, of which the value would be	1,076
Ditto during September, October, and November -	234,000 - ditto - - ditto	4,643
TOTAL -	302,895 - ditto - - ditto	5,719

Assuming the whole length
180 miles, labour per mile,
about - - - -

1,682 - ditto - about £. 31 4*s*. 4*d*.

But the greater portion of the labour would be tribute labour, and therefore free of cost to the Government; and the actual cost in money to the Government at the end of November, when the above result shall have been effected, would probably be as follows, provided the proposition of the Superintendent Hill States be authorised; viz.,

	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>
Disbursements made from commencement of work up to	
31st August - - - - -	2,769
5,000 rupees per month for September, October, and November, for paid labour - - - -	15,000
Incidentals, and pay of Messrs. Briggs, Dawson, accountant, overseers, &c. - - - - -	4,731

Co.'s Rs. 22,500

By the foregoing it appears that the actual cost in money to the Government would be about 2,250*l*., or about 12*l*. 10*s*. per mile; and I would earnestly bring to his Lordship's consideration that this is not a mere figure calculation, but one fully borne out by the results actually obtained on those portions of the road which are already opened. The tract from Simla to the plains has been carried into the Kalka and Dugshai road, about 37 miles; in a few days it will have been widened out to admit the passage of mules; so that by the time this report reaches his Lordship one portion of his benevolent intentions towards the population of these hills will have been realised.

The road, being brought to the state of forwardness above described, would suffice not only for the existing means of transport, which is by back loads borne on human beings, goats, and sheep; it would admit the passage of loaded mules, camels, elephants, &c.

If his Lordship should decide upon the farther opening of this road to a width of 18 feet generally, reduced to 12 feet at cliffs, to admit of the transport of goods upon wheel carriages, the principle we are now acting upon would accomplish that result over the whole extent of the line, at an average total cost, from the commencement, of about 130*l*. per mile, supposing the whole of the coolie labour to be paid for; and the absolute disbursement of money would, of course, be less in proportion to the amount of tribute labour that his Lordship may deem it advisable to employ in its completion.

The money scale estimate is only used here as a more familiar means of comparison. His Lordship is aware that another road, about 19½ miles in extent in these hills, which is being constructed under the usual forms, and which has been in progress since the year 1846, had cost, up to 21st May 1849, more than 892*l*. per mile, and that there was then sent in an additional estimate for completion of 153*l*. per mile, making the total cost, when it shall have been finished, 1,045*l*. per mile. Thus the cost of bringing that work, on the old principle, to completion, is just about eight times the amount required to complete a more difficult work upon my principle, calculating all the labour to be paid for; and the line of country I have to deal with is much the more precipitous and rocky

of

of the two, at the same time that I have adopted a much more easy gradient for my maximum.

But the progressive course of construction which I adopt gives a much higher advantage to the Government, in the application of its finances, than even the above contrast exhibits; as I shall make my line available for a traffic much improved beyond that at present existing in the country, for an amount of labour only value for about 31 *l.* 14 *s.* 4 *d.* per mile, or about one thirty-third of the cost of the other per mile. Whilst the actual disbursements required to bring my work to the state of progress which I deem essential, would only be 12 *l.* 10 *s.* per mile, or one eighty-third part of the cost of the ordinary principle per mile; that is to say, the outlay of money which the Government is asked to disburse for opening 180 miles of road from Dugshai to Chini is less than 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles will have cost between Dugshai and Kalka.

I do not mean to say that there has been anything unusual in the cost of the Dugshai and Kalka road, when compared with the ordinary practice both of India and England, but I feel imperatively bound to lay before his Lordship this contrast of principles, as bearing upon the interests of the enormous empire of India, and in the hope of showing that the numerous improvements of which it stands so much in need, can be effected on a scale not utterly ruinous to the finances.

In laying out the line of road along the inflexions of the hills, I have sought by a careful arrangement of levels, to afford an opportunity hereafter of shortening the distance considerably in various places, by driving tunnels through narrow and extensive ranges of hills or spurs. One of these, about 150 yards long, between Simla and Mahassoo, is at present in operation, and one-fourth of the work is done chiefly by means of convict labour; a class of labour which, I am convinced, may be turned to most valuable account for the completion of the present undertaking in the thinly peopled districts between Nagkunda and Chini, where it is difficult to obtain labourers.

In undertaking the superintendence of these important works I have been anxious to illustrate some principles upon which, I believe, the physical improvement of India in a great measure rests.

First, by showing that the adoption of the most perfect principle in an undertaking of this class, is not more difficult or costly, even at the time, than that which is the most miserably defective.

Second, that the enormous expenditure which is generally considered indispensable in the construction of useful works, is not so.

Third, that some slight changes in the application of the means at the disposal of Government would afford a very large increased power of effecting useful public objects.

The Governor-general's confidence has enabled me to verify my intention, which the strict trammels of official routine would have rendered impossible, and from the discretionary power that it allowed me, I have been enabled to bring into a very forward state of progress a most important work, at a cost, whether of time or of money, that would not have sufficed under the ordinary forms, for the preparation of its project; and that project when so prepared, must have been comparatively defective, because I must have made up my mind upon every minute point of the line before forwarding any portion of the project, or commencing any part of the work; and any oversights or defects in the project would be obligatory in its after execution; whereas, I have been enabled to commence on the different portions one by one, as I became satisfied by the respective examinations, deferring for reconsideration all that suggested a doubt.

On the 6th of last June, the company of sappers which has been placed under my orders for the execution of this work, arrived in Simla. I immediately determined that the services of these valuable men should not be applied as is usually the case both in England and in India, by employing them as individual labourers on the works, but that they should forthwith be trained to act as overseers, under certain laid down rules, for the conduct of the working parties throughout the line; and having thus, in the first instance, made them practically acquainted with every operation in detail, through their instrumentality the public is now deriving a full and effective value in labour from each of about 3,000 labourers who are daily employed; and their powers of superintendence might be extended to three or four times that number, if such an increase were

found desirable. It is impossible to overrate the value of this description of well-organised subordinate superintendence in the direction of large bodies of labourers, whether as regards the efficiency or the economy of the undertaking.

The mode adopted for training the non-commissioned officers and sepoy of the sapper company to a knowledge of their duty as overseers, was by putting them to work in the first instance as labourers, to open a portion of the new road immediately south from Simla. This was a very favourable locating for the purpose, as it offered almost every variety of ground that could be desired, including easy clay, medium rock, and very precipitous cliffs.

As soon as they thoroughly understood their work as mere labourers, I obtained a working party of coolies from Mr. Edwards, the Superintendent of Hill States, and selected in rotation sepoy to direct their labours as overseers, and by the end of June the whole company were well trained for this work.

The working parties were then gradually increased, and the superintending officers and sapper overseers appointed as required to the several parties.

I have apportioned the whole length of the line between the junction with the Kalka road, at Dugshai and Chini into seven divisions, as follows :

A. or Krole division, commencing at Dugshai	19 miles	{ Lieut. Johnson. Lieut. Blackall.
B. or Simla ditto, reaching Simla - - -	18 „	Major M'Murdo.
C. or Mahassoo ditto, Simla to Teogh - - -	20 „	{ Major Napier. Fred. Freeman, Esq.
D. or Mutteeana ditto, Teogh to Nagkunda - - -	19 „	{ Lieut. Hankin. Lieut. Dawson.
E. or Kotghur ditto, Nagkunda to Naugurree	45 „	{ Capt. Weller. Major Cautley.
F. or Ternuda ditto, Naugurree River to Wangtoo - - - - -	34 „	Lieut. Salkeld.
G. or Chini ditto, Wangtoo to Chini - - - - -	25 „	Lieut. Briggs.
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The following have been the number of days' work returned, upon the whole extent of the line during each month of its progress.

Average daily :	Total.
In June (from 10th)	5,447
In July - - - - -	22,559
In August - - - - -	40,889
Total to end of August - - -	68,895

Thus, to the present time, we have been just three months at work, those three months embracing the rainy season, and under the additional disadvantage of a great deficiency of tools. We have had nominally 68,895 days' work, which from the impediment of the rains, cannot be considered at more than one-half of the amount, or 34,447 effective days' work.

During that time, however, we have examined the whole line from Kalka to Chini; have laid out nearly the whole, and have had our working parties upon three-fourths of it; and calculating upon the work of 3,000 men per day during the present month, the 4th from the commencement, on the 10th of October, I have a right to expect that about eighty miles of the new line, the portion between Nagkunda and Dugshai-road leading to Kalka, shall be passable for loaded animals.

In addition to this, there will have been the labour done between Chini and Wangtoo, and likewise the work on the division between Nagkunda and Rampore.

What I should earnestly propose would be to stimulate as much as possible the works for the next three months, which will be the best working season in the

the hills; and with this view, I should hope that his Lordship would sanction the expenditure advised by the Superintendent of Hill States, amounting to 5,000 rupees per month for September, October, and November for paid coolie labour, in addition to such amount of beggar or tribute labour as it may be judicious to require from the several districts. I think that if his Lordship will sanction this limited amount of expenditure, there will be little doubt of our being able by the end of November to open the whole line from Kalka to Chini for loaded animals; after which, it will be easy to calculate the precise cost, whether in labour or in money or in time, required to bring the road to any required degree of width, &c., that his Lordship may deem fitting. As the main security for the economical construction of public works depends upon the principal officer in charge and all his subordinate superintendents being free to devote their entire attention to that construction, there can be little doubt that the expenditure upon public works in India would be vastly reduced and rendered much more efficient, if a distinctly responsible accountant, separate from the engineer in charge, were given to each public works district where extensive operations are in progress.

The engineer is not an accountant by profession, and as the whole responsibility of accounting for large sums of money now devolves upon him, his anxiety to avoid ruin must force him to devote a much larger proportion of his time to his accounts office than the interests of the constructive department would warrant; and even after he has done so, to the injury of the works, I have observed that the anxiety of having large unaudited sums of expenditure hanging over him for a long period, has created a feeling almost amounting to terror, in taking the charge of public works; so that many would gladly sacrifice the increased emolument which accompanies such a charge, and rejoin their corps as military officers to avoid this dangerous responsibility.

The separation of the accounts from the constructive branch need not produce an increase of expenditure, and it would, besides allowing to the works the full time and attention of the officers charged with their construction, afford an additional security against fraud, inasmuch as the engineer's and the accountant's departments would become reciprocal checks upon each other.

I should be glad if his Lordship would permit me to prove practically the efficacy of this plan during the short time that I may be in charge of these works, for which a convenient opportunity now offers by the presence in Simla, for his health, of Mr. Graham, one of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor's accountants, who would for an allowance of 150 rupees a month undertake the accountant's duties and responsibilities connected with the new road. I think his temporary appointment for the months of September, October and November, would suffice.

To show how the counter check would act under this system, the accompanying paper, No. 3, contains the blank forms for vouchers, sustaining the expenditure both for labour and materials, with the certificates to be supplied to each class, both by the engineer's and accountant's departments; and if in pursuance of this system his Lordship could establish an imperative rule that every account should be immediately forwarded, and audited within two months of its transmission from the accountant of the works, there can be little doubt that the security of the individuals employed, as well as the impediments to fraud, would be very materially increased.

In fact, a distant audit is of little use in protecting the public, whilst it may frequently be a source of much injustice and hardship to individuals, as although every means must exist of verifying accounts at the moment the expense is incurred, it may be impossible for the public auditor to substantiate a real fraud against an accountant, as well as for an innocent accountant to remove an imputation of fraud, if the investigation be deferred for years after the facts have occurred. Procrastination in this respect unquestionably admits of proportionally extensive peculation, and makes the recovery of the sums peculated proportionally difficult, even when the charges are established. A claim for a lack of rupees is of very little value, against a man who may not have 1,000 to liquidate it.

I am getting a survey and section of the whole line prepared, which I hope shortly to be able to forward to you for his Lordship's information.

I have, &c.

(signed) *J. P. Kennedy*, Major.

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley*,

Under Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

(No. 230.)

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated
23 September 1850.

ROAD FROM DUGSHAI TO LADAKH.

1. I HAVE read the report of Major Kennedy, received on 21st instant, regarding the new road through the hills from Dugshai towards the border of Thibet, with very great satisfaction; and I beg the Secretary to convey to Major Kennedy my best thanks for the useful and interesting document he has submitted to me.

2. As I have already observed in previous minutes, the first and main object I have had in view is the formation of a road fit to be traversed by loaded animals, whereby the necessity of employing coolies for the conveyance of loads from the hills to the plains may be obviated, and the hardship inseparably connected with forced labour may be removed.

3. The greater portion of this burden is created by the conveyance of the officers of Government establishments, and stores, &c., for the troops between the plains and Simla. It is, therefore, obviously desirable that this portion of the road should be fully completed as soon as possible.

The other portion from Simla to Ladakh, intended to open up the commerce of central Asia with Hindustan, is of importance also, but its completion is of less immediate consequence.

4. While, then, I have felt no hesitation in deciding to authorise the expenditure necessary for the early completion of the road between Simla and Dugshai, I have entertained some doubts of the necessity of authorising recourse to this employment of hired labour in the line between Simla towards Ladakh, instead of adhering to the plan originally contemplated of employing only the tribute labour.

Upon mature consideration, and referring to the estimated expenditure set down by Major Kennedy in his report, I recognise the value of testing experimentally, the practicability of constructing hill roads at the cost which has been named, on the principle Major Kennedy lays down, and under the system he has sketched.

5. I have, therefore, resolved to authorise the proposed expenditure of 5,000 rupees for each of the ensuing three months; with the understanding that the road from Simla to Dugshai shall be opened to the width of 12 feet, as its ruling breadth, so as to be ready for the use of beasts of burden in the ensuing season.

6. I would beg that accurate accounts should be kept of the expenditure on the several portions of road, so as to enable the Government of India to test with accuracy the results of this experimental operation in all its parts. For the fuller accomplishment of this object, I readily accede to the proposal for the employment of an accountant during the same period on the salary named.

7. When the plans and sections are prepared, I shall be glad on my return to Simla to see them, and to confer with Major Kennedy personally on this very important branch of public works.

(signed) *Dalhousie*.

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley*,

Under Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

(No. 160.)

EXTRACT Fort William Foreign Consultations, dated 18 December 1850.

LETTER from Lieutenant *D. Briggs*, Superintendent Hindustan and Thibet Road, to Sir *H. M. Elliot*, K.C.B., Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

Simla, 20 November 1850.

I HAVE the honour to intimate, for the information of the most Noble the Governor-general, that I yesterday received charge of the Hindoostan and Thibet Road from Major Kennedy.

2. As, from his other duties, Major Kennedy may not have time to write to Government regarding the transfer of the company of sappers from his charge to mine, I beg you will request his Lordship to have the company placed under my orders.

3. I have further to request that his Lordship will be pleased to direct the publication of a General Order, appointing me to the superintendence of the Hindoostan and Thibet Road.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. Briggs*,

Superintendent Hindustan and Thibet Road.

(No. 161.)

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated 25 November 1850.

THE HILL ROAD.

1. ACKNOWLEDGE Lieutenant Briggs' letter of the 20th instant, reporting that on the previous day he had received charge of the Hindustan and Thibet Road from Major Kennedy. Acquaint him that he will be gazetted as superintendent of that road.

Gazette accordingly. Give charge of company of sappers to him.

2. Acquaint Lieutenant Briggs that on 17th September Major Kennedy addressed to me a report on the Hill Road, in which he solicited certain assistance, and stated his anticipations regarding the progress of the road and its probable completion, in the terms of the annexed extracts.*

3. A reply was immediately made on the receipt of this report, granting the aid solicited, and conveying the views of the Government regarding the execution of the road. A copy of this communication is annexed.

4. No further report of the progress of the work has been made by Major Kennedy; and as he has made over charge of the road, it is to be presumed that none is intended.

5. Lieutenant Briggs will be so good as to turn his immediate attention to the preparation of a report, showing the exact state of this work from Dugshai to Chini, at the date of his taking charge of it. He will show in detail the width to which the road has been opened, and its exact condition in its several divisions, and in each separate portion of those divisions.

Lieutenant Briggs will be so good as to forward hereafter a monthly progress report to the Governor-general; and he will specially report at the end of the three months, for which an expenditure of 15,000 rupees was sanctioned, how far the anticipations which Major Kennedy expressed in his report have been realized. As the operations then sanctioned were in various different ways of an experimental nature, and were intended to form a basis of comparison for other similar works, in respect of rapidity of execution, of system, and cost, it is manifestly requisite that Lieutenant Briggs should make his report full and accurate.

6. Address

* "The returns in my office have been realized."
"On the 6th of last June may deem fitting."

6. Address the Adjutant-general, stating that I have learnt from Lieutenant Briggs that Major Kennedy has made over to him the charge of the road. In his report, Major Kennedy stated that Major M'Murdo, Major W. Napier, and F. Freeman, esq. had afforded him assistance in the superintendence of the work. Request that the thanks of the Government for the assistance they volunteered may be conveyed to Major M'Murdo and to Major Napier, as well as to Mr. Freeman, who it is believed is with the camp of the Commander-in-chief.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *Edw. Thomas,*

Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

(No. 274.)

EXTRACT Fort William Foreign Consultations, dated 20 December 1850.

LETTER from Major *J. P. Kennedy* to Sir *H. Elliot*, K.C.B., &c. &c.

Sir,

Meerut, 24 November 1850.

I HAVE the honour to report to you, for the information of the most Noble the Governor-general, that I succeeded in making the new road from Simla to Dugshai passable for horses, and that I accompanied his Excellency the Commander-in-chief and his staff by that road, on the 16th and 17th instant, towards the plains.

In conformity to his Lordship's arrangements, I gave over charge of the new road to Lieutenant Briggs on the 17th instant, and am now on my way to Calcutta, where I hope to arrive about the 2d of December proximo.

I have, &c.

(signed) *J. P. Kennedy.*

LETTER from Lieut. *D. Briggs*, Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road, to Sir *H. M. Elliot*, K.C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General.

Sir,

Simla, 21 December 1850.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter (No. 2,730) of the 30th November, calling upon me for a report showing the exact state of the road from Dugshai to Chini on the date of my assuming charge of the work, and stating how far the anticipations which Major Kennedy expressed in his report as to rapidity of execution of system and cost have been realised.

2. As directed in your communication, I will first detail the exact condition of each division on my assuming charge, with the expenditure up to that time, which was within 15 days of the expiry of the three months, for which the sum of 15,000 Company's rupees was sanctioned. I will then detail my plans for the future, and lay before his Lordship certain propositions with reference thereto for his consideration. To render this report as clear as possible, I annex a sketch of the whole line from Dugshai to Chini.

3. From Dugshai to the Krole Mountain, a distance of 21 miles, the road was opened to a general breadth of 5 feet. At a few difficult places this was reduced to 4 feet, and round one or two spurs of the mountain temporary ramps, none exceeding 80 yards in length, had been cut to avoid precipices.

From the Krole to Kearee Ghat, 12 miles, the road was open to a breadth varying from 4 to 6 feet; and at the ghat a quarter of a mile had been opened to 12 feet.

From Kearee Ghat to the cliffs at Tara Devi, 8 miles, the road had a uniform breadth of 5 feet. At the cliffs the road was taken under them by temporary ramps for a distance of about half a mile, so as to render them passable for the time. From these cliffs to the obligatory neck under Prospect Point, 3½ miles, the road had again a uniform breadth of 5 feet.

From

From this obligatory neck to Simla, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the road was of various breadths. The first $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles varied from 4 to 5 feet, and included two temporary ramps, which rendered two difficult cliffs passable. The last two miles varied from 5 to 12 feet in width, about one mile being of the former breadth, and one mile of the latter.

4. Thus the whole distance from Dugshai to Simla, $49\frac{1}{2}$ miles, was open to a breadth varying from 4 to 12 feet, and temporarily passable for men or horses. For laden animals it could not be so considered, as the various ramps and projecting rocks opposed the free passage of such.

The number of labourers, according to returns in this office, employed on these $49\frac{1}{2}$ miles, was 86,500, of whom 39,070 were paid and 47,430 unpaid. The total expenditure on labour was *Co.'s Rs.* 7,404. 0. 4., and on superintendence *Co.'s Rs.* 939. 10. 6., or a total expenditure of *Co.'s Rs.* 8,343. 10. 10. This gives an average of 1,747 labourers per mile, and had they been all paid for, an expenditure of *Co.'s Rs.* 249. 9. per mile. As, however, more than half were unpaid men, the expenditure on labour per mile was only *Co.'s Rs.* 149. 14. for the line between Dugshai and Simla.

5. I shall now describe the conditions of the upper portion of the line from Simla to Chini on my assuming charge.

From Simla to Mahassoo, about 9 miles, was partially open to a breadth of 5 feet, but impassable, in consequence of the several cliffs that occurred being left untouched. The tunnel near Simla had been excavated 213 feet, or about one-half of its full length, but neither in breadth nor height had it attained its proper dimensions.

From Mahassoo to Teog, about 8 miles, and from Teog to Mutteeanah, six miles, the work was in a similarly incomplete state. The road was wholly lined out, and parts where the soil was easily worked had been opened to a breadth of 5 feet; but all cliffs and difficult spots had been left in their natural state.

From Mutteeanah to Nagkundah, 10 miles, much of the road had been opened to a breadth of 6 feet; but where precipices occurred the true line of the road had been left, and they were only passable by means of footpaths led under or over them.

6. The entire 33 miles of road from Simla to Nagkundah could not be considered more than half completed to a breadth of 5 feet, as the work to be done, although not equalling in extent that completed, was still infinitely more difficult and expensive. The number of coolies employed on this portion of the line was 62,888, of whom 8,775 were paid labourers, and 54,113 were unpaid. This gives an average of 1,965 coolies per mile, or (had the labour been all paid for) *Co.'s Rs.* 280. 11. 5. per mile. The actual expenditure was, on labour *Co.'s Rs.* 1,747. 11. 5., and on superintendence *Co.'s Rs.* 1,741. 5. 8., or a total expenditure per mile of *Co.'s Rs.* 105. 11. 8.

7. Between Nagkundah and Wangtoo operations had not been commenced further than picketing out the line with flags, which was done by myself on my return from Chini in October. The intended line between these points is fully determined on, and will be nearly level throughout.

8. Between Wangloo and Chini 10 miles of road had been opened to a breadth of 5 feet.

In consequence of the extensive cliffs occurring throughout this division, these 10 miles were not continuous, but were composed of portions lying between the most difficult cliffs, in some of which, however, much work had been done: 25,295 labourers were employed on this portion of the work, of which 20,429 were unpaid, and 4,866, from the Kaoloo district, who were paid, and whose wages were recovered from the Bussahir state. The number of labourers per mile was consequently 2,529; or, had they been paid for, equal to *Co.'s Rs.* 361. 4. 7. This is 112 rupees per mile dearer than the lower road between Simla and Dugshai, and is owing to the exceedingly difficult nature of the ground in the upper part of the valley of the Sutlej. Besides these 10 miles of road, the whole of the wood and iron-work for a light cattle bridge across the Sutlej near Wangloo had been prepared, the piers had been built, and all is ready to throw the bridge across at the commencement of next season.

9. The entire work that had been executed on the line up to the date of my receiving charge from Major Kennedy may thus be detailed:—

Operations had been commenced over 92½ miles of road, of which 49 miles were continuous, and of an average breadth of 5 feet, on which had been employed 86,500 labourers, making an average of 1,747 labourers per mile, and which, had they been paid for at the usual rates, would have entailed a cost of *Co.'s Rs. 249. 9. per mile.* As it was, the expenditure per mile was, for labour, *Co.'s Rs. 149. 14.,* and for superintendence, *Co.'s Rs. 18. 11. 3.*

10. Thirty-three miles were partially open to a width of five feet, on which had been employed 62,888 labourers, making an average of 1,905 men per mile, which, had they been paid, would have cost 272 Company's rupees per mile. As it was, the expenditure per mile for labour was 53 Company's rupees, and for superintendence, 52 Company's rupees.

11. Ten miles were open to a breadth of five feet, but not continuous, the labour upon which had been 25,295 coolies, or 2,529 per mile, which, had they been paid, would have been equivalent to *Co.'s Rs. 332. 11. 5. per mile.* The actual cost per mile was, on labour, *Co.'s Rs. 81. 1. 7.,* and on superintendence, *Co.'s Rs. 15. 13. 9.*

12. The total amount of labour since the commencement has been 174,673 coolies; and assuming the whole distance from Dugshai to Chini to be 166 miles, they have certainly opened out one-half to an average width of five feet.

13. Major Kennedy, in his report, states as his opinion, that 302,895 labourers should open out the whole distance to a breadth of eight feet; but, judging from the actual returns of work done, it will take 46,461 above this number to open it out to six feet. This, however, is no very great discrepancy, as the additional two feet in breadth add but little to the expense of the road. Six feet will also be ample breadth for the present requirements of the road between Simla and Chini, as such, with occasional places of passage of 10 feet in width, would be perfectly practicable for laden mules and litters. This breadth will not, however, suffice for the easy traffic of the large number of loaded animals which must be employed between Simla and Dugshai, to fulfil his Lordship's main object, that of obviating the necessity of employing coolies for the conveyance of loads from the hills to the plains, and the hardship inseparably connected with forced labour.

14. A general breadth of 12 feet, with places of passage of 18, will be required. Now as experience has shown us that it took 1,747 labourers per mile to open a five feet path over this portion, it will require, on account of the steepness of the hill sides, more than double that number to increase this width to 12 feet, or, in other words, it will require 216,166 labourers in addition to those employed, up to the date of my receiving charge, to complete the line from Dugshai to Simla to a breadth of 12 feet. The total labour employed in opening the road to this breadth will then have been 302,666 coolies, or 6,053 per mile, which had it been all paid for, would have cost 864 rupees per mile. This his Lordship will perceive is well within the estimate made by Major Kennedy in the 18th para. of his report, in which he states, "If his Lordship should decide upon the further opening of this road to a width of 18 feet generally, reduced to 12 feet at cliffs, to admit of the transport of goods upon wheel carriages, the principle we are now acting upon would accomplish this result over the whole extent of the line, at an average total cost from the commencement of about 130% per mile, supposing the whole of the coolie labour to be paid for."

15. As I understand it to be his Lordship's wish to have this portion of the line open for the return of the Government establishments in April next, I can only, after deducting Sundays, calculate on 104 working days. It will, therefore, be necessary to employ 2,078 labourers per diem, and to do this my resources are unequal.

The utmost amount of unpaid labour the Superintendent of Hill States can furnish me with on this portion of the line, is 500 coolies per diem. The balance

balance of former sums sanctioned by Government remaining in my hands, is Co.'s Rs. 6,848. 5. 1. (*vide* Account Current and Statements attached to this Report). My resources therefore are,

	No. of Labourers.
500 unpaid coolies, for 104 days - - - - -	52,000
Co.'s Rs. 6,848. 5., equal, at 7 coolies per rupee, to - - -	47,938
Total available Labourers - - - - -	99,938

16. To complete the number I conceive necessary for my object, I require 1,16,228 labourers, or in terms of money, 16,604 Company's rupees. I have proposed to the Superintendent Hill States that the districts which have neglected to furnish the number of free labourers required from them, shall be fined at the market rate of a coolie's pay for each absentee. These have been so numerous, that up to the present time, such fines, not including those for the State of Bussahir, would yield a total of 6,000 Company's rupees.

If his Lordship would be pleased to allow of the imposition of these fines, and the amount credited to the road fund, the total sum required from Government on account of labour, to open the lower portion of the line to a width of 12 feet by April next, would be 10,604 Company's rupees; and for this amount do I beg his Lordship's sanction. In this I do not include the expense of parapet walls, or rails, which may hereafter become a matter for consideration.

17. I have, in para. 6, shown that an average of 1,965 coolies per mile did not more than half open 33 miles of the upper line between Simla and Naghunda, to a breadth of five feet; and in para. 7, that an average of 2,529 labourers per mile opened out 10 miles of five-foot road between Wangtoo and Chini. Major Kennedy states that he anticipated an average of 1,682 coolies per mile would open out the whole of this to a breadth of eight feet, but he miscalculated on the nature of the ground. An average of 2,600 labourers per mile, or, assuming the distance to be 117 miles, a total of 3,04,200 coolies should suffice to construct a six-foot road from Simla to Chini. But of the 3,04,200 coolies, we have already had 88,147 up to the time of my assuming charge; so that 2,16,053 is the requisite number. Should it be required to have such a road open by the 15th of June, we can only calculate on 140 working days, and shall therefore require 1,543 labourers per diem. The Bussahir State, through which nearly the whole of the upper line runs, can furnish, I believe, 1,200 coolies per diem. The remaining 343 may be procured from neighbouring states, and paid from money due by the Bussahir State, on account of absentees of last year. The sum of 1,823 Company's rupees, or the pay of 12,761 labourers, is still due on this account. This will suffice for the payment of half the number the Bussahir State may be unable to furnish. Payment for the other moiety may perhaps be sanctioned from other funds by his Lordship.

18. The results which form the data on which these calculations are made, were obtained when a most efficient staff, chiefly of volunteers, were at Major Kennedy's disposal. I have at present only the assistance of three officers, viz., Lieutenants Dawson and Johnson and Major Cautley. The first is employed on the upper line, on a salary of 250 rupees per mensem, and his services there cannot well be dispensed with. Lieutenant Johnson is fully employed in the neighbourhood of Dugshai, and Major Cautley between that and Simla.

Another assistant, sanctioned by his Lordship, on a salary of 100 rupees per mensem, Mr. Quin, is not fitted for the duties of the superintendent of a division. I have just lost the valuable assistance of Lieutenant Hankin, of the 6th Irregular Cavalry, and feel that, under these circumstances, I cannot expect the same results as were obtainable when Major Kennedy had the assistance of nine officers.*

19. For the works between Simla and Dugshai, I am much in need of the superintendence of officers, in consequence of the rapidity of execution that is required. I have had several offers, from officers here well fitted for the duties, to

* Lieutenant Johnson, Lieutenant Hankin, Lieutenant Dawson, Major M'Murdo, Major Napier, F. Freeman, esq., Captain Weller, Major Cautley, and Lieutenant Briggs.

to lend me their services, if Government would be pleased to pay their extra expenses. I would beg of his Lordship to sanction the appointment of two of these officers, on a salary of 120 rupees each per mensem, until the work is completed. This would only entail an extra charge of 240 rupees per mensem, and six months would serve to complete the whole line to Chini.

20. The services of the European non-commissioned officers and privates of the Honourable Company's Sappers and Her Majesty's 22d Regiment have been most valuable, and I trust that his Lordship would be pleased to continue the monthly allowance of 20 rupees per man they have hitherto received.

21. The system of accounts which Major Kennedy adopted, and which is being strictly carried out by me, is such as to enable me at any time to furnish the Government with an accurate account of the expenditure on each of the several portions of the road. The services of the accountant, Mr. Graham, have been indispensably necessary in carrying out this really perfect system of road accounts; and I would beg of his Lordship being pleased to sanction the retention of Mr. Graham's valuable services for the next six months, on the salary he has been receiving, of 150 rupees per mensem.

22. The sum of my requisitions for the six months ending 30th June 1851, and which, if sanctioned by his Lordship, will enable me to open, by that date, the whole line from Dugshai to Simla, and thence to Chini, the former portion to a breadth of 12 feet and the latter to six, are—

	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>
1st. A grant from Government on account of labour on the Dugshai, and similar portion - - - - -	10,604
2d. Fines on certain Hill States on account of absentees - - - - -	6,000
3d. Fines due by the Bussahir State - - - - -	1,823
4th. The services of two officers for six months, at 120 per mensem - - - - -	1,440
5th. Accountant's salary for six months, at 150 per mensem - - - - -	900
6th. Allowance to 20 European non-commissioned officers, at 20 per mensem, for six months - - - - -	2,400
Total - - - - - <i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	23,167

Of which only 15,344 rupees is chargeable to Government.

23. As the success of these arrangements depends entirely on the regularity with which the different states furnish their quotas of free labourers, I beg that the Superintendent of Hill States may be allowed to fine any delinquent state to the amount due by it for absentees, taking each absentee at the market value of a coolie's services.

24. I have appended to this report the following statements, which I trust his Lordship will consider satisfactory.

1st. Return of labourers employed on the road from its commencement to the 15th November 1850.

2d. Return of establishment, with the salary drawn by each incumbent from the road department.

3d. Account current, with statements explanatory of every item of expenditure in each division.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. Briggs,*

Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road.

(No. 35 of 1851.)

LETTER from Lieutenant *D. Briggs*, Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road, to Sir *H. M. Elliot*, K.C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General of India.

Sir,

Simla, 4 February 1851.

As it might appear, from my report of the 21st December last, that the only obstacle to the free traffic of laden animals from the plains to Simla existed between Dugshai and this station, and that my project of opening that portion of the new road by 1st May next, if successful, would render the whole line between

between the plains and Simla practicable for beasts of burthen, I have the honour to beg you will bring to his Lordship's notice, that, since the despatch of that report, I have visited the road between the plains and Dugshai, and found, to my surprise, that it is next to an impossibility to have that portion passable for laden animals by the 1st of May, or indeed by a much later date.

2. This will, of course, render my efforts to open the line between Dugshai and Simla by that date (of the practicability of which I do not entertain a doubt, should his Lordship be pleased to accede to the propositions set forth in my report), devoid of any benefit to the public.

3. With a desire to bring this portion of the road into immediate use, I have examined the country lying between Dugshai and Kalka, and have discovered that an excellent line exists to the north of Dugshai, which, besides enabling me to shorten the road between that cantonment and Simla by ten miles, is superior to that under construction between Dugshai and Kalka in point of distance, easiness of descent, and cheapness of construction.

4. I am informed that the line in progress between Dugshai and the plains is twenty miles in length, is generally at a gradient of 10 in 100, will yet cost 60,000 rupees, and requires one year to complete it. The line I beg to draw his Lordship's attention to (and which is represented by the red line in the accompanying sketch) will reduce the distance from Dugshai to Kalka to 14 miles, will never exceed a gradient of 4 feet in 100, and may be constructed by an amount of labour not exceeding in cost 10,000 Company's rupees in two months.

5. There is another point which may favourably recommend this line to his Lordship's notice.

The Superintendent of Hill States has informed me that a road to connect the two hill stations of Dugshai and Kussowlee has been sanctioned by the Government. The line which I propose will, with two branch roads, each half a mile in length, fully, and as perfectly as may be, provide for the easy communication between these stations, and will, at the same time, afford to each easy access to the plains.

6. Should his Lordship be pleased to sanction this proposal of mine, all that I require are the services of the 3d Company of Sappers (at present employed under Dugshai) for a period of two months, and the sum of 10,000 rupees, or labour equivalent to it, from which ought to be deducted the amount sanctioned by the Military Board for the line between Dugshai and Kussowlee, as the line proposed by me meets all the requirements of it.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. Briggs,*

Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road.

(A true copy.)

(signed) *H. M. Elliot,*

Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

- MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated
14 February 1851.

SIMLA AND DUGSHAI ROAD.

1. THE report of Lieutenant Briggs shows that the anticipations formed by Major Kennedy, and held out in his report, have not been fulfilled. The road was open for the journey of the Commander-in-chief from Simla to Dugshai in the end of November, but it was only rendered passable by temporary expedients of ramps and wooden stages, carrying it round all the chief difficulties in the way.

Although the expectations which I was encouraged to form have not been fulfilled, and although the road from Dugshai to Simla will require both more money and more time to finish it than was supposed, I think that the progress

which has been made is satisfactory, and that the work will be well worth the additional money which will be required to complete it.

2. I continue, as I have declared myself from the first, to be especially anxious for the formation of that portion of the road which lies between Simla and the plains, since the opening of that line for beasts of burthen will at once put an end to the worst and largest part of the oppressive system of begaree which it was intended to remove.

I wish Lieutenant Briggs, therefore, to continue to direct his attention to the formation of this part of the line in particular, on the scale specified in my former letter. If any diminution of that scale should be desirable at particular points, by reason of the difficulty of the work, and its consequent expense, Lieutenant Briggs will be so good as to report specially thereupon.

3. The neglect and apathy of the chiefs in regard to a work which is so greatly for the advantage of their people, are to be regretted; but the work cannot be allowed to fail on that account, nor can the chiefs be permitted to evade the plain obligations of their subordinate condition as tributaries.

4. It is not necessary, nor does it appear to me to be expedient, to levy the fines proposed upon the several chiefs whose coolies have absconded; I think it better to overlook the faults of the past, and to confine my instructions to providing against their recurrence in the future.

With this view the quota of labourers which each chief may equitably be called upon to furnish for the formation of roads through his territory should first be fixed; the value of their labour, at the market rate, should then be ascertained, and the chief should be required to pay the sum to which it may amount in cash to the British Government, who will then hire the labourers necessary to complete the work which the chief was bound to perform.

Before enforcing this payment by the several chiefs, the Superintendent of Hill States will be careful to explain to them the nature of this measure, and to show that their own indifference or want of control over their subjects has compelled the Government to have recourse to it.

5. The additional aid of two officers on the allowance named shall be given to Lieutenant Briggs, on condition that these officers are already in the hills absent from regimental duty, and that thus additional removals shall not be caused by the grant.

I have no objection to continue the assistance of the serjeants or overseers, and of the accountant.

6. The additional expense involved in all this, will be considerable. A sum of 15,000 rupees has already been granted and expended. Lieutenant Briggs solicits, in various items, an additional grant of 23,000 rupees. Though this will swell the expense beyond what was anticipated, still it will complete a work of great value at a comparatively small expense. The expenditure will be well bestowed, not merely as effecting the abolition of an oppressive system, but as a measure of economy, which will annually save to the Government a large sum, now necessarily expended in the payment of the porters for the carriage of the public establishments connected with the Government when in the Upper Provinces, with army head quarters, and with the stores for troops quartered in the hills.

7. The quota to be fixed for each chief, and the sum which will consequently be exigible from him in commutation of the labour, should be submitted for the approval of the Board of Administration. Monthly progress reports will be sent direct to me by Lieutenant Briggs.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. M. Elliot,*
Secretary to Government of India with the
Governor-General.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated
14 February 1851.

LIEUTENANT BRIGGS' PROPOSED ROAD FROM DUGSHAI TO KALKA.

1. If the facts be as Lieutenant Briggs states; if a road from Kalka to Dugshai can be made 14 miles long instead of 20, on a gradient of 4 to the 100 instead of 10 to the 100 feet; to be completed in two months, whereas, the present road, long in progress, cannot be finished under 12; and if all this can be done for 10,000 rupees, instead of 60,000 required for the completion of the existing plan, in addition to the sums already expended, there can be no doubt of the advantage of adopting Lieutenant Briggs' view.

2. But these facts appear to me to be very strange, and to call for further inquiry. Transmit Mr. Briggs' letter and sketch to the Superintending Engineer at Umballa; request his immediate attention and full reply to it.

Call for an immediate and concise report on the Kalka road, stating the length, the gradient, the dimensions, the date when commenced, the date at which its completion is expected, the money already expended on it, and the money required to complete it.

3. Inform Lieutenant Briggs that the facts he has stated appear to me to call for inquiry, and that I have referred his letter, and will form my judgment upon it and upon the reply when the latter is received.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. M. Elliot,*
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

(No. 3687.)

LETTER from Lieutenant-Colonel *J. T. Boileau*, Superintending Engineer N. W. Provinces, to Sir *Henry Elliot*, K. C. B., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.

Sir,

Camp, Umballah, 24 February 1851.

I HAVE the honour of acknowledging the receipt (yesterday) of your letter, No. 494, dated the 17th of February current, forwarding, by desire of the most Noble the Governor-general, a letter from Lieutenant Briggs, Superintendent of the Thibet and Hindoostan Road, No. 35, dated the 4th instant, with sketch, proposing a new line of road from Kalka to Dugshai, and, in compliance with his Lordship's instructions, beg to make the following observations in reply.

2. A statement is submitted with this letter, exhibiting in detail all the particulars of construction of Lieutenant-colonel R. Napier's road from Kalka to Dugshai. The length from Kalka to the four cross roads in the centre of the cantonments at Dugshai is 17 miles 1,644 yards, or nearly 18 miles, of which distance:

2 miles - - - is at a gradient of 7 in 100

8 miles 1,200 yards is at a gradient of 4 in 100

6 miles 0,004 yards is at a gradient of $2\frac{1}{2}$ in 100

and 1 mile 0,440 yards is level;

whence, if the incline were uniform along the whole road, the gradients would be as follows; viz.

From Kalka to the four cross roads in the

centre of the cantonments of Dugshai - 3 feet 596 in 100 = $2^{\circ} 04'$.

From ditto to the Parade - - - - 3 feet 573 in 100 = $2^{\circ} 03'$.

The total rise from Kalka is about 3,405 feet.

3. Lieutenant Briggs, in the fourth paragraph of his letter, No. 35, to your address, states, on information which he has received, that the road (Lieutenant-colonel Napier's) from Dugshai to the plains is 20 miles in length, is generally at a gradient of 10 in 100, and that the line of road which he proposes to adopt,

will reduce the distance from Dugshai to Kalka to 14 miles, and will never exceed a gradient of 4 feet in 100. Now, the slightest inquiry on the part of the Superintendent Thibet and Hindoostan Road into the facts of the incorrect and exaggerated information which he had received, would at once have satisfied him of its inaccuracy, and have prevented (as it ought to have done) the submission of such a loose report to the Governor-general. Twenty miles are equal to 115,600 feet, which, at 10 feet in 100, would give the rise from Kalka to Dugshai, 11,560 feet; to which add 1,800 feet, being about the height of Kalka above the level of the sea, and we shall have 12,360 feet for the height of Dugshai above the same level, or more than double the height of its highest peak (5,760 feet), and equal to the most elevated point of the Chor mountain; this simple arithmetical computation would have shown Lieutenant Briggs how greatly he had been misinformed, and it was certainly his duty to have made it.

4. Again, in regard to the proposed line which is to reduce the distance between Dugshai and Kalka from 20 to 14 miles, *i. e.*, more than one-fifth, and, at the same time, to diminish the inclination from 10 to 4 feet in 100, *i. e.*, three-fifths, I will only remark, that if the same extreme points are taken in both lines of road, the result, as stated by Lieutenant Briggs, is a physical impossibility; while, if the same points are not taken, the comparison between the two lines of road does not hold good, and the statement is calculated only to mislead. A road of 14 miles made from Dugshai to Kalka would have a slope of 15 feet, 577 in 100, equivalent to an angle of $8^{\circ} 57'$, on the supposition that another road between the same points, of 20 miles in length, had a slope of 10 in 100, *i. e.*, its inclination would be one-half greater, instead of three-fifths less, as assumed by Lieutenant Briggs. Such careless and inaccurate statements cannot be too strongly condemned.

5. Of the exact length of the proposed new line, I am not able to give a precise opinion. The sketch submitted by the superintendent of the road has a scale attached to it, which, if correct, would make the old road 11 miles and 7 furlongs, and the proposed new one 10 miles and 6 furlongs only. Both distances are manifestly too short, and either the scale or the sketch is therefore inaccurate. The Lawrence Asylum is the only place on the line between Dugshai and Kussowlee which is identified by name. I have, therefore, marked on the sketch with red ink letters, points which I suppose to be as follows; viz.

A. The ridge connecting the N. end of the Dugshai Hill with the hill to the N. E. known as the Chewa Ridge.

B. The point on the north ridge, or spur of the Dugshai Hill, on the road to Subathoo, where the pathway to Kussowlee branches off.

C. The hill of Dhurunpore.

D. The bazaar at the foot of the Kussowlee Hill, commonly known as the "Gulkhur Huttee."

The distance from C. to D. has been measured by the executive engineer, Captain J. Anderson, along the line proposed by him for construction, both on the north and on the south sides of the range, and is just $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length; from C. to the four cross-roads in Dugshai is about four miles more: total from the Gulkhur Huttee to Dugshai, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

From Gulkhur Huttee to the Pioneer Camp P. in the	
sketch is about	6 miles.
And thence to Kalka	5 „

which would make the distance from the four cross roads in the centre of the station at Dugshai, by Lieutenant Briggs' proposed new line, $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles, or rather more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile longer than it is by Lieutenant-colonel Napier's road.

I do not give the above distances with full confidence in their exactness, but I believe they are very nearly correct.

A more direct line from Dugshai to the plains appears to be through the station of Kussowlee. Its length is as follows; viz.

From

	<i>Miles. Yards.</i>	
From Dugshai to the Gulkhur Huttee, as above	- 8	880
From Gulkhur to Kussowlee Parade	- 1	340
From Kussowlee Parade to Kalka	- 8	1,162
TOTAL	- 18	0,622

but this distance is affected with any error in the estimated line from Dugshai to the Gulkhur Huttee.

6. The line of road which Lieutenant Briggs proposes to adopt was examined by Lieutenant-colonel Napier, and by Lieutenant Drummond, of the Engineers, before the road now under construction was marked out, and it was abandoned for two reasons; viz.

1st. Because it was believed to be longer than the present line; and,

2d. Because the ascent up the spur or ridge on the north side of the hill at Dugshai could only be effected at a moderate incline (4 in 100) by making numerous zigzags, which are inconvenient, and would have added much to the travelling distance.

Reasons, in my opinion, sufficiently strong to justify the selection made by Lieutenant-colonel Napier of the present line from Kalka to the Dugshai Cantonment.

7. It must also be borne in mind, that the object of the present road was simply to afford an easy communication between Kalka (or Pinjor) and the station of Dugshai, for which purpose it was necessary to carry it quite into the ground occupied for the cantonment. The road was not considered in reference to its extension in any direction, but was solely intended for the use of the troops and the traffic contingent on their wants. This end will be completely effected as soon as the line is open, and I am of opinion that the new line proposed by Lieutenant Briggs would not, as regards the cantonment at Dugshai, offer one single advantage over the present line, while it has the one great disadvantage of a difficult access to the occupied portion of the hill from the north spur, or of a great increase in length, if carried (at a moderate incline of say 4 in 100) along either side.

8. I concur entirely in the advantage of opening that portion of the new line which lies between Dugshai and Kussowlee; the troops at both stations suffer great inconvenience from want of the means of communication with each other by the direct line. The necessity for the construction of this road was brought to the notice of the Superintendent Hill States by the late Major-general Sir Dudley Hill, K. C. B., commanding the Sirhind Division, in a letter, No. 153, dated the 19th of August 1850; but Mr. Edwards in passing on the General's representation to the Board of Administration at Lahore, recommended (28th August 1850) that it should be made over to the military department for the two following reasons; viz.

1st. Because it was required simply for convenience of communication between the two military cantonments of Kussowlee and Dugshai; and,

2d. Because the line passes through the districts of Bughat and Pattiala, the zemindars of which part of the country are already employed to so great an extent in constructing the new line of road between Simla and the plains, that any further call on them for labour would subject the people to considerable inconvenience and hardship.

If the new line from Dugshai be adopted as a part of the road from Simla to the plains, it will cease to be required simply for convenience of communication between the military cantonments of Dugshai and Kussowlee; and in respect of the second reason, I hardly see any possibility of the work being progressed satisfactorily under the military department, who are dependant on the hill districts for their labourers, if the demand for these men for the new road from Simla towards the plains, has been so great that no further call for their services can be justly made. The line of road has not been yet sanctioned in the military department. The Military Board, in their letter No. 5426, dated the

21st of November 1850, have simply directed that an estimate for repairing the road, as sanctioned by Government on the 30th of September 1850, may be submitted.

9. With respect to the new line of road in its entire length, proposed to be constructed by Lieutenant Briggs, *i. e.*, from the points E. to F. in the sketch, I am of opinion, if it can be opened for traffic for even twice the sum stated by him, *i. e.*, for 20,000 rupees, that it will be advisable to give it sanction; the saving of distance between Dugshai Hill and Simla will certainly be great, as the whole detour round the Chiewa Range will be saved, and the troops will have the benefit of that portion which lies between Dugshai and the Gulkhur Huttee.

10. But for purposes of communication between Kalka and Dugshai, Lieutenant-colonel Napier's road, under any circumstances, has the preference, and it should be progressed to completion with all possible vigour. The whole of the upper portion, *i. e.*, from the Kossilla River to Dugshai, is finished (the small Kossilla Bridge excepted), and the earthwork on the Kalka side of the Kossilla may be completed in 2½ or 3 months, as for this I have a sufficient sum of money at my disposal. The great obstacle has been and still is the blasting of a great mass of rock on which the 3d Company of Pioneers are engaged, marked P. in the sketch, and as their withdrawal would at once put a stop to our operations at this difficult point of the road, and entirely prevent the possibility of its being completed within any assignable time, I beg earnestly to request that the Governor-general will not accord his sanction to the withdrawal of the 3d Company of Pioneers from their present employ until the road on which they are at work shall be opened out for use.

11. The annexures of your letter under acknowledgment are herewith returned.

I have, &c.

(signed) *J. T. Boileau*, Lieut.-Col.
Superintending Engineer, N. W. P.

STATEMENT exhibiting the Particulars of Construction of Lieutenant-Colonel *R. Napier's* Road
from *Kalka* to *Dugshai*.

LENGTH OF THE ROAD.

	Intervals.	Total Distance.
From Kalka to the large bridge over the Kossilla River, between the villages of Kooraree and Kooramg - - - - -	<i>M. Y.</i> 6.0004	<i>M. Y.</i> 6.0004
From the large bridge over the Kossilla to a small bridge under the village of Deep - - - - -	0.0407	12.0411
From the small bridge to the Nahun road - - - - -	3.1220	15.1631
From the Nahun road to the boundary of cantonments at Dugshai -	0.1433	16.1304
From the boundary to the four cross roads in centre of cantonments	1.0340	17.1644
From the four cross roads to the parade - - - - -	.1700	18.1584
Total Distance - - -	18.1584	

GRADIENTS.

	Intervals.	Total Lengths.	Gradients.	Rise in Feet.	Total Rise.
	<i>M. Y.</i>	<i>M. Y.</i>			
From Kalka to the large Kossilla Bridge - - -	6.0004	6.0004	2½ in 100	792.3	792.3
From large Kossilla Bridge to 11th mile - - -	4.1756	11.0000	4 in 100	1055.5	1847.8
From 11th mile to 12½ mile - - -	1.0440	12.0440	level - - -	-	1847.8
From 12½ mile to 13½ mile - - -	1.0880	13.1320	7 in 100	554.4	2402.2
From 13½ mile to 15½ mile - - -	1.1320	15.0880	4 in 100	369.9	2771.8
From 15½ mile to 16 mile - - -	0.0880	16.0000	7 in 100	184.8	2956.6
From 16th mile to four cross roads in cantonments - - -	1.1644	17.1664	4 in 100	408.5	3365.1
From four cross roads to parade grounds - - -	.1700	18.1584	0.78 in 100	40.	3405.1

WIDTH.

From Kalka, for about 6 miles, 14 feet, i. e., roadway, 16 feet, drain, 2 feet.
The remainder (about) 11 miles, 16 " " " 14 " " 2 "

EXPENSE.

Expended up to 1st February 1851 - - -	about Co.'s Rs.	2,10,000
Wanted to complete, chiefly bridges - - -	" "	30,000
Total - - -	Co.'s Rs.	2,40,000

TIME OCCUPIED.

Tracing commenced in June 1847, and opened out in October 1847. The earthwork may be completed in 2½ or 3 months, but the bridges will take the greater part of a year to put up.

(signed) *J. T. Boileau*, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Superintending Engineer, N. W. P.

(True Copy.)

(signed) *L. C. Bailey*, Under Secretary to the
Government of India with the Governor-General.

(No. 92.)

LETTER from Lieutenant *D. Briggs*, Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road, to Sir *H. M. Elliot*, K. C. B., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.

Sir,

Camp in Dugshai, 8 March 1851.

In continuation of my former letter, regarding an advantageous line for a road between Dugshai and the plains, I have the honour, after a close examination and survey, to submit for the consideration of the most Noble the Governor-general, the accompanying sketch, with the following remarks. My anxiety to avoid delay must be my apology for the roughness of the sketch.

2. The broad sienna line in the sketch represents the road under construction, by the superintending engineer of the division, between Dugshai and Kalka, the opening of which is delayed on account of certain works in the neighbourhood of the spots marked as "site of proposed bridge." These works, I am of opinion, will be expensive, and will occupy a considerable time in construction.

3. I am informed that his Lordship has been pleased to sanction the construction of a road between the military cantonments of Kussowhie and Dugshai. An unbroken chain of hills extends between these stations, on which there are several obligatory points which leave no choice as to the best line for a road. That shown in the sketch by the double red line from A. to B., is the only one that can be adopted. It is, with the exception of a small portion, a perfect level. From points A. and B., the road must ascend to the two cantonments,

as shown by the blue lines, A. C. and B. D. The ascents, though considerable, will be practicable for laden animals.

4. The distance from A. to B. is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. What I beg to propose for his Lordship's consideration is, that the new road from Simla to the plains might be made presently available, by extending one line from A. to meet the new road at E., and another from B., running down the Kussowlie ridge to meet the Dugshai and Kalka road at a point F., $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from Kalka, which $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles are already nearly completed. The whole distance from E. to F. is 13 miles, of which the portion from A. to B. (or $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles), have already received his Lordship's sanction; the remaining $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles run through so favourable a country, that the cost of construction would not exceed 650 Company's rupees per mile, or 5,500 Company's rupees for the whole distance.

5. Should the superintending engineer of the division be unprepared to open, at once, the portion between A. and B., I could, with his Lordship's permission, do so simultaneously with the other portions at the rate of 800 rupees per mile, or 3,600 Company's rupees for the $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

6. Thus, with an immediate outlay of 9,100 Company's rupees, I propose, within two months after receiving his Lordship's sanction, to render the whole line from Simla to the plains available for laden animals. I may state that in point of slope and distance, this line is superior to the road now constructing, being in no place steeper than $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in 100; and from E. to Kalka, only $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length. By the present road this distance is 22 miles, a portion of which is at a gradient of 10 feet in 100.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. Briggs,*

Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road.

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley,*

Under Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General.

KALKA AND DUGSHAI ROAD.

THERE is one point in Colonel Boileau's letter* on which I would beg to have information at once.

He says, in para. 10, that if the Company of Sappers were removed, he could not finish the road within any assignable time. I would beg him to say what time he would assign for the opening of Colonel Napier's line of road between Kalka and Dugshai if the means he asks be given, and the Government should request that the work may be completed with all practicable speed.

27 March 1851.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. M. Elliot,*

Secretary to the Government of India with the
Governor-General.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

LINE OF ROAD FROM DUGSHAI, BY KUSSOWLIE TO KALKA.

SEND copy of Colonel Boileau's reply to Lieutenant Briggs. Observe, that at this stage I do not express any opinion of my own, but that there is enough in
Colonel

* From Colonel Boileau (3687), 24th February 1851.

Colonel Boileau's letter to impugn so gravely the accuracy of Lieutenant Briggs' calculations and estimates, that it disinclines me to sanction any further schemes until that letter can be refuted. The estimates for the completion of the road from Simla to Dugshai, both in respect of money and time, have been so wide of the actual result, that I do not consider myself justified in undertaking a fresh line of road till the completion of the first one shall have practically shown how much time and how much money will really be required for the construction of roads in the hills, under the system pursued in the Simla line.

29 March 1851.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley,*
Under Secretary to the Government of India with the
Governor-General.

(No. 153.)

LETTER from Lieutenant *D. Briggs*, Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road, to Sir *H. M. Elliot*, K.C.B., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.

Sir,

Simla, 2 May 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1030 of the 7th ultimo, enclosing a letter from the Superintending Engineer North-Western Provinces, on the subject of a new road from Dugshai to the plains, proposed in my letters Nos. 35 and 92, of the 4th of February and 8th of March.

2. Lieutenant-colonel Boileau condemns the transmission to the most Noble the Governor-general of statements put forth in my letter, derived from information which he declares to be incorrect. These statements have reference to the existing road between Dugshai and the plains (or Colonel Napier's), not to the new line proposed by me. They cannot, therefore, be said to impugn the accuracy of my calculations and estimates for that scheme. I frankly acknowledge my error in making any statements in a communication for the perusal of the most Noble the Governor-general, based simply upon information derived from others, although that information was received from practical men, whose authority might have been considered good.

3. Lieutenant-colonel Boileau endeavours to prove the inaccuracy of my statements regarding Colonel Napier's road, by showing that, if correct, the altitude of Dugshai must exceed that of the highest peak of the Chor Mountains.

This is an unfair deduction, as he must know that I could not have visited the road in question (as I stated in my letter I had done) without observing that the lower portions are so nearly level, as to render their gradient imperceptible. The entire ascent from Kalka appeared to be thrown into the last eight or ten miles; and this ascent, from my own observation and on the authority of officers who had visited the road oftener than myself, I stated to be generally at 10 feet in 100.

4. That I ought to have personally ascertained this, I am fully aware; but my own proper duties were too numerous to afford time for more than the measurement of the new line I proposed. I have since, however, had an opportunity of carefully taking the gradients of upwards of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Colonel Napier's road, measured from the spot where the Hindoostan and Thibet road joins it. The following actual measurements show that Colonel Boileau in his statement has erred as greatly as I did in mine, and that my report was not so inaccurate as he declared it to be. Lieutenant-colonel Boileau makes it appear that no part of the road exceeds 7 feet in 100 in slope, whereas in the distances measured by me,—

84 feet have a gradient of from 10 to 11 feet in 100.						
660	-	ditto	-	ditto	-	9 to 10 „ 100.
1,504	-	ditto	-	ditto	-	8 to 9 „ 100.
4,788	-	ditto	-	ditto	-	7 to 8 „ 100.
5,237	-	ditto	-	ditto	-	6 to 7 „ 100.
5,918	-	ditto	-	ditto	-	5 to 6 „ 100.
908	-	ditto	-	ditto	-	4 to 5 „ 100.
475	-	ditto	-	ditto	-	3 to 4 „ 100.

That is, 7,037 feet, or upwards of one-third of the distance measured has a greater slope than 7 feet in 100.

5. It is not for the purpose of cavilling at Colonel Boileau's statements, or censuring Colonel Napier's road, that I have prepared this table of gradients, or instituted a comparison between the two lines of road; it is solely that the great advantages derived from the easy slope of the Hindoostan and Thibet road may not be entirely nullified by its junction with one on which there are such gradients as 9 and 10 feet in 100; for although there may be but 100 yards so steep, it is sufficient to prevent the carriage of loads, whose weight upon the easier gradients would not be too great for the draught power.

6. As the sketch submitted with my letter, No. 35, was drawn merely to give his Lordship an idea of the direction of the proposed line, I am not surprised that Colonel Boileau found it incorrect when proved by the compasses. Had I possessed a plan of Colonel Napier's road, I should not have represented it in my sketch by dotted lines, which are generally used to represent objects whose positions are undetermined; nor should I have committed the error so severely commented on by Colonel Boileau, of stating it to have been 20 miles in length when it was only 18.

7. These errors all arose from my eagerness to facilitate with all possible expedition, the communication between Simla and the plains, and to obviate for the future the necessity of employing coolies for the conveyance of loads. They will not, I trust, be viewed by his Lordship in the harsh light thrown upon them by Colonel Boileau, as my intention in submitting the proposition could have no other aim but the public good. I still maintain, that in every way the new line proposed by me is the most advantageous that can be selected, and that unless it be adopted as the extension of the Simla and Dugshai road to the plains, no carriages will ever be used in the transport of loads. Beasts of burden will even experience difficulty in ascending a slope of 7 feet in 100.

8. I regret to learn from the 2d para. of your letter, that the most Noble the Governor-general considers the actual results obtained upon the Dugshai and Simla road to be so wide of the estimates, both in respect of money and time, that he does not consider himself justified in sanctioning more schemes for hill roads at present. I beg respectfully to submit, that in a work of this kind, the time occupied in its completion must entirely depend on the number of labourers employed. In my estimate, dated 21st December last, I calculated that 2,078 labourers would be required for 104 working days, to complete the road from Simla to Dugshai to a breadth of 12 feet, and that the necessary outlay would be about 23,000 Company's rupees. The following statement will show his Lordship, that the number of labourers whose attendance on the works the authorities have been able to command, is far short of that I calculated upon; and that at present, I have every prospect of effecting a saving both in money and time on the estimate.

STATEMENT.

Number of working days from 1st December 1850 to 21st April 1851	-	91.
Average number of labourers per diem during that period	-	1,868.
Expenditure on estimate up to 21st April 1851, about	-	Co.'s Rs. 12,647.
Length of road remaining to complete on the 21st April 1851, about	-	6 ½ miles.
Probable period of completion, including bridges	-	1st June 1851.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. Briggs*, Lieutenant,
Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road.

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley*,
Under Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General.

DUGSHAI ROAD.

1. ACQUAINT Lieutenant Briggs that my observations on the new road did not apply exclusively to the period of his direction.

Making every deduction for the considerations stated by Lieutenant Briggs, the road has not been finished for the money or in the time that was originally anticipated.

2. Address Lieutenant-colonel Boileau; state that I have received Lieutenant Briggs' reply on his observations. I do not desire to have a controversial correspondence entered upon, I therefore do not transmit the letter to Colonel Boileau; but as he and Lieutenant Briggs are not agreed as to measurements and gradients, I request that he will instruct the officer in charge of the Dugshai Road to send me a plan and section, showing measurements and gradients on the work accurately.

This work cannot have been so long in hand without sections of this kind being prepared, I expect accordingly to receive them forthwith.

I request Colonel Boileau to state when the officer in charge of that road will have the road from Kalka to Dugshai ready for use.

7 May 1851.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley,*

Under Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

(No. 111.)

LETTER from Lieutenant-Colonel *J. T. Boileau*, Superintending Engineer North-west Provinces, to Sir *Henry Elliot*, K.C.B., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, Simla.

Sir,

Umballa, 8 May 1851.

IN continuation of my letter No. 4636, dated the 30th April 1851, I have the honour of stating, for the information of the most Noble the Governor-general, that I inspected the road from Kalka towards Dugshai, as far as the point where it crosses the Kossilla River, on the 6th instant, and beg to report as follows:

2. The earthwork of this portion of the road is so far advanced as to give reasonable expectation that it will be completed by the setting in of the ensuing rains, *i. e.*, in about six weeks.

3. The particular portion of a rock, on the reduction of which, by gunpowder, Captain M'Mullin's Company of Sappers were employed, as reported in the 10th paragraph of my letter No. 3687, dated 24th February 1851, to your address, has been transferred to a gang of coolies, and is now under process of reduction by pick and lever, and will be brought down to the road level (nearly 35 feet) at the same time as the earthwork will be completed, *i. e.*, about the middle of June 1851.

4. There remain still two masses of rock at the crossing to be removed before the bridge can be set up to complete the communication between the right and left banks of the river, estimated by Captain M'Mullin as follows; *viz.*

On the right bank, hard rock, 360,000 cubic feet. On the left bank, rock of a more friable description, 800,000 cubic feet. The former would, at the ordinary rate of progress made by the Company of Sappers at work, *viz.*, about 30,000 cubic feet per month, occupy them at least 12 months; the latter Captain M'Mullin thinks he could dispose of at the rate of 50,000 cubic feet per month, or 16 months for the work on the left bank of the river, on which he is at present engaged.

5. No specific project has been submitted for bridging the Kossilla, or for making the immediate approaches to the bridge on the right bank. I am of opinion,

opinion, from a careful inspection of the locality, that it will not be necessary to blast the face of the rock down to form the roadway, but that it may be done more expeditiously with equal efficiency, and at a less expense, by a system of bridges thrown from ledge to ledge along the face of the precipice. This work, however, could not, under any circumstances, but especially under present superintendence, be completed before the latter part or end of the year 1852, *i. e.*, not within twenty (20) months from this date. Captain Anderson's state of health is such as renders him incapable of undergoing much exertion or exposure at the present time, while the duties of the 12th Division Public Works, though somewhat lighter than they have been, are still greatly beyond what it is in the power of one officer to discharge, either with satisfaction to himself or his superiors, or with due regard to the interests of the public service.

6. I would beg leave to observe, that before the outbreak at Mooltan in 1848, three Companies of Pioneers were employed upon the road between Kalka and Dugshai, and that on the return of the troops to the provinces, after the close of the Punjab war, I applied to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, through the Quartermaster-general of the Army, for the services of two Companies of the corps, to be again employed in blasting the rocks on the lower portion of the road. One company only was, however, sent, and the large quantity of rock which still remains to be removed is attributable mainly to this circumstance.

I have, &c.

(signed) *J. T. Boileau*, Lieut.-Col.,
Superintending Engineer, N. W. Provinces.

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley*,
Under-Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

(No. 191.)

LETTER from Lieutenant-Colonel *J. T. Boileau*, Superintending Engineer, North-western Provinces, to Sir *Henry Elliot*, K. C. B., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, Simla.

Sir,

Umballa, 14 May 1851.

I HAVE the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your letter No. 1408, dated the 10th of May current, and, in reply, of informing you that I have this day directed the executive engineer of the 12th division to forward to you forthwith, for submission to the most Noble the Governor-general, a plan and longitudinal section of the road from Kalka to Dugshai, with distances and gradients correctly delineated; also to report immediately to you when he will have the road open for use.

2. My letter No. 111, dated the 8th instant, to your address, contained a report of the earliest date on which, in my opinion, it is probable that the road from Kalka to Dugshai can, under any circumstances, be opened. Captain Anderson's health is so indifferent that he cannot give personal attention to the works; and to ensure the completion of the road, including bridges, by the end of the year 1852, it would be desirable, if not absolutely necessary, that the work be placed under the independent superintendence of an active and practically experienced officer.

3. I omitted to notice, in my former communication, that a bridge will be required over the stream which disembogues from the hills at Kalka, and which, after heavy rain, becomes in a few minutes an impassable torrent.

I have, &c.

(signed) *J. T. Boileau*, Lieut.-Col.,
Superintending Engineer, N. W. Provinces.

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley*,
Under-Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

(No. 32.)

LETTER from Captain *J. Anderson*, Executive Engineer, 12th Division, P. W.
to Sir *Henry M. Elliot*, K. C. B., Secretary to Government of India.

Executive Engineer's Office, 12th Division, P. W.,
Umballa, 14 May 1851.

Sir,

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BOILEAU, superintending engineer, having forwarded a copy of your letter No. 1408, dated 10th May 1851, to his address, and directed me to address you direct regarding the gradients of the Dugshai and Kalka Road, I have the honour to state for the information of the most Noble the Governor-general, that the whole of the line of road was traced out, and the excavation of portions of it in progress previous to my receiving charge of the Sirhind Division; and this having been done by Lieutenant-colonel Napier, assisted by Lieutenant H. Drummond, of the engineers, I considered the line fixed, and that my only duty was to excavate it the requisite width; and consequently no longitudinal section was taken by me. I am therefore unable to supply the sketch called for at once, but I shall take steps to have the slope of the road carefully taken, and a section forwarded to you, with as little delay as possible.

I beg, in addition, to state that in widening out the road, a gunner's quadrant was used by the overseer, and the result, as well as I can recollect, agreed generally with the information regarding the gradients I received when I assumed charge of the division, and which was, I believe, embodied in a letter from the superintending engineer to your address.

With regard to the date of the completion of the road, I beg to state that it will be open for laden cattle passing the places where the bridges are to be, by temporary road, in all next month; but I am unable to state when the road, bridges and all will be completely finished, as it depends upon the time it will take the Company of Pioneers to blast away the rock on both sides of the Kossilla River, where the large bridge is to be, and where a great deal of blasting remains to be done. I have called upon the officer commanding the Company of Pioneers to state, as nearly as he can, when he thinks that his company will be able to finish the work, but have not yet received his reply.

I have, &c.

(signed) *J. Anderson*, Captain,
Executive Engineer, 12th Division, P. W.

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley*,
Under Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

LETTER from Lieutenant *D. Briggs*, Superintendent of Hindoostan and Tibet Road, to Sir *H. M. Elliot*, K. C. B., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.

Sir,

Simla, 21 May 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1407, of the 10th instant, intimating that the most Noble the Governor-general has remarked the discrepancy, in point of money and time, between the estimates submitted for this road and the actual results obtained. I beg to offer a few remarks on the chief causes of this discrepancy.

2. When the estimates were under preparation, my predecessor and myself were led to expect that a certain number of labourers from each of the Hill States would be regularly furnished for the construction of the road: some of these were to receive pay, others were to give tribute labour. It was believed that when instructed in the use of the tools placed in their hands for the first time, the hill men would, from their superior physical power, prove at least equal to the labourers of the plains; and that they might have every inducement to work well and willingly, a system of weekly payments was introduced, that they might, as speedily as possible, reap the reward of their labours; thus we

thought ourselves warranted in estimating the labour of each hill man as equivalent to that of the plains man.

3. Scarcely had operations commenced when it was found that no regularity was observed by the native chiefs in the supply of labourers. Parties were relieved, or left the works at their own pleasure; gangs that, after much trouble, had been instructed in their duties, were relieved at the moment we hoped to reap the benefit of such instruction, by others as ignorant as they had been on their first arrival. Ignorant not only as to the use of our implements, but ignorant as to the language and wishes of our overseers and sepoys; unaccustomed to control, they obeyed no orders but when accompanied with a threat of punishment, and then performed them with sulkiness and inertness.

4. The parties were separated into working gangs, and placed in charge of an officer to whom an adequate number of tools were given. For the first few days the attendance of labourers was generally regular; then parties of 20, 30, and 50 would leave the works until perhaps not one-fourth of the gang remained, during which time tools lay unemployed, overseers idle and disheartened, and the work almost at a stand-still.

When at last the numbers were down to so low an ebb that the native chiefs (threatened by the Superintendent of the Hill States) became alarmed, a large influx of wild hill-men was poured upon the road, a sufficiency of tools was wanting for so great an increase, and could not be procured at a moment's warning; the mass was utterly ignorant of the work required of them, and the overseers, for a time, perfectly at a loss how to place them. After much loss of time, order might be again restored; the parties began to understand what was required of them, and work progressed as it ought, when the same system of desertion, or frequent relief, again interrupted it, and frustrated the hope of its speedy completion which temporary success had raised.

5. I beg his Lordship to believe that I am not describing a solitary case, but a system which has most materially affected the work since its commencement. This very day I have received reports from two officers, one intimating that he has only 40 men present out of a party that should be 200 strong, and the other, that an entire gang of 300 men have deserted during the night. Of the labourers furnished by the native states, it is notorious that the greater number consist of either old men or children; incapable of doing work at home, they are sent to fill up the quotas required for the road. On my last tour of inspection to Dugshai, I selected from a party of 350, between 40 and 50 men so old as to be unable to lift the larger-sized tools, and a similar number of children under 10 years of age.

6. It is my firm conviction that the road might have been constructed in one-half the time, and with one-half the number of labourers, could we have availed ourselves of regular workmen, similar to those employed on the plains.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. Briggs,*

Superintendent Hindoostan and Tibet Road.

(True copy.)

(signed) *E. C. Bayley,*

Under Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated
9 February 1852.

THE HILL ROAD.

1. As it is my intention to bring forward the subject of the road from the plains towards the Thibet frontier as a whole, I confine myself now to the single point discussed by the Board.

The road from the plains to Simla has been nearly, not quite completed. From Simla, the road has been surveyed, and partially executed as far as Chini,
some

some 120 miles. The greater portion of this beyond Simla is in the territory of the Rajah of Bissahur. By his treaty he is bound to make roads, everywhere four yards wide, through his territories at his own cost. But as this road, preserving a gradient which nowhere exceeds three feet in the 100, necessarily is carried across cliffs, and over difficult ground, and consequently would be more costly to him than an ordinary track, though not actually costly in itself; it seems fair that he should be relieved of part of the expense in the manner proposed by the Board. But it is to my knowledge quite essential that the Board should take stringent measures to ensure, that the number of labourers whom the chiefs are required to furnish, should be actually supplied. Lieutenant Briggs, the very able and valuable young officer who has conducted this work in a manner most creditable to his skill and indefatigable energy, has had most discouraging difficulties to contend with from the negligence of the chiefs in this respect; and the Board are requested to fix the number that is to be supplied, and to lend the weight of their authority to the enforcement of that supply for Lieutenant Briggs' use.

(signed) *Dalhousie*, 9 February 1852.

J. H. L., 10/2.

F. C.

J. L.

(No. 33.)

LETTER from Lieutenant *D. Briggs*, Superintendent Hindostan and Thibet Road, to Sir *H. M. Elliot*, K.C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta.

Sir,

Simlah, 23 February 1852.

I HAVE the honour to submit, for the information of the most Noble the Governor-general, the progress report of the Dug-shai Road up to the 31st January 1852.

2. The expenditure up to that time has been 8,850 Company's rupees, and the work executed has been nearly 5 miles of 12-foot road, and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ of 6-foot road. The amount of my former estimate, 8,500 Company's rupees, has thus already been exceeded in the construction of only two-thirds of the work.

3. The impossibility of forming a correct estimate of the cost of excavations in a hill country, where the person estimating can only form his judgment from the nature of the exterior formation, induced me to take the results obtained on the Dugshai and Simla Road as the basis of my estimate for this work, when the nature of the country was similar.

4. With the same means as were employed on the Dugshai and Simla Road, I have no doubt but that my estimate for the new work would have been a correct one; but on its completion, it was deemed expedient by the political authorities to dispense with the labour of the hill people, who had been employed in its construction. Deprived of their services, I was forced to send to the plains for labourers. With difficulty I succeeded in inducing some 800 to take service, to these I was obliged to promise a rate of pay higher than the hill-men had received, and twice as high as the usual rate of wages current in the plains. For some time I hoped that, incited by high wages, they would work with corresponding energy; but in this I was wholly disappointed; I found them not only excessively indolent, but physically unable to compete with the hill-men in quantity of work. Thus less work cost more money, so that the rates obtained on the new work soon greatly exceeded those of the Dugshai and Simlah Road.

5. I have consequently stopped the works, pending his Lordship's orders on the subject, and in the hopes of hill-men being again furnished for these hill roads. With them I feel quite certain of being able to complete the remainder, of the Dugshai and Kussowlee Road for a further sum of 4,000 Company's rupees; this will include all bridges and culverts.

6. I trust his Lordship will believe that nothing has been wanting on my part to obtain the greatest amount of work at the smallest outlay, but that with the labourers I had to deal with the unfortunate result was unavoidable.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. Briggs,*
Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road,
Hindoostan.

HINDOOSTAN AND THIBET ROAD.

Dugshai and Kussowlee Branch Progress Report, from Commencement of Work up to 31st January 1852.

	Road opened.		Remaining to open		Number employed since the Commencement	Artificers employed since the Commencement	Average number of Labourers on 12-feet Road	Average number of Labourers on 6-feet Road.	Amount	Amount	Expendi-	TOTAL EXPENDI-
	to 12 Feet	to 6 feet	to 12 Feet	to 6 Feet.					Paid to Labourers.	Paid Artificers.	ture Material.	
Dugshai and Kus- sowlee Branch -	M. J. Y.	M. J. Y.	M. J. Y.	M. J. Y.					Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.
	1 7 201	7 7 39	3 1 168	110	50,777	120	6,612	2,115	7,934	988	28	8,550

Hindoostan and Thibet Road Office, Simlah, }
23 February 1852.

D. Briggs,
Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated 9 March 1852.

DUGSHAI, OR KUSSOWLEE ROAD.

1. This road is one distinct from the hill road between Simla and the plains, and would be required as a road to join the military stations of Dugshai and Kussowlee if the other road had no existence.

2. Send a copy of this letter to Board of Administration; state that there is no wish on the part of the Government to require the chiefs to make these roads under their treaties; but I am quite unable to understand why aid should be withheld from Lieutenant Briggs in obtaining hill labour which shall be paid for by the Government.

3. I regard these roads as of great value; and the Board will be so good as to give their aid in obtaining labour for the completion of the road without the frequent interruptions which the several references of the officer in charge have shown that he has met with.

4. Lieutenant Briggs may be told to complete that section of road. It is impossible for him, or anybody else, to estimate with accuracy such hill works.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

No. 80.

LETTER from Lieutenant *D. Briggs*, Superintendent of Hindoostan and Thibet Road, to the Secretary to the Government of India Foreign Department, Calcutta; dated Simla, 16 April 1852.

Sir,

1. The Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjaub having intimated to me the sanction of the most Noble the Governor-general in Council to my proposal for the payments of all labourers employed on the Hindoostan and Thibet Road, on the condition that one moiety of the expense is borne by the hill chiefs, through whose territories the road runs, and who by their treaties with the British Government are bound to construct roads four yards wide without any remuneration; I have the honour to request the authority of the most Noble the Governor-general in Council to draw upon the Financial Department of the North Western Provinces for such sums as are required for the payment of the labourers.

2. As the Board are of opinion that the present demand must be limited to somewhat less than 1,000 labourers, a monthly assignment of 3,000 Company's rupees would, I think, cover all expenses. The exact amount expended would of course be shown in the monthly progress report; should the Board see fit to grant me a larger number of labourers, a larger monthly assignment would become necessary.

3. As the accounts connected with this body of labourers furnished from 21 different states, require that constant attention which, if the duty devolved upon me, would leave me without leisure to superintend the road operations, I earnestly solicit the sanction of the most Noble the Governor-general to the permanent appointment of Mr. Graham to the office of accountant to the road on a salary of 300 rupees per mensem.

In September 1850 his Lordship was pleased to sanction the temporary appointment of Mr. Graham to the office of accountant to this road, on a salary of 150 rupees, that being the moiety of his pay as assistant in the office of the accountant of North-Western Provinces, which he lost by being on sick leave at Simla. On the 31st of December 1851 Mr. Graham's leave expired, and the salary of his substantive appointment ceased. As Mr. Graham has afforded me much satisfaction in the discharge of his duties, I solicit the authority of the most Noble the Governor-general in Council to his appointment from the 1st of December 1851, the date on which he ceased to draw pay from the accountant of North-Western Provinces.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. Briggs*,
Superintendent Hindoostan and Thibet Road

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, concurred in by the Members of Council.

SIMLA HILL ROAD.

1. As the working season has commenced I think this advance for the hill road beyond Simla may be sanctioned.

But although it is quite impossible for Lieutenant Briggs or anybody else to give an accurate estimate of the cost of this work, some approximate calculation may be made.

I would therefore require Lieutenant Briggs, without delay, to send such calculation, in as much detail as possible, in order that the Government may know what still remains to be done.

2. Request Lieutenant Briggs to state in reply to this letter, what he is doing regarding the line of road between Dugshai and Kalka, which had not been fully surveyed at the close of last season, but which is necessary to complete the new road from Simla to Kalka.

(signed) *Dalhousie*, 5 May 1852.
F. Currie, 6 May 1852.
J. Lewis.

LETTER from Lieutenant *D. Briggs*, Superintendent Hill Roads, to *C. Allen*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William; dated Simla, 1 October 1852.

Sir,

IN obedience to the commands of the most Noble the Governor-general, conveyed to me in your letter of May last, I have the honour to enclose my report on the Hindoostan and Thibet Road up to the current year.

I have, &c.
 (signed) *D. Briggs*,
 Superintendent, Hill Roads.

REPORT on the *Hindoostan* and *Thibet* Road, and *Dugshai* and *Kussowlee* Branches for 1852; dated Simla, 1 October 1852.

1. As it is the desire of Government to obtain an approximate estimate of the cost and time which are still required for the completion of the Hindoostan and Thibet Road, and as such can only be deduced from the data afforded by previous operations in consequence of the nature of the work, and as no detailed account of such operations has yet been laid before the Government, this appears to me a fit opportunity to describe, with as little prolixity as possible, the operations of the last two years, that Government may not only fully understand what has been done, but be enabled to judge of the soundness of my views regarding the future.

2. Early in the year 1850 a variety of circumstances combined to attract the attention of the most Noble the Marquis Dalhousie, Governor-general of India, to the oppressive practice of "begar," or forced labour, prevalent in the Hill States lying on the outer spurs of the Himalayahs, between the rivers Jumna and Sutlej.

3. This species of serfdom had been from time immemorial general throughout the little principalities lying within this tract of hill country, and was doubtless introduced, in the absence of all other means of taxation, as a substitute for revenue. As long as the chiefs of these states were dependent on their subjects for support, and only safe, through their help, from the encroachment of their warlike neighbours, the bond of union between them was such as to insure the subject a certain amount of consideration from his chief, else would the subject transfer his allegiance to another and more politic master.

4. Since, however, the British Government extended its protection to these states in 1815, the balance of power has been gradually drawn out of the hands of the subject, as he ceased to contribute to the chief's safety and support, these being sufficiently guaranteed by the paramount power of the British Government. From that time the subject has been gradually descending to a state bordering upon slavery, inasmuch as his time, his property, and his freedom, are entirely at the disposal of his master.

5. Although loud in their complaints to strangers who visit their villages, yet, sometimes a patriotic feeling which renders them unwilling to complain of their liege lord; sometimes a dread of further punishment, but generally a dislike to our courts, deters them from making their hardships officially known. When, however, they do complain, the system of our political relationship with their chiefs leaves the superintendent, in most cases, no choice but to refer the appellant to the chief against whom his complaint lies, with what hope of justice I need not say.

6. Thus

6. Thus "begar," or unremunerated and forced labour, as the term implies, is a system of the internal government of the Hill States.

7. When the Sanatoria of Simla, Subathoo, Kussowlee and Dugshai were established, great and continuous was the demand for labour in all shapes. Thousands of porters were yearly required for the conveyance of Government establishments, invalids, and their numerous servants; troops and camp followers; supplies and merchandise from the plains to the Sanataria; and thousands were again required a few months afterwards to convey the same down again.

8. Barracks were required for the troops, hospitals for the invalids, and materials for their construction could not be found nearer than 15 or 20 miles. On men's backs alone could each article be transported, from the huge puncheon of commissariat rum to the lightest wares of the petty dealer, from the massive pine beams cut in the forest of the loftiest mountains, to the iron ore dug from the caverns of the deepest valleys.

9. To assist in these laborious tasks the people of the plains were found to be perfectly unfit. The long, steep, rugged ascents, and the narrow tortuous footpaths of the hill-men were scarcely practicable to them, unladen, wholly impossible when burthened with 50 lbs. the usual load of a hill cooley. Thus the whole duty fell upon the scanty population of the Hill States, and heavy and grievous was the burthen.

10. "Begar" was claimed by their own chiefs. "Begar" was an obligation they owed us by their treaties of 1815, and although to the credit of our Government be it said, they never were called upon to work without receiving remuneration, yet what amount of wages would remunerate a man for being dragged against his will from his home and family without warning, without consideration (for what Government native official has consideration when armed with his master's warrant) to a distance of many days' journey, there to wait many days without shelter, without his usual food, until his services were required; then to be laden as a beast of burden, to be insulted, to be buffeted by the low dependants of an European master until the time of his slavery was accomplished, and he was suffered to depart with a sore heart and wounded feelings to his distant valley, there, perhaps, to find that seed time or harvest had passed during his absence, and no provision been made for the future subsistence of his unhappy family?

11. Besides the cruelty of this system, it was the most expensive that could possibly be devised. I have learned from the Superintendent of the Hill States that the sums disbursed by Government establishments since 1820 to and from Simla and the plains amount to 7,00,000 Company's rupees.

12. To the officers and servants of the Government who visit Simla yearly for their health, or on duty, an average about 500 families in number, the average cost of a trip up and down may be stated at 200 rupees. The yearly expenditure on this head is, consequently, not less than 1,00,000 rupees. The expenditure since Simla became popular not less than 14,00,000 rupees.

13. The cost of the transit stores and supplies for the same distance averages about three rupees per hundred weight. The same is about the cost of transporting military and commissariat stores to the military station of Jutog.

14. The cost of the barracks for one regiment at the Dugshai Sanatorium has amounted, I understand, to 4,50,000 rupees. Taking the same sum as the cost of the two other Sanatoria of Subatho and Kussowlee, which are each calculated to afford accommodation for one wing, and 1,00,000 rupees for other structures, the expenditure on public buildings within the Hill States has not been under 10,00,000 rupees.

15. From personal experience, I may venture to state that the chief item of expense attendant on these constructions were on account of wood and lime; and yet there is no country in the world where wood and lime are more abundant. Two-thirds of the cost of these materials are generally absorbed in carriage, although the distance from which they are brought may not exceed 15 miles.

16. Had the employment of any other description of carriage been possible, the saving on the

First count to Government would have been		
two thirds, or	- - - - -	4,50,000 Co.'s rupees.
Second count to the public two thirds, or	-	9,00,000 " "
Third count no means of determining, but at least two thirds of expenditure.		
Fourth count ditto ditto.		
Fifth count to Government would have been		
one third, or	- - - - -	3,30,000 " " "
Total saving to the Government	- - -	7,80,000 " "
Ditto to the public	- - -	9,00,000 " "

It will be shown hereafter that for this sum upwards of 400 miles of road passable for vehicles could have been constructed.

17. It will be supposed that the influx of such large sums of money within a limited period must have tended to enrich the population, and so reconciled them to the evils of "begar;" but the system of our political relations with the states allows of an *imperium in imperio*, and thus deprives the labourer of any protection against tyranny and malpractices of the native authorities of his state. The consequence is that no amount of care on the part of the disbursing officer insures the labourer the possession of the wages paid to him. I have been assured by the Superintendent Hill States that on one occasion when he had a large sum to disburse to subjects of the Hindoor State, he attended himself as paymaster and saw the money put into each man's hands, notwithstanding which he afterwards discovered that the kandars of the state took from the unfortunate men all that he had disbursed to them.

18. There was thus only one way (without giving up these Sanataria, so beneficial and necessary to the British in India) of obviating this crying evil of "begar," and that was the construction of roads that would admit of the transport of baggage on four footed animals or carts, and thus render the agency of human beings in employments so degrading, unnecessary.

19. In 1850, the most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie publicly expressed his desire to accomplish this humane and highly important matter, and with a view thereto sanctioned the commencement of this road, which, leaving the plains in the neighbourhood of Kalka, 30 miles from Amballa in the Cis-Sutlej States, should ascend to Simla, having branch lines to the stations of Dughshai and Kussowlee.

20. Mr. W. Edwards, then Superintendent of the Hill States, had been highly instrumental in laying before the Government the evils of the "begar" system. He had further exerted himself in following up some hints he had received as to the existence of a trade between China and Europe by way of Ladak on the Indus, and finding on further inquiry that his anticipations were fully verified, he submitted to the Governor-general the project of opening up the commerce between Hindoostan and Central Asia, by means of a road through the temperate and picturesque valley of the Sutlej to Ladak, the only line which remains open throughout the year.

21. By the treaties of 1815, it was expressly provided that in consideration of the protection afforded by the British Government to the chiefs of the Hill States, they should take upon themselves the construction of all roads the British Government might find requisite. The fulfilment of these stipulations had not been exacted since the date of the treaties, and it was now thought a favourable opportunity of bringing them into operation, especially as the labourers of the plains could not be induced to take service within the hills. Indeed, upon trial, they were found physically unfit for the work required of them.

22. Great care was taken by the Superintendent of the Hill States that, in demanding assistance from the several protected states, the quotas should be strictly regulated by the extent of population of each contributing state. This will

will be sufficiently evident by an examination of the table in the margin,* when it is shown that no state was called upon to furnish more than two per cent. of its population.

23. It was of course understood that the chiefs should contribute towards the support of their respective gangs of labourers whilst employed on the work, and thus, considering the protection they had received for 35 years, and the immunity from the terms of their sunuds they had enjoyed for the same period, was surely not expecting too much of them.

24. As these sunuds gave a claim to the British Government to a supply of labour beyond the limits of each respective state, and as from the fact of the line of road running as direct as possible between two given places, it lay within comparatively few states, on whom it would have been unfair to impose the whole burden of the contemplated work, an arrangement was entered into with the states lying on either side beyond the line of road to afford assistance to those within whose boundaries it lay,† in equal proportion according to their extent and population, with this proviso that all labour so performed beyond the limits of the labourer's own state, should be paid for by the British Government at the market rate of the day.

25. But as it would have been a continuation of the worst feature of the "begar" system to have brought the hill-men long distances from their homes, even although they were paid, it was determined with a view to obviate this by employing the inhabitants of the northern districts within their own boundaries, and at the same time to open up the commerce of Central Asia with Hindoostan to carry on the upper portion of the line of road through the Himalayahs from Simla to Ladak, simultaneously with that portion between the plains and Simla.

26. Thus the Government were enabled to avail themselves of the assistance of the inhabitants of the "far North States," as well as that of those lying on the skirts of the mountains, without imposing on either the hardship of proceeding to any great distance beyond the limits of their own states.

27. While matters were thus in process of arrangement, and before operations had been commenced, Major J. P. Kennedy, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, an officer of great talent and European reputation as an engineer, proffered his services as temporary superintendent of the new road.

28. The principles on which this officer desired to conduct the duties of superintendence, had for their especial object the two following results:

- 1st. The best mathematical line of road with especial reference to levels.
- 2d. The construction of the same, at the smallest possible cost.

29. His first care was to obtain accurate information regarding the country through which the proposed road was to run. Reserving to himself the examination of the country, to a distance of 40 miles on either side of Simla, he deputed me to examine and report on the country beyond, towards Thibet. The result of our examination was that no condition of the first principle need be vitiated, but that from the difficult nature of the ground, the second principle would be considerably affected by the scrupulous observance of the first.

30. To

STATE.	Population.	Quotas demanded for Road.	STATE.	Population.	Quotas demanded for Road.
Bussahir - - - -	150,000	500	Koomarhsen - - - -	12,000	200
Bagul - - - -	40,000	50	Konyar - - - -	2,500	10
Bujee - - - -	25,000	50	Kothar - - - -	4,000	20
Burrowlee and Bughat -	5,000	100	Kotkai - - - -	5,000	100
Bulsun - - - -	5,000	50	Maugul - - - -	1,000	40
Dhamie - - - -	3,000	20	Mylog - - - -	13,000	400
Hindoor - - - -	50,000	200	Putteealla - - - -	40,000	400
Joebal - - - -	15,000	200	Sirmoor - - - -	77,000	300
Kyleor - - - -	50,000	200	Turroch - - - -	3,000	50
Keunthal - - - -	14,000	250			

The population of which were equally interested with that of the others in effecting the abolition of "begar."

30. To those who have examined the Himmalayahs, it will be known that they conform to a system of river basins, and dividing ridges generally extending at right angles to the main chain of the Himmalayahs. Flanking each basin there exists two unbroken mountainous ridges of irregular height, which issuing from the highest peaks, enclose between them the drainage of all the intervening hills. The drainage thus confined flows towards the lowest level, and there forms a river. The river flows outwards towards the plains, the ridges continuing to flank it, and forming the water-shed line between it and the next river.

31. Thus they maintain their positions between each other, the ridges pushing out numerous spurs, between every two of which a tributary basin is similarly formed, and the river receiving the drainage of these basins within its increasing channel. The number of these spurs and tributary basins gives the contour of the Himmalayahs a confused appearance, but when the eye has become accustomed to their vastness, the regularity of the system is soon apparent.

32. As therefore there are deep courses to which the rills of the mountains are directed, and which form the lines of the large rivers, so are these corresponding parallel high ridges, from which these rills have their birth, and which presenting an unbroken base intersected by no watercourses, offer the best possible line on which to construct a roadway.

33. As stated above, however, the altitude of these ridges is irregular, that is, their outline consists of a series of rising peaks, and corresponding depressions. It is therefore apparent that if the road was made to follow the outline or crest of the ridge, it must conform to these rises and falls, and would consequently be not mathematically correct.

34. There are two methods of overcoming this difficulty, one by cutting down the peaks to fill the depressions, the other by passing round the impediments, and so avoiding them. The first is very expensive, and in the Himmalayahs wholly impossible. The second is less expensive, and easily practicable.

35. This, however, labours under two disadvantages; first, the increased length and tortuous course which is given to the road by passing round instead of cutting down impediments. Secondly, the necessary destruction of a portion of the hill, sufficient to afford a breadth of roadway, which thereby deprives a part of the hill side of its natural base, and renders the bank above the road liable to slip, and so fill up the roadway. The first of these, although not wholly remediable, is capable of considerable modification by the judicious construction of the road. The latter continues to exist only until the bank reassumes a slope which will admit of the earth remaining at rest.

36. On examination we ascertained that an unbroken ridge, such as above described, left the western extremity of the outer Himmalayan chain, and dividing the basins of the Sutlej and Pubur, terminated on the plains in the neighbourhood of Kalka. On the different parts of the crest of this ridge lay Simla, Dugshai, and Kussowlee, and on the tributary spurs Subathoo and Jutoy. The selection of the line was therefore simple. There could be no doubt in the matter, as far as the ridge continued of moderate elevation.

37. When after its junction with the main chain of the Himmalayahs, the ridge was lost amongst the lofty peaks, covered with perpetual snow, it became necessary to leave it, and passing round the western extremity of the chain below the line of perpetual congelation, to cross the Sutlej above Wangton, and thence enter the valley of Kunnuwur.

38. Having thus selected an unbroken base, running in the required direction, the laying out of the road was the next step. The points requiring in this operation were gradient, distance, and an economical selection of the ground to be traversed.

39. It has been shown that in order to preserve the roadway as nearly level as possible, impediments were avoided by passing round them. The lowest necks or passes on the ridge became therefore obligatory points, that is, in laying out the line, their respective elevations were of primary consequence. If these passés regularly increased in altitude from the plains as they neared the Himmalayan chain, there would have been no difficulty in laying out the line from
one

one to the other at a gradual ascent from the plains. But on the range in question there was found no such regular increase of elevation. The obligatory necks were as unequal in elevation as the peaks which rose between them.

40. On ascending from the plains the first obligatory neck met with was lower than the second, but higher than the third. The third was lower than the fourth, but the fourth was higher than the fifth; the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh were in regular progression, but the twelfth was lower than the eleventh, and the thirteenth lower than either the eleventh or twelfth.

41. A truly correct mathematical line required that only the passes or necks which rose in regular progression should be considered obligatory, as otherwise the line would somewhere rise or fall unnecessarily; but it was found that unless a modification of this principle was allowed, the road would be enormously increased in length, in consequence of the greater number and extent of the inflections of the mountains below the crest of the ridge. The result was that the principle was modified to the extent of allowing an unnecessary rise and fall of 1,500 feet within a distance of 150 miles. This modification is so trifling as to be scarcely appreciable.

42. The maximum gradient at which it was determined to lay out the road was 1 in 33½, or 3 feet in 100. In two places have I thought it necessary, in order to save distance. At these places the slope is 1 in 25.

43. No permanent sacrifice of principle has been admitted for the sake of avoiding natural difficulties, such as precipices, deep ravines, &c.; but in future operations within the Himmalayahs, I recommend that this point should receive due attention, as not unfrequently a scarcely appreciable deviation from the true gradient will enable the engineer to escape difficult ground, and so effect a reduction of expenditure.

44. A few remarks on the geological formation of the line selected for the road are necessary to represent fully the nature of the difficulties which oppose the construction of a road yielding to no obstacles, and obeying no other laws than such as contribute to the convenience of the traveller.

45. On leaving the elevated plain extending between the Suvalik range and the outer spurs of the Himmalayahs, which is composed of loose conglomerate and alluvium formed from the detritus of rocks, the line enters a series of friable sandstone, much indurated in parts, and lying in confused masses. The dip of the strata, where it can be observed, is from the northward, but approaching the vertical, in consequence of which the south side is precipitous, and when excavated for a roadway is liable to break away in huge masses. This continues for about three miles, when the line enters the basin of the Kossilla River and its tributaries, where the slope of the hills becomes less abrupt, so that many of the minor spurs have been reduced to terraces, for the purpose of cultivation. Other spurs are capped by masses of granite, and other inferior stratified rocks, forming hard and difficult walls through which to excavate a road.

46. As the line approaches the summit of the extensive ridge mentioned above, between the cantonments of Dugshai and Kussowlee, the slope of the hill assumes an angle of 45°, and their composition is generally of broken and detached masses of granite embedded in stiff clay, frequently intersected with walls of trap and beds of argillaceous slate, the two latter forming obstacles of considerable magnitude, from their excessive hardness and frequent occurrence.

47. Perched on the summit of the range at Dhurmpore, at an elevation of 4,900 feet, is an extensive mound of half-baked stratified rock, abounding with fossiliferous remains, especially shells of the *Spirifer Walcotii*, *Gryphæa obliquata*, *G. virgula*, *G. dilatata*, *podopsis truncata*, *turrilitis tuberculatis*, and other genera, which I have been unable to identify.

48. The Chuvah range of hills, north of Dugshai, through which it is proposed eventually to drive a tunnel, are chiefly of granite, which although presenting itself in many places in a precipitous form, is favourable to blasting operations, from its compact and brittle nature. Its fragments also afford the best description of materials for revetment walls, and such structures. Between

this and the Knole mountains, more than a distance of six miles, grassy knolls of clay slates, of various degrees in induration, composition and cleavage exist. Some of these are of a coal-black colour, producing a white efflorescence, others are ferruginous, and here and there others are displaced by beds of limestone.

49. The Knole Mountain is almost entirely composed of lime rock, full of fissures and caverns. Where masses have been thrown up above the surface, they are of fantastic appearance and highly porous. From their toughness, and numerous fissures, they are difficult of reduction, and form obstacles of considerable importance. These, with a few beds of clay slate and red sandstone interspersed, occur along the whole southern and eastern of the Knole mountain, a distance of eight miles.

50. Between it and Tara Devi Mountain, a distance of 12 miles, the formation is of clay slate, much broken and in confused layers, so that where the masses of slate do not crop out, the hill side appears, covered with particles of broken slate, like shingle. On this no tree vegetation appears to thrive. The yearly crop of grass is however abundant, and further down in the valley, where the detritus has accumulated, much fine cultivation has ensued.

51. I may here mention that the scantiness of tree vegetation on the southern slopes of the Himmalayah, and the abundance of it on those of a northern aspect, is so general as to warrant me in styling it a system of the Himmalayan arboretum.

52. To account for it several reasons may be deduced, although none appear wholly satisfactory. Amongst them I may enumerate the following :—First, the accumulation of snow on the northern flanks during the winter, protecting the young plants from the severe frosts. Second, the general dip of the strata towards the south, by which those slopes have an even and regular declination, but are scantily supplied with soil, from the facility with which it is washed off; and third, the abrupt termination of the strata to the northward, which, from constant crumbling, forms a deposit under the cliffs of increasing depth and richness, and which receives yearly further replenishments by the debris of vegetation. So rich does the soil become, that at elevations between 8,000 and 12,000 feet, some of the most delicate of European vegetables and flowers are found. Asparagus, celery, rhubarb, strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries, scented violets, primroses, lilies of the valley, potentillas, anemones, cowslips, &c., are numerous.

53. The Tara Devi Mountain is of volcanic origin, composed of all the primary rocks fused into a conglomerate mass. It appears either to have cooled irregularly, or, after cooling, to have been the scene of fresh volcanic agency, as layer is detached from layer by extensive fissures, the edges of which are not of a sharp or broken appearance, as if caused by fracture from convulsions subsequent to their formation, but rounded and corresponding to each other. The composite of one such contiguous mass is frequently different from the composite of another, and the fissures are in many places lined with crystals of sulphur, iron, and other minerals. At one place, a bright vermilion powder, of considerable demand amongst the natives, is found, and at another, quartz veins, impregnated with iron pyrites of the brightest golden hues, gave hopes to many of the discovery of a new gold field. Along the whole extent of the Tara Devi Mountain, and in its neighbourhood, the cliffs are lofty and very precipitous, presenting obstacles of great magnitude to a road.

54. Of the formation of the Simla hill, and the ranges beyond it to the northward, I need say little, as they are all of the mica slate and gneiss series, crossed but seldom with any other element worthy of notice.

55. In the Mahassoo tunnel, and at a few other places, impure veins of plumbago were exposed by the road excavations. Near Mahassoo, at an elevation of 7,000 feet, an extensive bed of lime-rock lies above the slate. At Kundrulah, about the same elevation, and 50 miles north of Simla, the mica slate appears strongly impregnated with iron ore; the slate is soft, brittle and imperfect in the cleavage. The iron occupies about 50 per cent. of the ore, and is of remarkably fine quality and great malleability.

56. The

56. The proximity of these mines to the road may at a future period render the establishment of a foundry worthy of the consideration of Government. As an experiment I last year made up some entrenching tools of this metal, at a cost of 50 per cent. less than the price of the same description of tools sent from England. I issued them along with others of European manufacture to the working parties, and found they stood the "wear and tear" better than the latter.

57. Throughout the gneiss and mica slate series the hills are most rugged and abrupt, breaking into extensive cliffs and intersected with narrow and exceedingly rocky glens. The action of the weather on their rugged outlines causes constant demolition, and the consequence is that rocky avalanches of enormous size not unfrequently descend with crushing force, carrying ruin and devastation in their impetuous course.

58. The thin superstratum of soil lying on the sharp incline of the slate hills becoming saturated with moisture, frequently in severe seasons, loses its adherence to the slate stratum underneath, and sliding on its base deposits itself with its load of forest trees and surface rock into the glen below, leaving a shelving precipice of bare rock where formerly existed a rich forest. All these serve to increase the difficulty of construction of a road where the principles of gradient are strictly observed.

59. The forests traversed by the road consist, below Simla, of chier (*Pinus longifolia*), and stunted oak (*Quercus incana*); above Simla and between it and Serhahun, in the valley of the Sutlej, Ra (*P. excelsa*), kyle (*P. pendens*) and chier (*P. longifolia*), with oak (in some spots of considerable size), sycamore, horse-chesnut, walnut, ash, birch, with an occasional grove of keloos (*Pinus cedrinus*.) This last furnishes the only really useful wood found in the hills, and so highly is it esteemed by the hill men that they give it the name of Deodar, or "belonging to God." They exhibit a tendency to grow in clusters, and within the deep shades of these centenarian groves, the worshipper of Bhud erects his altar to the titular deity of the spot.

60. Within the valley of the Sutlej the keloo becomes more common, and at Soongra, 15 miles above Serhahun, there is a very extensive forest; indeed on either bank of the Sutlej, 3,000 and 4,000 feet above the river, the forests of keloo are abundant; and would that most impetuous river be cleared of the obstacles which at present oppose the transport of rafts on its surface, Government might be possessed, through the long course of the Sutlej and Indus, of an inexhaustible supply of the finest timber in the world, at a trivial cost when compared with its value as a building material. I have measured trees within the Sutlej valley from 30 to 36 feet in circumference, and in height from 80 to 120 feet.

61. Mr. Edwards, the present Superintendent of Hill States, has, I understand, during the last rainy season succeeded in floating some hundreds of these pine trees from the Soongra forest to the plains, and the only difficulty he found was in transporting them to the river, and collecting them into rafts at Belaspore after the single tree had shot the rapids.

62. The first of these difficulties can, in my opinion, only be removed by the construction of timber-slides laid at such an incline that timbers laid upon them shall of themselves descend and precipitate into the water, a rough proposition for which I laid before the Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjab a twelvemonth ago, but the details of which I have not yet been able to draw out. The second difficulty could be met by a boom moored across a still reach of the river, which would intercept the floating trees, and an opening in it would give egress to the timber when collected.

63. Of late years the demand for deodar has been so great in consequence of its utility in house building, that but very little remains in the neighbourhood of our large Sanatoria; and as from the improvidence of the Hill Chief, trees of small dimensions that have not attained their full growth are sold to the wood merchants, and young trees not planted to supply the place of those cut down, the want of this fine description of wood will be found at a time perhaps when the exigencies of the state can be less easily satisfied than at the present.

64. I beg to submit for the consideration of Government the policy of planting the hills in the immediate neighbourhood of the Hindoostan and Thibet Road with deodar, and I think I can show that this might be done at a small expense and without interfering with existing relations between the British Government and the Hill Chiefs. In the first place, only those hills above an elevation of 8,000 feet ought to be planted, and only the slopes facing the northward. If either of these rules are disregarded the trees will be sickly and will never attain useful dimensions.

65. As the ground occupied by these plantations would generally be the property of independent chiefs, and although utterly destitute of cultivation would not be willingly parted with by them, I propose that they be invited to plant such tracts as are pointed out to them, and that on the young trees attaining the height of a man and of healthy appearance, and not planted closer than 15 feet apart, a sum of eight annas per tree be paid to the native chief to whom the land belongs. He will, at the same time, be required to give a certificate that the trees are the property of Government, and that he will prevent them being cut down or otherwise destroyed, with the proviso that an additional sum of Rs. 2. 8. per tree be given by the Government when it is required to cut them. Thus in 20 years, by which time the deodar has attained a girth of 8 or 10 feet, the Government will be in possession of the finest timber in India, at a most moderate cost, and well situated with reference to the best line of communication to the plains.

66. In consequence of the obligation under which the superintendent of roads lies, of visiting the line continually, I would recommend that the superintendence of these forests be entrusted to him, and that for the purpose of guarding against their destruction, a small establishment of peons be allowed him, with power on certain occasions to demand assistance from the neighbouring villages.

67. I need not here detail the mechanical operation of cutting the lock-spit or guiding line for the road workmen, as it was clearly demonstrated by Major Kennedy in his pamphlet, entitled "Road-making in the Hills." I must, however, observe, that I have learnt from experience how erroneous it is to open out the road to a less width than what is eventually contemplated. I do not mean that no lock-spit should be made, for without it the road would not be kept level, but I object to widening the road first to five feet, and then afterwards to 12 feet.

68. The ground through which we have to work is generally hard clay, or mica slate, with occasional masses of more compact rock. In opening the road to a width of five feet, the workpeople, with great labour, blast and chip off just enough to afford the pathway required; the debris falling down and filling up the re-entering angles. When it is required to increase the width of roadway, the labourers have to re-commence to excavate the bank above the former cutting, and to perform the same operation as was required for the five-foot road, only that the labour is increased in ratio to the increased dimensions of the section cut.

69. From the accumulation of the debris of the first cutting, the natural bank below the road is hidden, and considerable difficulty is found in removing the rubbish in order to commence the excavations for the foundations of the retaining walls. It is my opinion that after cutting of the lock-spit, the intended width of the roadway should finally be determined, and the foundation of the retaining walls laid out, and excavated at once. The cutting into the hill side may be then commenced, the fragment of rocks being used for the walls as they are dug out; by this means, the sharp angular turn of the road will be reduced to a minimum, the foundations of the walls from being cut out of the unbroken hill side will be stable, and no unnecessary excavations or revetments will be made.

70. In the manner described in the pamphlet above noticed, the construction of a five-foot track was commenced in July 1850, on several portions of the line. Major Kennedy, in his letter to Government, dated 17th September 1850, fully details the means he took to obtain the efficient performance of his duties from every individual employed on the road. That he was eminently successful admits not of a doubt, but that the sanguine expectations entertained in that letter

letter should be realized, was simply impossible. He there stated that there was little doubt but that the whole line from Kalka to Chini, in the valley of Kennawur, might be made passable for loaded animals by November 1850; that is, that a nearly level road five feet wide, and 200 miles in length, might be constructed through the most precipitous chain of mountains in the world, within four months. The work actually constructed within these four months, was the construction of 50 miles of a path five feet in width, just passable for horsemen, below Simla and the plains; where extensive cliffs occurred they were avoided by temporary ramps made either under or over them. Twenty-five miles of similar road were constructed between Simla and Chini, but as intervening cliffs were not reduced, no portion of it was available for traffic.

71. The number of labourers employed in the construction of the five-feet path, between Simla and the plains, was 80,966 (for one day) or an average 1,730 coolies per mile. The cost of this at the market rate of two annas per man, would have been 216 rupees per mile. The actual cost to Government in consequence of the amount of tribute labour employed, was only 147 rupees per mile. The cheapest work of this description was performed under Lieutenant Dawson's superintendence between Mutteeana and Theog. He lock-spitted and opened to five feet, nine and a half miles in twelve days, with an average number of 200 coolies per diem. The heavy rocks were avoided in a similar manner by ramps.

72. In December 1850, I commenced the widening of the Simla and Dugshai path to 12 feet, correcting all irregularities of gradient which had previously been allowed, in order to avoid precipitous cliffs.

73. In the neighbourhood of Dugshai, a detour of 12 miles had been made in order to pass round the Chewah range of hills; this I determined to avoid by a tunnel through the range of about 1,000 yards in length, but as means were not then at my disposal for such an undertaking, I laid out a temporary road over the range at a general gradient of five feet in 100, which effected a saving of 10 miles in distance. This irregularity of gradient is doubtless a great eyesore in otherwise so level a line, but its temporary construction was under the circumstances highly advisable, and I trust that it will not be long ere the tunnel adverted to will do away with the necessity for it.

74. It would be tedious to detail each of the many works which were necessary in order to form a nearly level roadway of 12 feet in width through the difficult country before described. I will merely mention a few of the works of great magnitude, outlines of some of which are given in plans Nos. 1, 2, &c.

75. The most difficult undertaking was the construction of the road through the extensive wall of cliffs which form the western flank of the sacred Tara Devi Mountain, opposite to, and within six miles of Simla. These extended for a distance of nearly two miles, varying from 50 to 500 feet in height. One portion 400 feet in length, was cut down to a depth of 150 feet, in order to obtain a sufficient breadth of roadway; another, 300 feet in length, was of such a height and so sheer, that in order to obtain a roadway, the reduction of the cliff must have commenced 300 feet above it. To this I preferred erecting a viaduct along the precipice, as shown in plan No. 1.

76. In only one spot was it found necessary to sacrifice the regular gradient of the road to the difficulties presented, and this extending for a distance of only 100 yards, was merely temporarily necessary, that the remainder of the road might not remain shut to the public. The excavations in this range of cliffs above, amounted to 1,835,849 cubic feet.

77. Under "Prospect Point," nearer Simla, a series of cliffs, 500 feet in length, and averaging 60 in height, were reduced by blasting, and a cutting 150 feet in length and 50 in depth, was made through a sharp projecting spur. Retement walls varying from 10 to 50 feet in height were built in many places. These were constructed of roughly hammered dressed stone, laid without mortar, a general batta of one in four being given to the walls. They have been found to answer their purpose well.

78. I cannot give a better idea of the amount of work performed over the 40

miles of road between Simla and Dugshai, than in stating the cubical contents of each description of work executed

	Excavations, Cubic Feet.
Of hard rock reduceable only by blasting	5,734,663
Of slate, shingle, stones and earth -	14,170,417
Of revetment walls - - - -	828,893
Total Cubic Feet of Work executed - - -	20,728,973

The number of labourers employed on the above-mentioned works, excluding the viaduct, was 348,902, whose pay, calculated at the market rate of two annas per man, would have been 43,614 Company's rupees. Under the then existing regulations regarding tribute labour, the cost to the state was only Co.'s Rs. 31,049. 9. 6. There was a further sum of Rs. 1,755. 4. 6. expended on artificers, of which class of labour 5,610 were employed at an average rate of 4½ annas per man. The cost of superintendence, including all staff salaries, accountant's pay, and overseer's staff allowances, was Co.'s Rs. 12,708. 10. 9. There were other incidental expenses for materials, books, and stationery, amounting to Co.'s Rs. 3,877. 9. 1. The cost of tools and powder, which were chiefly supplied by the Government, I have no means of determining. The amount of powder expended on mining operations was 40,000 lbs,

79. By reducing the above to a mileage denomination, we have, as the average cost per mile, supposing all labourers employed to have received two annas per diem.

On labour - - - - -	Rupees 1,090
On artificers - - - - -	44
On superintendence and accountant's office - - -	320
On contingencies - - - - -	97

Or a total expenditure per mile of 1,551 Company's rupees. But as a portion of this labour was not paid for, being exigible by treaty, the cost to Government was only 1,237 Company's rupees per mile. The average amount of road work executed by each man, artificers and coolies, was 58 feet.

80. Besides the large viaduct mentioned above, eight other wooden bridges, varying in span from 30 to 96 feet of the description entitled "American lattice bridges," vide plan No. 2, were constructed. They are only furnished with single trusses in the manner of cattle bridges, as greater strength was not considered necessary. Heavy 24 lbs. guns, with carriages, have been taken over them without causing damage. These bridges, spanning a length of 662 feet, have cost a sum of 9,000 Company's rupees; that is, their expense per lineal foot has averaged Rs. 13. 8. They are constructed solely of deodar pine, with oaken trenails. The proximity of forests of the former have had considerable effect in reducing their cost.

81. In the end of 1850, the Government of the North-Western Provinces sanctioned the construction of the staging bungalows along this line of road. Two were constructed 15 miles apart, at Rearee and Solan Ghat, similar to plan No. 3, at a cost of Co.'s Rs. 7,355. 14. 9. On the roof of these bungalows I tried, as an experiment to prevent leakage, so generally complained of in flat-roofed buildings, the following plan, which has succeeded perfectly. The purlins were laid so as to give a slope to the joists of one foot in 12. On the joists such planking was fixed, the seams were carefully "paid" with pitch and oakum, and over them were laid inch and a half stripes of asphalt felt, softened by boiling in a mixture of tar, lime, sand and oil. Over the entire roof, four inches of carefully prepared mud was laid, and well beaten. This is now as hard as concrete, and the roofs have proved themselves impervious to the heaviest rains.

82. The several works commenced in December 1850, were completed in September 1851, between which periods there were only 248 working days, in consequence of the severity of the winter, and the inclemency of the rainy season. In October 1851, the most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie personally inspected the whole of the completed works.

83. About

83. About the same time his Lordship was pleased to sanction, upon the same principle as had obtained on the Simla and Dugshai road, the construction of a road between the military cantonments of Dugshai and Kussowlee, where no line of communication better than a hill footpath existed, although the intercourse between the stations was frequent and necessary.

84. The distance was nearly nine miles, over the greater portion of which I was able to lay out the line of road at a gradient of one foot in 33. The stations, however, being perched on the summits of isolated peaks, were only approachable at excessive gradients. That to Dugshai was laid out at one foot in twelve, for a distance of upwards of a mile. That to Kussowlee one foot in 20, for nearly the same distance. About one-half of the line lay through difficult ground intersected by frequent occurring trap dykes, only reducible by blasting. The other half lay through comparatively easy ground where the blocks of stratified rock lay detached and imbedded in coarse gravel and clay.

85. The continuation of the Simla and Dugshai road to the plains also at this time received the Governor-general's sanction, and the survey and marking out were speedily accomplished. This line, 15 miles in extent, joined at a point $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Kalka, another road being constructed under the direction of the Military Board. The maximum gradient observed was 1 foot in 30, at which about one-fifth of the distance was laid out. On three-fifths a gradient of one in 33 was observed, and the remaining one-fifth remained level. With the exception of a few beds of granite and trap dykes, this line lay through a series of loose conglomerate and sandstone, presenting few difficulties.

86. Whilst affairs were thus progressing to the south of Simla, the operations to the northward, towards Ladak, had by no means been neglected. In consequence of this withdrawal from the northern districts of considerable parties of labourers for the works on the Simla and Dugshai line, only a limited amount of labour was available to the north, but with that we succeeded in opening 50 miles in the Kunthul, Komharsen, and Bussahir States. Many difficulties of no ordinary magnitude were successfully overcome. Cliffs varying from 70 to 30 feet in height were reduced, and although the general width of the road was limited to six feet to the north of Simla, in consequence of the present traffic requiring no greater width, I directed that wherever cliffs occurred the greatest width attainable without excessive labour should be given, that in the event of it being found necessary, in consequence of the increased traffic, to increase the dimensions of the road, the cliffs should require but little further improvement.

87. A tunnel, 560 feet in length, was driven through the solid rock two miles and a half north of Simla, and not the least remarkable circumstance connected with this work is, that it was constructed almost entirely by prisoners, and without a single accident. The night reliefs were alone composed of free labourers, and a few of the same class during the day, assisted the convicts in wheeling barrows, and in such work as their chains rendered irksome.

88. In the excavation of the tunnel 10,000 prisoners (for one day) were employed, and 8,450 free labourers (for the same period). Taking the cubical contents of the excavation at 50,000 cubic feet, for it has not yet attained its ultimate dimensions of 12 feet in breadth, and 20 feet in height, we have 2.71 as the average work of each man. It must be remembered that every foot of the excavation was through solid rock of an unfavourable description for blasting, the geological formation of the hill being gneiss and indurated slate. At the market rate of labour it would have cost 1,057 Company's rupees, but as a large amount was furnished as tribute, it only cost 391 rupees; a further sum of 220 rupees was expended on artificers, so that the total cost of the tunnel to Government was 611 rupees.

89. Considering the excellent work obtained from convict labour, I cannot refrain from expressing my disappointment that since the completion of the above described work, I have been wholly deprived of the services of the few prisoners that were employed on it, and have not succeeded in obtaining the increased supply of this description of labour, which I at one time fully expected.

90. I have thus brought the description of our operations up to the winter of 1851-52,

1851-52, at which period circumstances occurred which, for a time, completely put a stop to our further progress.

91. It has been stated in para. 28 that the Government, in demanding tribute labour from the Hill States, in accordance with the treaties of 1815, always supposed that the chief supplying it contributed towards the support of their respective gangs of labourers, but I soon had reason to know that far from performing what could only be considered as an act of justice, they had in many instances not only denied all support to their suffering subjects, but had even insisted on the payment of the full revenue of lands whose tenants had for several months of the year been employed on road duty. Many of the chiefs had shown great disinclination to furnish the labour exigible by treaty, and I was obliged, on more than one occasion, to call for the interference of Government.

92. Until the Simla and Dugshai portion of the line was opened they afforded the assistance required of them, but most unwillingly, and not until the Superintendent of Hill States had been obliged to resort to threats and fines. But on the completion of that portion they withdrew all assistance, and to my fresh applications the superintendent declared his inability to enforce the attendance of the regular quotas of labourers for the completion of the remainder of the work.

93. There are three chiefs which, however, deserve to be honourably distinguished from the rest, on account of the energetic and cheerful assistance they rendered, and the alacrity they have generally displayed in affording assistance when required; these are the Rajah of Putteeala and the Ranas of Kunthul and Komharsen. I am also desirous of mentioning the services of a fourth, the Thakoor of Kotee, who, although dependent on the Rana of Kunthul has, without the assistance of his liege lord, constructed the road within his own district, and has at all times evinced a praiseworthy desire to assist in this important work.

94. I trust I may not be considered trespassing beyond the limits of my duty in submitting for his Lordship's consideration, the propriety of distinguishing the good conduct of these chiefs by some especial mark of his Lordship's favour. The Superintendent of Hill States coincides, I believe, in the favourable estimate I have made of the disposition of these chiefs towards us, and would I doubt not, if called upon, be able to give other proofs of their general good intentions. I feel assured that a recognition of these services will be a great inducement to all the Hill Chiefs, as well as to other influential men, to come forward and offer their assistance to the Government in carrying out this as well as other works of public utility.

95. All hopes of assistance from the hill people without fresh references to Government being at an end, I determined, before reverting to the extreme measure of reporting to Government the contumacy of the chiefs, to make every attempt in my power to induce voluntary labourers to accept service on the works. A sum of 8,000 rupees having been sanctioned for the Dugshaie and Kussowlee military road enabled me to offer fair wages, or two annas per diem for workmen.

96. For this purpose I sent emissaries to the most populous Hill States, and to the plains. From the former I did not obtain a single volunteer, and this I attributed not to the limited amount of the wages offered, for four rupees per mensem is considered a high rate of wages amongst the labouring class; but to the natural apathy and indolence of the race. From the plains I obtained 600 labourers, but they proved physically unfit for the work required of them. The cold of the winter benumbed them, and neither by threats nor bribes could we obtain more than a few hours' work in the day from them. I consequently dismissed them after two months' trial, during which time their labour cost 50 per cent. more than similar work executed by the hill men.

97. Deprived of all means of progress the work remained in "statu quo" until the adoption of the following plan, submitted by me to the Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjab, and duly sanctioned by the Government. It appeared to me best suited to allay the discontent of the hill coolies without pressing too hard on the Hill Chiefs.

98. The just subjects of complaint urged by the coolies were the want of fair remuneration for their labour, and the distance to which some had been obliged

obliged to work from their homes. The only just subject of complaint that could be urged by the chiefs was the employment of their gangs beyond the boundaries of their own states. To remedy both evils, the Government was pleased to sanction the quotas as per margin,* were exigible from the several states, and that every individual should obtain the full hire of two annas per diem whilst employed on the road, one anna of which to be paid by the British Government, and the other by the chiefs of the states to which the labourer led the labourers worked within their own chief territories.

99. When required to work beyond these boundaries, the quotas exigible from the chiefs were to be reduced one-half, and the entire pay of the reduced quotas was to be borne by the British Government. By this means it became an object to the superintendent of the road not to withdraw parties beyond the boundaries of their own districts, except under special circumstances, as by so doing he lost the assistance of half the strength of the parties, and entailed their entire charge upon the British Government.

100. This plan has entirely succeeded, and since its adoption I have had no complaints, nor have I been subject to the constant disappointments, the desertion of large parties at critical times, formerly caused me. All payments are made by the road establishment, and invariably in the presence of an officer, so that each labourer has placed in his own hands the amount of his hire, and I do not up to the present time know of any well authenticated instance of the money having been afterwards taken from the labourer by the authorities of his own state.

101. To meet the expense of the work consequent on a moiety being borne by the Government, an assignment of 3,000 Company's rupees per mensem was sanctioned, and this up to the present time has fully sufficed for the payment of all labour, including that labour performed by labourers withdrawn from their own territories, a measure absolutely unavoidable on the lower portion of the Hindustan and Thibet Road, in consequence of its lying wholly within one small state capable of supplying only 60 labourers.

102. These arrangements were not concluded until the end of April 1862 and it was not until the middle of May operations were recommenced with vigour. To complete the Dugshai and Kussowlee Road was my first object, and on that 800 men were at once engaged, under the superintendence of Major Cautley and Lieutenant Montgomery.

103. Lieutenant Dawson assumed charge of the northern divisions with 1,000 men, and notwithstanding the unprecedented heavy rains which fell during June, July, and August, the Dugshai and Kussowlee Road was completed in July, and the extension of the Hindustan and Thibet Road to Kalka and the plains commenced upon. This I have every expectation will be finished during next month, with the exception of bridges, which will delay its final completion until the end of the year.

104. The road to the north has also progressed satisfactorily, and with the exception

STATES.	Quotas available when working within their own Territories.	Quotas to be demanded when serving without their own Districts.	STATES.	Quotas available when working within their own Territories.	Quotas to be demanded when serving without their own Districts.
Puttnalla -	300	150	Turroch -	50	25
Kyloor -	200	100	Dhama -	50	25
Hindoor -	200	100	Kootar -	40	20
Sirmoor -	250	125	Bejah -	20	10
Bussahir -	300	150	Koonyar -	20	10
Kynthul -	120	75	Mangul -	10	5
Nagul -	120	60	Burrowlee and Bighat -	60	30
Komharsen -	120	60	Jasral -	150	75
Bhajiia -	70	35	Kothal -	90	45
Mylog -	70	35	Kotghur -	90	45
Bulhun -	40	20			

exception of seven miles, it is now open as far as Soongree Ghat, 70 miles distant from Simla.

105. The total length of the road finished up to the date of this report is 60 miles of 12 feet in width, and 70 miles of six feet. Since the commencement of permanent operations in December 1850, there have been 480 working days, during which time we have had an average of 1,631 labourers per diem. The average number of labourers employed in constructing the 12 feet road amounts to 8,700 per mile. The average number of labourers on the six feet road to 3,585 per mile, or as 12 to 29 of the number required for the 12 feet road. Had all labour been paid for at the market rate of two annas per cooly, the cost would have been, including superintendence, materials, and office establishment, 1,551 Company's rupees per mile. The whole labour not having been paid for, the cost has been 1,237 Company's rupees per mile. The cost of the six feet road, had all labourers been paid for, would have been, including superintendence and office, 908 Company's rupees per mile. It has cost 689 Company's rupees per mile.

106. It has been urged against these hill roads that the cost of keeping them in repair would be greater than the cost of construction. That this is a fallacy when applied to roads made on the same principle as that observed on the Hindoostan and Tibet Road, I am able to show. The Dugshai and Simla Road has sustained two rainy seasons and one winter. The last rainy season was unprecedented in severity, 92 inches of rain having fallen at Simla, where 36 inches is considered an average fall, yet no material damage was done to the road. Many slips of course took place, and here and there huge boulders, loosened from their position by the continued rain, rolled down upon the road. A party of 40 men rendered 37 miles of it perfectly passable for a horse in four days. The total cost in clearing it entirely has been 280 rupees. This does not include the re-construction of some drains, which were built of rough dry stone, by coolies, as a temporary measure, at a time when masons were not procurable, and before material could be collected.

107. The last heavy rains have taught me that culverts covered with stone slabs, merely of sufficient area to carry off the surface water which falls from the hills, will not suffice, in consequence of the immense quantity of silt that is brought down by the mountain rills. Where a dry watercourse marked with a score, not a pace in breadth, the green hill side, and was provided for by a culvert of 10 square feet in area, I have measured the silt of one rainy season heaped on the roadway, and found it eight tons in weight. In providing for the drainage an entire change must therefore be made, and light wooden bridges covering large openings be substituted for the present stone culverts. This does not entail any expense previously un contemplated, as the surface drains, constructed last year, were only temporary. The large wooden bridges on the line have stood admirably.

108. Having now described the result of our operations up to the present time, I will state briefly in what manner the department of accounts was managed, and it has fully answered the expectations entertained of it. That it has done so is solely owing to the separation in all details of the accountant's department from that of the executive, by placing at its head a responsible party, qualified for the duties of an accountant. The appointment of Mr. T. Graham as accountant relieved the superintendent of the road of all the responsibility of detail in accounts, and so afforded him increased opportunities of giving his time and attention to the constructive duties of his office. The separation of these branches affords additional security against fraud, inasmuch as the executive and accountant's departments become checks upon each other.

109. As an example of this, I will detail the method adopted in keeping accounts of labour. Overseers in charge of sections of works are provided with lithographed muster-rolls, in which it is their duty to insert the names of the individuals of their working party. Each day the roll is called, and a distinguishing mark made opposite the names of those absent, or present. At the expiry of eight working days, when a rupee is due to all who have worked regularly (from the fact of their daily hire being two annas), the officer in charge of the division, or, should there be none, a pay clerk proceeds to the section, and the

the overseer calling out each individual of the party, the officer or pay clerk places in his hands the amount of his wages, according to the number of days he appears to have worked by the muster-roll, and the amount is entered against his name in a column left for the purpose. When the whole party have been paid, and any complaints that may have been urged settled, the officer and overseer jointly attest a certificate, lithographed at the foot of the pay-list, to the following effect: "We, the undersigned, hereby certify that the persons above-named have been present at work for the time returned, and paid the sums specified opposite their respective names." The document is then forwarded to the superintendent of the road, who examines it as to its general correctness, and passes it on to the accountant, who checks it, and enters it in the day-book.

110. At the end of every three months, or the completion of any special work, the accountant submits for audit to the superintendent the accounts, with all the necessary vouchers. The superintendent having compared the entries with the vouchers, signs an audit certificate and an account current, showing the balance for or against the work. These are kept in the office, and the vouchers are enclosed in a sealed parcel for deposit among the office records. Bills for expenditure during the past three months are immediately drawn out for submission to the Auditor-general, and from him are sent to the Accountant-general, who speedily relieves the superintendent of the road from the responsibility of their amount.

111. By this means the road officers and overseers are reciprocally checks upon each other, in the matter of disbursements, and the superintendent and accountant in the matter of accounts. The same system is observed in the purchase of materials, and no item, however insignificant, is admitted in the accounts, without its corresponding vouchers. I am convinced that the salary of the accountant, instead of producing an increase of expenditure to the Government, would, in divisions of public works, where extensive operations are in progress, effect a large reduction, and render the principal officer and his subordinates much more efficient, inasmuch as their time and attention would be wholly devoted to the economical construction of the public works entrusted to their charge.

112. I will now proceed to detail my future operations, and will at the same time state the probable cost of such, as regards money and time, taking as my data the result of former operations. As stated in para. 103, the whole line from Simla to the plains will be finished to a width of 12 feet, probably within the ensuing month. But I consider that there are several improvements necessary before it can be designated as entirely complete. There are many sharp salient angles which will prove dangerous to any large amount of traffic, unless rounded off. There are some precipitous places where 12 feet cannot be considered a safe width, and there are a few other places where the full width, from the hardness of the rock, has not yet been attained. There are culverts which require renewing, and some precipitous spots, where a parapet wall is absolutely necessary. There are 100 yards where the gradient has been sacrificed to natural difficulties, as stated in para. 74, and there is a tunnel of 1,000 yards in length to be driven through the Chewah range of hills.

113. This last operation is of considerable difficulty, from the impossibility of sinking shafts where the hill, through which the tunnel is to be driven, rises to a great height above it. I would consequently recommend that its commencement be delayed until a strong gang of prisoners can be spared from some of the neighbouring districts, by whose assistance this great work might be completed at a trifling cost to the State. A daily average of 200 prisoners ought to open a tunnel of this length in three years. Proper means of ventilation and carriage of the debris from the interior to the mouth of the tunnel, would be submitted for the consideration of Government, before the commencement of operations.

114. For the other improvements between Simla and the plains, a sum of 10,000 Company's rupees, with the usual moieties exigible from the several states working within their own territories, would be sufficient, and these improvements ought to be completed with the means at our disposal within a year.

115. The work above Simla, towards Thibet, can only progress at a moderate

rate, in consequence of the limited number of men which can be afforded for it by the northern states. To draw the labourers from the southern states up there, would be to continue the impolitic system before adverted to. Not more than 800 men can be depended on for the works above Simla, and 300 of that number cannot be called upon to work beyond Nagkundah, 40 miles from Simla. During the winter, or for three months in the year, little work can be expected; so that, after deducting Sundays, and making an allowance for wet weather, we cannot calculate on more than 200 working days, to the north of Simla, within the year. There are still 70 miles to complete between Simla and Chini, in the valley of Kunnawur, and taking 3,585 as the average number of men required for a mile of six feet road, *vide* para. 105, we shall require two years and a half to complete the road to Chini, and consequently with the usual moieties a sum of Company's rupees.

116. As the labourers of the Puttecalla, Sirmoor, and Bughat districts will be sufficient for the improvements proposed between Simla and the plains, and, as previously stated, it would be impolitic to force the labourers of the southern states to work above Simla, Government will have at its disposal the labour of six states, as per margin,* not required for the Hindoostan and Thibet Road. This fact induces me earnestly to bring to the notice of the Governor-general in Council the great want of a good line of road from the Military Sanatoria of Dugshai and Kussowlee, towards the Punjab. Troops at present marching from these sanatoria to the Punjab are obliged to descend to Kalka, and march round by Loodiana, whereas if a road were constructed they might descend upon Roopur, and crossing the Sutlej, be in the Punjab at once. The benefit of such a road to British residents in the Punjab, who yearly visit the hills in large numbers, would be great, and the encouragement given by it to a considerable trade which has of late years sprung up between Simla and the Punjab, would, I have no doubt, soon be evinced by the cheaper and more abundant supply of the produce of either places.

117. Such a road, communicating between the present Dugshai and Kussowlee new road and the plains near Buddee, would be about 15 miles in length, and the gradient need nowhere exceed 3 feet in 100. With the moieties which would be recoverable from one state working within its own boundaries, the cost of this line to Government ought not to exceed 15,000 rupees.

118. Thus my proposals for future operations within these Hill States contemplate the completion of three lines of road: viz., 1st. Simla and Kalka, 52 miles in length and 12 feet in width. 2d. The Simla and Kunnawur road, 40 miles in length and 6 feet in width. 3d. The Kussowlee and Buddee road, 15 miles in length and 12 feet in width, and the further expenditure of 50,000 Company's rupees.

119. The present monthly grant from Government for the works under my charge is 3,000 rupees. The continuance of this grant for a period of 17 months will, I trust, suffice to cover the cost of all the works I have proposed.

120. The tools on these works have been in continual use for 2 years, and are fast becoming useless. It would be an economical measure to have those that are unfit replaced by new implements, and I beg to submit to the Governor-general the advantages of having them made up from the Hill iron at this place. They would be cheaper, better, and more suited to the work required of them from their construction being superintended by those who are to use them. The following would, I think, suffice for the construction of the works above proposed:—

800 Pickaxes; 300 Phurwabs; 50 6-feet Jumpers; 100 4-feet ditto; 50 Axes; 20 Needles; 20 Tampers.

The cost of these would amount to about 5,000 rupees, and for the expenditure of this sum I would beg his Lordship's sanction.

121. I cannot close this report without bringing to the notice of the Governor-general the zeal and intelligence displayed by the several officers who have assisted



assisted in bringing these important works to their present forward condition. Lieutenant Dawson and Major Cautley have each shown the most praiseworthy energy and perseverance in carrying out my orders. At times too, when difficulties of no ordinary magnitude opposed, and when from the apathy and indolence of the Hill-men the greatest discouragements were placed in our way. Lieutenant Johnson of the 33d Native Infantry and Lieutenant Montgomery of the Engineers, each for some time in command of the 5th Company of Sappers and Miners attached to the road, entered entirely into the spirit of the work, and gave me assistance as fully and cheerfully as if they had been officers of the road department.

122. Of the accountant's department I have before spoken, and will therefore merely state my entire satisfaction with the manner in which the head of it, Mr. T. Graham, has conducted his duties.

123. I will venture to say that no class of men in India have undergone greater privations with cheerfulness and unremitting attention to their duties than the non-commissioned officers of the Sappers and Miners attached to this road. They have been required to remain under canvas in all weathers, sometimes with many inches of snow upon the ground, and sometimes when it has rained incessantly for days. Some have been for months attached to distant divisions in the far interior, shut out from intercourse with their comrades, and deprived of all the luxuries of life, yet I have seldom heard a complaint. I have never found them discontented. No one of them has ever been reported to me for drunkenness, idleness, or insolence. They are generally well-informed, zealous, active men, and highly creditable to the branch of the service to which they belong.

124. Some have passed the examination for the department of Public Works, most of them are able to do so, yet their position here, in a pecuniary point of view, is far inferior to that of others (certainly not more deserving), who have been fortunate in having their names enrolled in that department. The men on this road observe others of the Sapper corps, junior to them in point of standing, raised to the rank of overseers of the department of Public Works, whilst they, as well educated, and performing duties of a like nature, have not been admitted into, nor allowed the pay of that department. This makes them desirous of leaving the road, and seeking to better themselves by obtaining appointments in divisions of public works, where their names would be borne on the roll of the department.

125. I most earnestly beg the most Noble the Governor-general in Council to consider the case of these men, and if he thinks fit, to reward their services by permitting them on passing the examination laid down for the department of Public Works, to be raised to the rank of assistant overseers in that department; that their promotion may regularly progress; and that they may enjoy the same amount of pay, whilst employed on this road, as that sanctioned for the men of the department working in other divisions of public works. I feel confident that the men will repay this indulgence by increased zeal and activity in the discharge of their duties.

126. Of the activity and good conduct of the small detachment from Her Majesty's 22d Regiment, which has been employed during the last two years on the road, I cannot speak too highly. As workmen they are invaluable, and the non-commissioned officer in charge of them has judgment and ability for the duties of an overseer. The value of such men in operations such as I have had the charge of, cannot be over-rated, and were their services more generally available, a great saving in both money and time would be manifest in the public works of India.

(signed) *D. Briggs,*

Superintendent, Hill Roads.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, concurred in by the Members of Council.

HILL ROADS.

1. THE Report on the road from the plains to Simla and thence to Chini, submitted by Lieutenant Briggs, is to me most interesting and satisfactory in a high degree.

2. The original motives which led me to sanction the attempt to construct this road, were recorded at the time. The objects to be attained by it were of great importance, the difficulties were numerous, and by many considered to be insurmountable. The objects, it is evident from this report, will certainly be obtained, and the difficulties have been triumphantly overcome.

3. The whole thing was experimental. People scoffed at the idea of being able to form a level road through these enormous mountains at all. No estimate could be formed of the expense, for no data existed by which to calculate it. Any reference to the Military Board would have been useless for this reason. I, therefore, took upon myself the responsibility of ordering its construction at once, directly under my own authority.

I venture to think that the experiment has been eminently successful.

Within little more than two years a road of more than 50 miles long, 12 feet broad, and with a ruling gradient of 3 in 100 feet (temporarily departed from in two places where it will hereafter be rectified), will have been constructed from the plains to Simla. One-half of the road from Simla to Chini, that is 70 miles in length and 6 feet in breadth, with the same ruling gradient of 3 feet in 100, has been constructed, and a tunnel of 200 yards in length has been excavated through solid rock.

All this has been effected in spite of the alternate obstructions caused by severe winter and heavy rains, and amidst many impediments caused by the conduct of the Hill Chiefs.

4. By the aid of the tribute labour due by the Hill Chiefs, the road of 12 feet in width has cost only 1,237 rupees a mile, and the road of 6 feet, 690 rupees.

5. It has thus been proved that roads which practically are level can be constructed in the mountains successfully, durably, rapidly and cheaply. The solution of this problem will be of great value equally to the European masters of this country and to the inhabitants of the hills, with reference alike to military, commercial, sanatory and social considerations.

6. No one, I think, can entertain a doubt that the work should be pursued to its fullest completion.

The improvements upon the Simla and Kalka road suggested by Lieutenant Briggs should be made. The short departure from the ruling gradient towards the Simla end should be corrected, and I hope that the tunnel near Dugshai, though extensive, may be found practicable.

The six feet road towards Chini should be steadily prosecuted. I still think that a considerable channel will thereby be opened up for trade across the hills, as was stated in my first minute. Since that time I have seen cause to recognise another great advantage which the road will afford by giving easy and comparatively speedy access to the valley of Chini itself, whose admirable climate has been proved by many persons, including myself, to be immeasurably superior to any other in India, free from the drawbacks which belong to all other sanatoria, that lie within the range of the monsoon, and in many respects equal to the bracing and invigorating climate of our own country.

7. When these roads are thoroughly established, their maintenance will be amply provided for by the labour of the Hill States due to us by treaty, and by a light toll which I would advise the Government to place on the road between Simla and the plains, and on the bridge over the Sutlej near to Wangtoo.

8. When this original line has been completed, or before if it should be found practicable, the branch from Kussowlie to Buddee on the Jullunder side may be constructed,

constructed, as suggested by Lieutenant Briggs. I would further recommend that a branch be formed from the new road at Dugshai to Sabathoo, thus connecting the three stations with each other, and the whole with the plains.

9. When this has been done, begar may be abolished; the right, however, of exacting it being always reserved, in order to meet any great and sudden public emergency.

10. Very recently I took occasion to notice in terms of the highest commendation the exertions and services of Lieutenant Briggs. I can add nothing to what was then said, excepting that the perusal of the full report now before me has confirmed the very favourable estimate I have long since formed of this valuable young officer.

Due praise may be bestowed through the Superintendent of the Hill States on the assistants named by Mr. Briggs.

An extract of the despatch relative to the Ranas should be sent to the superintendent of Hill States with a view to his suggesting the fittest mode of recognising their assistance and services.

The military department should be consulted on Mr. Briggs' request regarding the non-commissioned officers and soldiers under his orders.

11. The report with a section of the line, which I think will be found in the Foreign Office, should at once be sent to the Honourable Court. I feel confident that it will receive the report with gratification and approbation, and I trust that it will sanction the further works required for the completion of the road.

11 November 1852.

13 November 1852.

17 November 1852.

18 November 1852.

(signed)

Dalhousie.

J. H. Littler.

F. Currie.

J. Lewis.

LETTER from Captain *G. J. Montgomery*, Officiating Superintendent, Hill Roads, to *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.

Sir,

Simlah, 1 September 1854.

I HAVE the honour to forward for submission to the most Noble the Governor-general in Council, a Report of the progress made since the departure of Lieutenant Briggs, in October 1852, of the Thibet and Hindoostan Road, with an abstract of stages and distances.

2. Referring to your letter No. 3151, of the 20th July 1853, and having forwarded to Government in August of the same year, and only ten days subsequent, a report of the road, I considered the wishes of Government had been most fully met, though at the same time I beg to observe, from the disconnected state of the road in most places, and throughout to avoid obstructions from cliffs and difficulties, I have, and necessarily, been obliged to take time to enable me to bring my report to some intelligible condensed form or shape.

3. My suggestion of employing free labourers north of Seran with the view of meeting the expectations of Government to the vigorous prosecution of the works on the road, and bringing them rapidly to a close as far as Chini, will, I respectfully trust, meet with the sanction and concurrence of the most Noble the Governor-general in Council.

I have, &c.

(signed) *G. J. Montgomery*, Captain,
Officiating Superintendent, Hill Roads.

Letter from Captain G. J. Montgomery, Officiating Superintendent, Hill Roads, to J. W. Dabrymple, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.

Sir,

Simla, 1 September 1854.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 668, dated 17th February 1854, and obedient to instructions therein, and with reference to paragraph 3, from a despatch No. 26, of Public Department, 18th May 1853, I have the honour to state, for the information of the most Noble the Governor-general in Council, that since I took charge, and Lieutenant Briggs' departure in October 1852, the following progress has been made towards the completion of the Hindoostan and Thibet Road.

2. The distance of the road south of Simla to Kalka, is 50 miles, and of which, with improvements, 35 miles have been completed. The remaining portion, 15 miles, will certainly be completed in all this year. The road will then be a clear, fair 12 feet from Simla to Kalka, without an obstruction of any kind, with drains, bridges, that will last, to the best of my belief, for many years.

3. The stages of Kalka from Simla are,

From Simla to Kcaree	-	-	-	-	15 miles.
Solan	-	-	-	-	15 "
Dhurrumpore	-	-	-	-	10 "
Kalka	-	-	-	-	10 "

The first 40 miles of the road to Dhurrumpore was never opened out to a fair 12 feet, meaning thereby that an average could never have been obtained of 10 feet, for in many places it was not so much, and in most places throughout much less, with all the difficult or high cuttings avoided or lightly passed over by temporary walls or bridging, in some form or another, with little or no regard to permanency or utility,* the main and primary object of all entrusted in the construction of roads anywhere, and particularly in the hills. The road was evidently opened, and hurriedly, with the avowed object of being completed any how, by a certain time, for purposes difficult to divine, except by those interested or employed in its construction.

4. The improvements directed by Government to the lower line between Simla and Kalka, such as rounding all angular sharp turnings to 16 feet, to prevent accidents by collision, and cutting the banks to a proper slope or angle, to ensure against stoppages as much as possible from land-slips, or the subsidence of banks, embrace, naturally and particularly with a new road, extensive and considerable repairs (for it was impossible to separate the two works), with almost every retaining wall, bridge, or drain, to be taken down or rebuilt with very few exceptions, and throughout nearly the entire line of road south of Simla. The walls in most places being merely a casing, and from the want of proper foundations, and, filled in at the back with earth instead of stone, were more or less all bulged, or falling with the walls, covering the drains and bridges.

5. Besides the construction of most of the drains, walls, &c., &c., the road with the most liberal measurement would never have given an average of 10 feet in width, had to be opened out to 12 feet, with all the difficult and heavy cuttings left almost untouched and to be properly finished, as can be ascertained by any one qualified to make the necessary inquiries.

6. The branch road moreover during my superintendence, between Kussowlee and Dugshai, and only partly finished on my succeeding Lieutenant Briggs, has been completed.

7. The road also from Kalka to Dugshai, and measuring 17 miles 6 furlongs, with

* Two bridges having fallen in, with every other drain and bridge, to be rebuilt, with bridges built that were never necessary.

with scarcely any portion of it opened out, certainly not to more than six or eight feet, and in many places much less (particularly where there was any hard rock or blasting), and for three or four miles, and where the cuttings were anything but difficult, being principally through rice kates, or cultivated ground, and even there in a most unfinished state, without a drain or bridge, and with three to four miles not even marked out or lockspitted, and which has also been completed, including the construction of a 60 feet lattice bridge across the Kotee Nuddee, of abutments of cut stone taken from the bed of the torrent, and masonry, with drains, bridges, and retaining walls to support the roads throughout the entire distance between Kalka and Dugshai, and with all sharp and angular projections well rounded off.

8. The branch road connecting Subathoo and Dugshai, of eight miles five furlongs, and opened out throughout to full 12 feet, was completed in May last, and commenced during my superintendence without the additional work to the original line, any increase whatever of coolies from the different elakas or states, proportionate in any way to the construction of a difficult line of road, owing to the high cuttings and endless retaining walls necessary throughout the entire distance, from the precipitous formation of the range of hills connecting the military stations of Dugshai and Subathoo, with stone fitted for building purposes, distant and difficult to procure in most places. A bridge also across the Dogra Nuddee has been thrown, and built of cut stone and masonry, the abutments of which alone measuring, saying nothing of cubical contents, above 40 feet, with a connecting causeway to preserve the level, of dry stone, from 30 to 50 feet.

9. The three branch roads connecting Dugshai, Subathoo, and Kussowlic, and the main road to the plains have, it will be seen, been completed during my superintendence, and in obedience to Government instructions made over to the control of the department of Public Works.

10. The traffic between Dugshai and Kalka is entirely by the Thibet and Hindostan Road; the Boileau Road, or that constructed by Colonel Napier, is never traversed by any one, and should be abandoned, though at the present moment there is a company of Sappers employed on it, opening the approaches to bridges.

11. From Kussowlic a branch 12-foot road might be run, connecting with the main road from the plains to Simla, and most advantageously, without scarcely increasing the distance, and at an expense of about 4,000 to 6,000 rupees. The military roads would then be most perfect, easy of access, and enable Government to do away with the present steep, tortuous road from Kalka to Kussowlic, kept up at a considerable annual expense, and avoid the expenditure for annual repairs, with a trifling addition to the sum now expended for keeping the lower portion of the Thibet and Hindostan Road from Dugshai to Kalka.

12. Tunnelling the hill North, and facing Dugshai, from its great extent, fully 800 to 1,000 yards, as suggested by Lieutenant Briggs, would be costly, and, as far as can be ascertained, from the gravelly nature of the soil, and extent, totally impracticable, unless Government will sanction a lining or casing of masonry of cut stone and mortar throughout, or in such portions as may be considered necessary. Of the expense it is impossible to form any estimate, or predetermine in any way; for, as the work progresses, unforeseen difficulties and interruptions may, in so extensive a work, be met with and expected, and when finished, the only advantage to the road would be an improvement in the gradient without, and the main object of tunnelling the distance being scarcely perceptibly decreased to the plains, for it must be, and to any one at all acquainted with the formation of hills, that, as a matter of course (though this never occurred to me before, or indeed any one else), from the buttresses or spurs supporting the main range, the nearer you approach the foot or base, the distance at a considerable ratio must increase, and which is precisely the case with that portion of the road proposed to be connected at a reduced gradient, and by means of a tunnel.

13. I would therefore suggest, in place of the tunnel, the hill be gorged, or a ghât cut from 30 to 40 feet, and which at once would reduce the gradient to an easy ascent, be perfectly practicable to beasts of burden, could be done at

once, and for about 600 or 800 rupees. A tunnel was attempted in another portion of the road, near and above Koonda Ghât, and abandoned, as would and must be the case with the Dugshai tunnel, on discovering that a masonry casing was necessary for its construction.

14. The Lattice or Truss bridges, from careful observation, I find, from the component parts and numerous joinings, do not answer at all for India, certainly built of the Kaloo or Cedar, for though simple enough in construction, requires, to succeed, great care and accurate fitting. Two of the truss bridges built during Lieutenant Briggs' superintendence fell in shortly after my taking charge, and the remaining six on the road south of Simla will, and necessarily, be replaced before the termination of the present season (1854) by bridges, in their construction both simple and lasting, and which, beyond the cutting and carriage of the timber (with never a greater span than 12 feet), will cost little more, and strong enough for any and all purposes, with sufficient water-way to insure against accidents, or the bridge being carried away during the rains.

15. Of the upper portion of the road, and north of Simla to Seran, where the works are progressing, and vigorously, now that the weather is more favourable, and the rain not so incessant, is 118 miles, and divided into 12 stages; viz.

Mahasoo -	9 miles.
Fagoo -	8 "
Teag -	8 "
Mutteeana -	10 "
Narkunda -	10 "
Bagie -	9 "
Kundreela -	9 "
Soongree Ghât	9 "
Balee -	10 "
Nowgurie -	14 "
Darun Ghât	10 "
Seran -	12 "

1st stage, 9 miles to Mahasoo, the road to six feet was completed by Lieutenant Briggs.

2d stage, eight miles to Fagoo, and opened out to a full six feet, and nearly the whole distance during my superintendence.

3d stage, eight miles to Teag, about seven miles completed (two by Lieutenant Briggs, and five by Captain M.) to a full six feet, and most all cliff work and blasting, will be completed to Teag, certainly, during the season.

4th stage, ten miles to Muttecana, eight miles completed between Lieutenant Briggs and Captain M., with the remaining two miles of road intersected, and with heavy cliffs to be cut through, and will be completed, if possible, in all 1854.

5th stage, ten miles to Narkunda, all finished partly by Lieutenant Briggs and partly by Captain M., with the exception of about a mile and a half of most formidable cliffs, dangerous in the extreme to work, and through which I most confidently expect to run the road in all October next, certainly by November, and to enable Government to form some idea of the magnitude of cutting through the Muttecana cliff I will merely mention that two of my best overseers, selected for industrious habits and discharge of their duty, have, since April 1853 to the present time, excepting the winter months of January, February, March, and from the middle of December, incessantly and unremittingly been employed in reducing the cliffs and cutting the road way. In fact, the greatest portion of the road left, and since my taking charge, between Fagoo and Narkunda, has been more or less cliff work. Earth-work is easily executed, and with 20 coolies, properly looked after, I would engage to cut five miles of road, and measuring a clear six feet, and within a month; but with cliff or rock work it is very different, tedious in the extreme, and, when anxious to get on with your work, very disheartening and trying to both patience and temper, particularly when, as is often the case, the rock is intersected with veins of quartz, which, with two men working with a weighty six-foot jumper, properly steeled, you cannot cut more than a foot blast in a couple of days, and very frequently not so much.

At

At Muttecana the cliffs are composed chiefly of pyrites,* as hard as quartz, and which, when blasted, instead of shattering the rock and being able to remove the shattered portions by means of crowbars, come away only in small blocks or pieces, that makes the process of blasting both slow and tedious.

6th stage, nine miles to Bagie, completed during the superintendence of Lieutenant Briggs, gradient very irregular, and to avoid formidable cliffs, and which might have been passed, and advantageously, by the introduction of a zigzag, and without increasing the ascent to more than 4 feet in the 100.

7th stage, nine miles to Kundreelah completed, and, during Lieutenant Briggs' superintendence, road nearly level, and throughout the entire stage.

8th stage, nine miles to Soongree Ghât, completed during Lieutenant Briggs' superintendence, with the exception of a few miles completed in October and November 1852, during my superintendence.

9th stage, to Balee about ten miles postponed, no coolies available by Lieutenant Briggs, the old road being perfectly practicable for all parties, and the road between Balee *via* Nowgurrie to Seran being considered of more importance.

10th stage, 14 miles to Nowgurrie, a very difficult section, and completed during my superintendence. For the first five miles the road runs along through the face of a precipitous steep range of hills, overlooking in some parts the Sutledge, and others the Nowgurrie torrent, intersected with cliffs of granite, continually met with, and both difficult and extremely dangerous to work, with incessant and necessary bridging across clefts or chasms almost every 50 or 100 yards. From Ballec, the cuttings by no means difficult, excepting in places, till within a mile or so of the Nowgurrie, when nothing that I have ever experienced or witnessed, both on the Darjeeling and Thibet line of road, can surpass the difficulties we have had to contend against, for the rock through which we had to run the road is nearly and perfectly perpendicular, and composed in some places of entire rocks and beds of quartz, of the hardest description. Of which, for submission to the most Noble the Governor-general, I have forwarded specimens, with crystals found in a strata of red sand, embedded in quartz, with two specimens of pyrites, one, of which the Muttecana Cliffs are nearly composed, and the other found near the Nowgurrie river; also specimens of garnet I picked up on going over the Seran Cliffs, marking out the line of road, though of coal, I have not been able to get any trace in any shape or form, though I shall not relax my efforts in examining the different deposits or debris brought down by torrents in search of fragments, that would lead to the discovery, or even the existence of coal in the hills.

11th stage, Nowgurrie to Darun Ghât 10 miles, cuttings commenced, and during my superintendence. The Nowgurrie torrent is here crossed with a simple bridge, measuring 60 feet by 8, that will last for years, and constructed on the saugo principle, of red pine found growing in great abundance along the banks and heights of the Nowgurrie. From the bridge, for the first 400 yards or so, heavy cliffs, composed entirely of quartz, have been cut through, and the entire distance lock-spitted, of which seven to eight miles of the most difficult portion of the road has been opened out to six feet; the remaining two miles will be completed, and during the season. In this stage I have succeeded, and more satisfactorily, in removing, fuel being plentiful, immense masses of rock, by means of fire and water, by burning the rock till heated to that degree that, on application of cold water, the rock splits, and is removed by means of levers.

12th stage, Darun Ghât, 12 miles to Seran, and working from Seran to open the communication to the Darun Pass. For the first three or four miles cuttings very difficult, and mostly through cliffs, and on which the Bussahir coolies (500) are employed, under an officer (Lieutenant Dawson, and four European overseers), and every exertion being made to complete this section, though I think it scarcely

* Sulphuret of iron.

scarcely possible with only 500 coolies, and more not available from any of the other works, by the termination of the present season of 1854; and as the works next season will be in the neighbourhood of Seran, and in direction of Chin, I respectfully beg to suggest that, in addition to the coolies furnished from the different states, the superintendent of the roads be empowered to employ coolies to any extent obtainable, with the view of opening and completing the road at as early a date as possible, and with the utmost expedition. Free labourers, at four annas, from Ladak in particular, and Kunawar (or indeed anywhere, numbers of the Ladakies flock into Simla for employment, and are engaged in carrying timber from the Mahason Forest, and earn easily four annas, and more daily, but Seran being nearer their homes, and the employment more certain, with payments made daily) could be got, and in great numbers, for the Government works on the road, and could be most advantageously employed. For the coolies furnished from the states, even supposing the whole were present, and on the works,* which they never are, 1,420 coolies are in my opinion, I beg to say, totally inadequate, and unproportionate to the extent, magnitude, and rapid completion of the work, with the difficulties from the rocky and precipitous nature of the country through which the road is to be carried, increasing, and undeniably, almost every inch as the works progress, by cliffs that must and will be encountered, and cannot in any way be avoided. Sixteen more coolies might also be furnished from the Bussahir State, from a conversation I have had, coupled with my own inquiries with a friend intimately acquainted with the means and capabilities of the country, provided Government would forego a portion, if not all, of the moiety recovered monthly on account of coolies furnished, and for the payment of which, owing to the straitened state of the Rajah's affairs, as far as money is concerned. The road coolies unquestionably suffer, and are mulct in every possible way, though this would be denied, and stoutly, and which is my firm belief, makes the coolies detest every one and every thing connected with the road, and be the means at once of removing the ill feeling that has ever existed, for, strange to say, whether from attachment to the state, or what, the coolies quietly submit to the exactions without murmur or complaint. The quotas from the other states† might also be increased without any great hardship. With the large districts of Sukkete, Mundi and Kooloo, though distant, but as it is only for a time, might also contribute additional coolies to those now ordered,‡ though the 200 coolies from Sukkete and Mundi, ordered months ago, have from some most unaccountable cause never even been heard of, and the addition at the present season of 200 men would be invaluable. The 300 from the Kooloo district, arrived on the works on the 10th July, and are employed between Darun and Nowgurric, and since my taking charge, though not only in my time, but Lieutenant Briggs', the deficiency between the coolies ordered by Government, and furnished, amounts to fully 20 per cent. The Superintendent of Hill States has frequently been written to on the subject, and from whom I have received every assistance, though without the power of remedying the deficiency complained of.

17. For the repairs of the lower line, an European overseer, stationed midway between Simla and Dugshai, would, I conceive, under the superintendent of hill roads, be ample, with authority to make such requisitions to the Superintendent Hill States for such coolies as he may consider necessary, and proportionate to the extent of repairs; the expenses to be defrayed, tools excepted, by the different states through which the road may pass, and not by the State. For the

* North of Simla:

Puttiala	-	-	-	-	150	Turroche	25
Keunthul	-	-	-	-	150	Kotkai	45
Joobul	-	-	-	-	75	Kotghur	10
Koomharisien	-	-	-	-	100	Kooloo	300
Bujjee	-	-	-	-	35		
Bulsau	-	-	-	-	30		1,420
Bussahir	-	-	-	-	500		

† Keunthul, Joobul, Koomhassien, Bujjee, Bulsau, Bussahir, Turroche, Kotkai, Koteghur.
‡ 500, of which 300 only are present.

the upper portion, and north of Simla, one overseer for every 40 miles would, I should think, be sufficient for every purpose, and insure against stoppages to travellers from landlips or any other cause. The pay should not be under 80 rupees, with 20 to keep two horses, being the same as allowed under Colonel Napier, and which only be given to men for uniform good conduct and of sober habits, and that can be depended upon. At present on the road there are three or four most deserving men.

18. The new road from Narkunda, *via* the Darun Pass to Seran, is both tortuous and long, though no doubt of an incalculable benefit to the country through which it runs, still, for purposes of trade, should be more direct, and embracing the principal places; for it stands to reason, produce of all kinds will be conveyed as long as the road is safe and practicable at the least possible expense with reference to distance, and which would, as a matter of course, be by the old and present road from Seran to Rampore and Narkunda, being more direct, considerably shorter, possessing at the same time the indisputable advantage of being passable nearly throughout the year, which the new road never could or would, from the great altitude of the Darun Ghât, fully 9,000 feet.

19. The line of road to Seran would, I conceive, have better answered the means of Government had it been more direct, and embracing Rampore and Koteghur.

20. In addition to the different portions of the road finished, and since Lieutenant Briggs' departure, staging bungalows have been commenced, and completed at the stages, viz., of

1st. Bagir Bungalow, commenced and completed by Captain M.

2d. Kundreela Bungalow, the walls built by Lieutenant Briggs, and completed by Captain M., with chimneys and fireplaces, to be rebuilt and taken down.

3d. Soongree Bungalow, commenced and completed by Captain M.

4th. Balee. - ditto - - - - ditto - - - - ditto.

5th. Nowgurrie, ditto, commenced by Captain M., and nearly finished.

6th. Darun Ghât, ditto - - - - ditto.

General Remarks.

In cutting the branch road from Kussowlie (*vide* para. 11), with the main road to Simla, would, in addition to doing away with the present circuitous road from Kalka, would, I firmly believe, shorten the distance to Simla, without any additional expense beyond the cutting of the branch line proposed, being more direct, and at an improved gradient, nearly level, and can be cut in the cold weather, without in any way interfering with the upper works north of Simla, and would in six weeks or two months be completed; for if the distance between the two roads can at all be approximated, the present old road from Kalka, *via* Kussowlie Hurreepoor, and Siree, would, I am convinced, seldom or ever be travelled by any one.

Should Government approve and enter into my views with respect to employing free labourers north of Seran, and from Ludak, Kunawur, &c. &c., the sanction of Government I respectfully request may be communicated, and at early a date as possible, for I am now in treaty with the Ludakirs, and would on receipt of the Government order, at once commence the cutting of the road north of Seran, and continue till stopped by the cold and falling of snow, as I have tools and everything in readiness for almost any number of coolies, and would, as I before stated, be the means of bringing the works on the road not only to a close, but complete the opening of the road much earlier, if not in all next year, certainly the following (1856), and towards which Government may rely on my doing my utmost in every possible way; and on the return of Lieutenant Briggs in November or December next, of which intimation has been received, I should much, if meeting the concurrence of the most Noble the Governor-general, like to be allowed to continue on the road in charge and superintendence of the free labourers from Ludak, &c., &c., and by which the completion of the road would be, though emanating from myself, but not interestedly, very materially advanced,

with the permission I most respectfully solicit of being independent, and in no way under the control of Lieutenant Briggs,* as he is very much my junior in the service, and I feel fully competent to carry out the requirements of Government, having had more experience in the construction of hill roads than almost any one of my standing, now nearly 26 years.

My report I would and beg to suggest, being entirely an *ex parte* statement, be submitted to a third party, for consideration, and the satisfaction of Government as to its correctness and throughout, and which will, I trust, fully and creditably acquit me of any degree of tardiness during my superintendence. I regret, much, having incurred the displeasure of Government by the suspension of Lieutenant Pogson, but I respectfully beg to observe, situated as I was, I had no alternative, except that of placing him in arrest, and I adopted, to the best of my judgment, the most lenient measure, for trying to stop the works to answer his own ends and purposes; he was doing an infinity of mischief, and without my being able in any degree to place the slightest reliance on anything he said or did, setting aside the anxiety and trying position I was placed with regard, not only to myself, but the Government works entrusted to my superintendence.

I have, &c.
(signed) G. J. Montgomery, Captain,
Officiating Superintendent, Hill Roads.

ABSTRACT of STAGES and DISTANCES of ROAD from *Kalka*, through *Simla*, to *Chini*.

Number.	STAGES.	TOTAL Length of Road.			Road Completed.			Road to Complete.			REMARKS.
		m.	f.	yds.	m.	f.	yds.	m.	f.	yds.	
1	Dhurrumpore -	10	0	0	10	0	0	-	-	-	Completed.
2	Solan -	10	0	0	6	0	0	4	0	0	Will be in all this season.
3	Kaeree -	15	0	0	5	0	0	10	0	0	- Ditto.
4	Simlah -	15	0	0	14	0	0	1	0	0	- Ditto.
5	Mahasoo -	9	0	0	9	0	0	-	-	-	Completed.
6	Fagoo -	8	0	0	8	0	0	-	-	-	- Ditto.
7	Teog -	8	0	0	7	0	0	1	0	0	Will be in all this season.
8	Muttecanah -	10	0	0	8	0	0	2	0	0	- Ditto, if possible in 1854.
9	Narkundah -	10	0	0	8	4	0	1	4	0	- Ditto, in October or November next.
10	Bogir -	9	0	0	9	0	0	-	-	-	Completed.
11	Kundreela -	9	0	0	9	0	0	-	-	-	- Ditto.
12	Soongree Ghât -	9	0	0	9	0	0	-	-	-	- Ditto.
13	Balee -	10	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	Postponed.
14	Nowgurrie -	14	0	0	14	0	0	-	-	-	Completed.
15	Darun Ghât -	10	0	0	7	0	0	3	0	0	Will be completed in 1854.
16	Sirhan -	12	0	0	3	0	0	9	0	0	Progressing.
17	Tarundah -	12	0	0	-	-	-	12	0	0	Not lock-spitted.
18	Nangloo -	12	0	0	-	-	-	12	0	0	
19	Murroo -	10	0	0	-	-	-	10	0	0	
20	Chini -	12	0	0	2	0	0	10	0	0	10 miles by Lieut. Briggs in 1850.

(Signed) G. J. Montgomery, Captain,
Officiating Superintendent, Hill Roads.

* Accounts excepted, which could be sent to the accountant, hill roads, to be included in the monthly disbursements of the road, making at the same time such requisitions for money as may be necessary.

Minutes by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India,
dated 7 October 1854.

HILL ROADS.

The report by Captain Montgomery on the Hill Roads in the neighbourhood of Simla, if it proves nothing else, at least will prove the correctness of the previous impressions received by the members of the Government as to the exceedingly illiterate condition of this officer's mind, and the very doubtful probability of his being fit for the duty for which he was recommended to me.

I am in no way satisfied with his management of the roads in the hills, or with their progress; and his present report, where it is not unintelligible, is unsatisfactory on those points to my mind.

I propose to send Captain Montgomery's report in original to the Superintendent of Hill States, with instructions to him to give his opinion on the facts and proposals contained in the report, paragraph by paragraph, with as little delay as possible.

7 October 1854.

13 October „

14 October „

(signed)

Dalhousie.

J. A. Dorin.

J. Low.

J. P. Grant.

(No. 450.)

LETTER from Lord Wm. Hay, Superintendent Hill States, Simla, to the Secretary to Government of India, Calcutta.

Sir,

Camp, Phagoo, 19 November 1854.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch dated 17th October, No. 4522, forwarding, in original, a report by the Officiating Superintendent of Hill Roads, of the progress made on the Thibet and Hindoostan Road since the departure of Lieutenant Briggs, and in accordance with the instructions contained in the second paragraph, to submit my opinion on the facts and proposals comprised in the report, paragraph by paragraph.

To enable me to do so satisfactorily, I have carefully examined within the last 15 days the new road and its branches from Kalka to Mattiana. The remaining portion, as far as the Nowgurri River, I passed over only a few months ago.

2. The road from Kalka to Simla is 56 miles in length (not 50, as stated by Captain Montgomery), of which about 41 had been opened out by Lieutenant Briggs before Captain Montgomery took charge. About 18 miles of this portion of the road have been widened and improved (to a certain extent) by Captain Montgomery. The improvements required on the remaining 18 miles cannot be finished in all this year, for the improvement recommended by Lieutenant Briggs to that part of the road, near Tauk Cliffs, where there is an irregularity in the gradient, has only just been commenced, and will take a very considerable time to complete.

Para. 2.

3. Captain Montgomery in this paragraph states very truly that the road, as far as Dhurmpore, was never opened to a fair twelve feet; he is not however so correct when he asserts that "all difficult high cuttings avoided or lightly passed over by temporary walls, &c." Indeed it is difficult to conceive how Captain Montgomery could have made this assertion with the works at Tauk Cliffs and other parts of the road staring him in the face. The very reverse is nearer the truth, and I do not hesitate to say that few of the important walls erected in Lieutenant Briggs' time have fallen down.

Para. 3.

4. In a letter, dated the 30th September 1852, from Lieutenant Briggs to Captain Montgomery, there is the following passage. The "improvements consist chiefly of cutting off salient angles which are dangerous to traffic, widening the road everywhere to twelve feet, and rebuilding many of the culverts in the re-entering angles. These culverts were built hastily by coolies, and covered some with flat slabs, and others with rough timbers, on which two or three feet of stone wall were in some instances built to bring the wall up to its required level.

level. The weight of the stone-work has in many instances broken the timbers, and the culverts have fallen in; where the stone slabs were used, the openings were too narrow to afford free passage for the torrents of water and silt which fell from the hills; consequently they became choked up, and the water passing over the road soon washed away the whole stone-work of the culvert. The only description fitted for these hill roads, I have detailed at length in my Circular 15, 30th September."

5. From this extract it is clear that Lieutenant Briggs did not consider the road open to twelve feet, and further, that he never attempted to conceal the fact that many of the small drains from a faulty construction had fallen in, and would require to be rebuilt with more care on a different principle.

6. Between Koonda Ghât and Dhurmpore the road has not, I believe, been touched since Lieutenant Briggs left, yet I found almost every wall of any consequence standing. Many of the small drains were choked up; several stone walls had given way, and in many places the road was covered with debris from above; but when it is considered that the road had suffered from the effects of three rainy seasons, it must be admitted that its present condition is highly creditable to the officer under whose superintendence it was constructed, and affords a complete refutation to the assertion that "the road was evidently opened out hurriedly, with the avowed object of being completed any how by a certain time for purposes difficult to divine, except by those interested in its construction."

Para. 4.

7. With regard to this paragraph, I have to observe, first, that it is a mischievous exaggeration to say that almost every retaining wall, bridge, or drain had to be taken down where the improvements have been made by Captain Montgomery.

Secondly. That in some instances walls appear to have been taken down where no necessity existed for so doing.

Thirdly. That so many large walls along the whole line being still in excellent order, is sufficient proof that they were not generally built on insecure foundation, or filled up with earth instead of stone.

Fourthly. I am of opinion that the road was opened by Lieutenant Briggs to an average width of at least 11 feet; and,

Para. 5.

Fifthly. That the assertion made by Captain Montgomery, that all the difficult and heavy cuttings were left untouched, or to be finished, is utterly without any sort of foundation.

Para. 6.

8. The branch road from Kussowlic to Dugshai was completed by the middle of July 1852. It suffered on the following rainy season, and many banks above and below, slipped down, but the actual road (for not more than (1) one wall of any importance fell) stood remarkably well. Captain Montgomery cleared the road repaired the walls, but is in error when he states that it was "completed under his superintendence."

9. When Captain Montgomery took charge, about four miles of the Dhurmpore and Kalka road had been opened on this side of Kalka to 12 feet, and about five miles from Dhurmpore had been partially opened to about 11 feet, the rest had not been touched.

Para. 7.

Lieutenant Dawson was in charge of this section during the three and a half months Captain Montgomery was in Burmah. The Koles Bridge, one of the best, if not the best bridge on the whole road, was planned and constructed by Lieutenant Dawson, and is a very creditable work. I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of testifying to the zeal, energy, and ability displayed by this officer in the discharge of his duties.

The road now is sadly in want of repair. Many of the retaining walls have given way, at least one half of the drain bridges are choked up, and in many places the road, for several yards, is scarcely passable, from the slips which have occurred during the rains.

10. The branch road from Dugshai was constructed by Lieutenant Dawson under Captain Montgomery. When the latter officer went to Burmah, in October

October 1852, this road had not been even commenced. On his return in the following April he found it, with the exception of a couple of miles, finished.

It is by no means a difficult line of road. The retaining walls are not particularly numerous, nor any of them very large. Stone appeared to me to be very abundant along the whole line.

Para. 8.

Captain Montgomery states that a "bridge has been thrown over the Dagra Nuddec, &c." Two high abutments have, it is true, been built, but no bridge has been thrown over. The consequence is, the road has been and is perfectly useless, and will remain so till the bridge is finished; for the nature of the ground in the vicinity will not admit of a temporary roadway.

At present the road is in a miserable state, owing to the numerous slips in the banks above the road, the fall of many of the retaining walls, and the choking up of the drain bridges or culverts.

I had the greatest difficulty in getting my horse along it, and I was warned by several persons not to venture to take a horse along such a road.

The officer in charge of the public works objected, I believe, to take over the road from Dugshai to Subathoo till it was repaired and the bridge over the Dugra Muddee completed.

Para. 9.

I quite agree with Captain Montgomery, in thinking that the "Boileau road," from Kalka to Dugshai, should be at once abandoned.

Para. 10.

First. Because it is longer than the Hindoostan and Thibet line.

	M.	f.	yds.
From Kalka to the Dughshai parade ground, by the			
Boileau Road - - - - -	18	4	132
By the Hindoostan and Thibet Road, from ditto to ditto	17	6	106

Secondly. It crosses a river requiring a bridge of at least 120 feet span.

Thirdly. It passes over steep and crumbling cliffs, which are continually slipping down and blocking up the road.

Fourthly. It is a useless expense keeping up two roads between the same places, even supposing they were equally good; now the Hindoostan and Thibet line must be kept up, so the other should be abandoned.

A company of sappers, under an officer subordinate to the executive engineer, is employed at present on this road, and I would recommend its being removed to the roads connecting the cantonments with Kalka, with orders to widen them to at least 14 feet, and put them in every respect into thorough repair.

12. I am not of opinion that a branch road to Kussowlie is required. The present road is a very excellent one, and not very steep, and I am confident it would always be preferred to a larger though less steep one.

Para. 11.

13. A tunnel through the hill opposite Dugshai would unquestionably be a great improvement to the road; first, because it would improve the gradient, and secondly, because it would considerably lessen the distance between Dhurm-pore and Solun. Captain Montgomery affirms that, from the gravelly composition of the hill, a tunnel would be impracticable; and again, that it is impossible to form any estimate of the probable cost of making one. I would observe, with regard to the first objection, that I doubt whether Captain Montgomery has examined the hill it is proposed to tunnel with any care. I do not believe the hill side has been even scraped, to see what it is composed of.

Para. 12.

Para. 13.

Till something of this sort has been done, it is surely premature to say that a tunnel is impracticable. Immediately the nature of the hill has been ascertained, an estimate of the probable expense attending the construction of a tunnel through it, could be prepared, I should imagine, by any engineer of ordinary intelligence.

Captain Montgomery's observation that a road round the base of a hill is longer than one round the top, is not quite so original as he seems to suppose.

The question of tunnelling depends entirely on the expense. If a tunnel cannot be made without a casing of masonry, the expense would very much counterbalance the advantages likely to be derived from it.

Under any circumstances a gorge might in the meantime be cut to the top of the pass, which would improve the gradient very considerably, and slightly diminish the distance.

14. I cannot say I concur with Captain Montgomery in his opinion that lattice bridges do not answer for India, at least for the hills of India.

Para. 14. The Kotee bridge, built by Lieutenant Dawson early in 1853, has stood admirably. Troops and heavy baggage have passed over it, yet, since the day it was put up, it has not stood in need of any repair whatever.

Of the (6) six bridges built by Lieutenant Briggs, four are still standing, and appeared to my unprofessional eye, with one exception, to be in capital order and likely to last for several years to come. The pier of the bridge I have excepted had given way, and no attempt has been made to repair it; but the wood work was sound and in good repair.

The Koonda Ghât bridge was, I believe, blown down, and there can be no doubt that a lattice bridge is not well adapted for a place like the Koonda Ghât, exposed as it is to exceedingly violent gusts of wind.

Another lattice bridge near Simla fell in, but from what cause I am not aware. I should suppose from the piers not having been built sufficiently substantial.

Bridges on the lattice principle are, I should say, where wood is abundant, cheap, easily constructed, and so long as the space does not exceed 60 feet, strong and durable.

15. The road from Simla to the Mahasser bungalow is, as far as the spot where it meets the old road, open to about five feet, and in good order; from that point to the bungalow it is very narrow, and in places blocked up by landslips.

Para. 15.

2d Stage.—The greater part of the road from the Mahassoo bungalow to just below the old Phagoo bungalow, was opened to six feet by Lieutenant Briggs; it is in very bad order now, not having been touched for nearly two years.

3d and 4th Stages.—The new line of road is open from a spot where it cuts the old line, about four miles from Phagoo to within (5) five miles of Muttiana. From this point to Muttiana the greater part of the earthwork has been opened, but owing to intervening cliffs the road is not passable. These cliffs will take 300 men about four or five months to get through.

The cliffs between Phagoo and Theog will take 300 men about two or three months to finish, so this portion cannot be opened this year.

About half, I believe, of the road now in use was opened by Lieutenant Briggs, and the remainder by Captain Montgomery.

5th Stage.—This portion of the road will be opened, if the snow does not fall for the next month, this year.

The Muttiana cliffs are certainly very formidable; they are composed of solid hard rock, through which a road could only be cut by blasting.

I must not omit to observe that the completed portion of the road to Narkundah has suffered severely from want of care being shown to repairs; some of the largest retaining walls have been undermined by the water having been allowed to run down the centre of the road.

6th Stage.—To Bagu, the road is open all the way, and in very fair order.

7th Stage.—To Kundrella, ditto, ditto.

8th Stage.—To Soongur, ditto, ditto.

9th Stage.—To Baloe, the road has not yet been lock-spitted. I hope it will be commenced next season.

10th Stage.—This part of the road is very accurately described by Captain Montgomery.

11th Stage.—I have not seen this section, but I understood the road has been opened to five feet nearly all the way to Darun.

The bridge over the Nowgurri was in good order when I saw it, but I have heard that it suffered during the rains. It is constructed of the red pine instead of keloo, which ought to have been used, as it was to be got at Balti in great abundance.

Sufficient space was not allowed for waterway, and I should not be at all surprised to hear the bridge being carried away in a flood. Exposed to rain and snow, the red pine wood cannot be expected to last very long.

12th Stage.—About a mile and a half of this stage has been opened.

16. I doubt very much whether a single Ladakkee could be got to work on the road for four annas a day. They are a lazy people, and would find the work on the road too severe to be at all agreeable to them. I do not see, however, why an attempt should not be made to induce contractors to open portions of the road. One or two individuals have offered to contract for the easier parts of the road, and I think the contract system should be introduced and encouraged as much as possible.

Employment of
Ladhukces.

17. The Bussahur State could, I think, furnish 100 or 150 additional coolies for the road without any difficulty, if Government would consent to forego the moiety paid by that state. The revenue of the Bussahur State does not amount to more than 26,000 or 27,000 rupees, while the pay of 500 coolies at one anna a head amounts in the year to no less than 11,160 rupees, a very large sum compared with the resources of the state; and I have little doubt but that the Rajah does his best to reimburse himself by exactions from the zemindars in the shape of revenue, which render the road exceedingly obnoxious in their eyes.

Para. 16.

Amount of annual
tribute paid by
Bussahur State is
3,945 rupees.

The quotas of several of the other states might I think be increased if Government would agree to forego a portion of the moiety recoverable from them.

I beg to submit a statement showing the increase I would propose :-

	PRESENT.	PROPOSED.	
Puttiula - - - -	150	150	
Keonthul - - - -	150	200	* 100 to be paid by Government.
Joobul - - - -	75	100	* 50 " "
Koonhursein - - - -	50	75	* 25 " "
Bhujjee - - - -	35	50	* 25 " "
Bussahur - - - -	500	650	* " "
Turroch - - - -	25	35	* 10 " "
Kotkhai - - - -	45	45	
Kotgurh - - - -	10	10	
Kooloo - - - -	300	300	
Mundee - - - -	100	150	
Sukeyt - - - -	100	150	
	1,540	1,915	

* The remainder to be paid, half by Government, half by Hill States.

This would give an increase of 375 coolies a day available for work north of Simla.

18. The Mundee and Sukeyt coolies did not attend at first on account of the heavy rains. Their subsequent attendance has not been very regular, and I have addressed the Commissioner of Trans-Sutlej States on the subject.

On the requisition of Captain Montgomery I have made two advances of 2,000 rupees each on account of these coolies, and for which I request that you will solicit the sanction of the Governor-general in Council.

19. Captain Montgomery complains that the quotas of coolies furnished by the Hill States have been on an average deficient to the extent of 20 per cent. I am not able, from the absence of returns, to test the accuracy of this statement, but I am inclined to think the average deficiency a little overstated. Captain Montgomery has not, I am sure, included in his calculation coolies employed in the conveyance of stores, gunpowder, and baggage of officers passing to and fro. I do not attempt to deny that the quotas are frequently short of their number, and in order to ensure greater regularity, I have fined the Hill Chiefs four annas for each absent coolie.

Deficiency of
coolies.

To show that in spite of the deficiency complained of, Captain Montgomery has been pretty well supplied with coolies during my incumbency. I have the honour to submit a memorandum of the number of coolies furnished by the Hill States during the past (4) four years.

1850	}	672,000	{	-	-	-	-	-	336,000
1851				-	-	-	-	-	336,000
1852	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	245,000
1853	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	350,000
1854 to October	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	385,000

By the end of the year not less than 450,000 will have been furnished.

Para. 17.

20. In my letter to the Under Secretary to Government, dated 19th January 1854, on the subject of the repairs of the Hindoostan and Thibet Road, I gave my opinion that the repairs of the Thibet and Hindoostan Road should be entrusted to European overseers, subordinate to the Superintendent of Hill Roads, stationed at first about 30 miles apart, and assisted by a staff of sappers at the rate of one for every five miles.

The Illaquadars should be required to furnish 25 coolies for one week, at the requisition of the Superintendent of the Roads, where coolies in greater numbers, or for longer periods, may be required, they should be obtained through the Superintendent of Hill States.

The staff pay of an overseer would be about 30 rupees a month. The sappers would receive their regimental pay, &c., and the cost of repairs, inclusive of tools, &c., could never amount to more than 40 rupees a month for 30 miles, as the road settled down, the overseers' divisions might be extended; but for the first year or two I do not think they should be more than 30, or at the most 40, miles in length.

21. With regard to the roads connecting the hill cantonments with each other and the plains, I think it would be infinitely better if they also were left under the Superintendent of Hill Roads.

In the first place, he will have far more time to devote to looking after them than the executive engineer of the division stationed at Amballah.

Secondly. The Superintendent of Roads is pretty certain to be more experienced in the art of making and repairing hill roads than the ordinary run of engineers, few of whom have ever even seen a hill road.

To give an instance of how likely the repairs of the road are to be mismanaged, I may mention that the repairs of the road from Dhurmpore to Dugshai, about five miles, have been given in contract to an ironsmith residing at Amballah, for 1,100 rupees a year. Now it is impossible to put and keep this line of road in proper repair for anything like this sum, and unless some other means are taken for doing so, it will very speedily fall into disrepair.

If the Governor-general in Council be pleased to approve of all the roads in the hills constructed on the principle of the Hindoostan and Thibet Road, being placed under the Superintendent of Hill Roads, I would suggest that Lieutenant Scott and his company of Sappers be at once transferred from the Boileau road and placed at his disposal.

Para. 18 and 19.

22. I think a road connecting Kotgurh and Rampore with the present line a great desideratum, as long as Rampore is the great mart for the sale of Pushum wool, &c., the traffic of the hills will centre there. Besides, if a road was made from Narkunda *via* Koteghur, and the valley of the Sutlej, it would be much frequented by traders from Kūlū, who would, after crossing the Sutlēj under Komharsem, either carry their merchandise to Rampore, dispose of it at Kepoo, (under Koteghur) or take it to Simla.

A road might also eventually be made from the banks of the Sutlej, under Komharsem, to Sultanpore, in Kūlū, which would be of incalculable benefit to the traders of Lahail Piti and Kūlū.

Before, however, commencing any new line, I would complete the present one *via* the Daran Ghât. It is true it crosses a pass nearly 9,000 feet above the level of the sea, and therefore cannot be frequented for some three months in the winter. But in these months the whole traffic of the hills is suspended by the severity of the winter season.

Para. 20.

23. When I visited the road north of Narkundah during the rainy season I found the Bali bungalow nearly finished.

The

The Kundrela (Tootoo Pain) bungalow also quite habitable.

The Soongree was roofed in, but not finished.

The Balie bungalow was habitable, but not completed.

The Nowgurri River and Darun Ghât bungalows were just commenced.

24. General Remarks.—I have already stated that I do not consider a branch road from Kalka to Kussowlie much required. It appears to me that the whole energies of the Superintendent of the Roads should be directed to thoroughly repairing and improving the present lines south of Simla.

I would most strongly recommend the direct road from Simla to Kalka being widened to 14 or 15 feet, particularly where the cliffs are precipitous; when this is done, but not till then, there will be no difficulty in running carts on the road for conveyance of baggage, stores, and merchandise.

The coolies furnished by the states of Pattiala, Hindore, Sirmoor, Khyloor, &c., together with the company of Sappers under Lieutenant Scott, might be employed during the whole season in improving this line, and by next season we should have a road broad enough for camels and carts.

I would also suggest the Superintendent of Roads being directed to construct a pattern cart, to be used on the Thibet and Hindustan line.

In a former para. I have said that I did not think Ladakhees in any great numbers could be induced to work on the road for 4 annas a day. If the experiment was tried, I would rather see it undertaken by Lieutenant Briggs than Captain Montgomery. Employment of free coolies under Captain M.

I have endeavoured to give a faithful account of the Hindustan and Thibet Road, and of the progress made on it during the last two years. It is not very satisfactory, considering the means at Captain Montgomery's disposal; and I attribute this result to a want of system, and very much to the little confidence which Captain Montgomery places in his subordinates.

If Lieutenant Dawson had been left in charge of the line from Dugshai to Subathoo, when Captain Montgomery returned from Burmah, it would have been finished, bridge and all, a year and a half ago.

The want of system with which the work has been generally prosecuted has been shown in the incessant moving of large working parties, with their overseers, from one part of the road to another, involving a very great expense to the state, as well as to the officers and their subordinates, employed on the road. Besides, the overseers lose all interest in the road if they are liable to be removed in a week from any particular work which they have been directed to undertake.

The work done by Captain Montgomery since Lieutenant Briggs left consists of,

1. Repairing and partially improving about 18 miles of road between Simla and Koondah Ghât.
2. Repairing road from Kussowlie to Dugshai.
3. Constructing road from Dhurmpore to Kalka, with the exception of four miles on this side of Kalka, and five partially opened from Dhurmpore.
4. Constructing a road from Dhurmpore to Subathoo Bridge over Dagra Nuddee, unfinished.
5. Opening about eight miles of road between Mahassoo bungalow and Mattiana.
6. Partially cutting through the Mattiana cliffs.
7. Opening about 10 miles of road from Balie to Nowgurri.
8. Building the Nowgurri Bridge.
9. Lock-spitting the road from Nowgurri to Durun, and opening to five feet some five or six miles of it.
10. Opening one and a half miles of road between Darun and Sarahun.
11. Building and nearly completing four bungalows, and commencing two others.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. M. Hay*,
Superintendent, Hill States.

P.S.—The original enclosure of your letter is herewith returned.

(signed) *W. M. Hay*,
Superintendent, Hill States.

REPORT on the Operations connected with the Hindostan and Thibet Road,
from 1850 to 1855.

UNDER instructions from the most Noble the Governor-general of India, I proceed to lay before the Government a detailed account of the operations connected with the Hindostan and Thibet Road, from the date of its commencement in 1850, to the present time. With which will be incorporated any reports of general interest, which may have been submitted by me to Government during that period. And as this document would be incomplete, unless it afforded information as to what still remains to be done to facilitate the intercommunication of countries, between which nature has imposed such gigantic barriers as the Himalayahs, I shall, in conclusion, give an approximate estimate of the probable expenditure in time and money, as far as can be deduced from an examination of the country, and the data afforded by previous operations.

2. In the spring of 1850, a variety of circumstances combined to attract the attention of the most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie, Governor-general of India, to the oppressive practice of "begar," or forced labour, prevalent in the protected Hill States, which occupy that portion of the Himalayahs situated between the rivers Sutledge and Jumna.

This species of serfdom had been general throughout these principalities from time immemorial, and was doubtlessly introduced, not only as a substitute for revenue in the absence of other means of taxation, but because the exigencies of the chiefs required the entire disposal of the time and labour of their subjects in peace, as well as in war. As long as the chiefs were solely dependent upon their subjects for support, and were only preserved by their help from the encroachments of their warlike neighbours, the union between them was such, as to ensure the subject a certain amount of consideration from his chief; else would the subject transfer his allegiance to another and more politic master. Since, however, the British Government extended its protection to these states in 1815, these relations have changed; and the serf being no longer necessary to the safety and support of the chief (these being sufficiently guaranteed by the paramount power of the British Government), has lost the balance of power he formerly possessed. Without dread of interference (which the nature of our political relations precludes), the chief may now at his pleasure, increase his demands upon the time and property of his subjects. True it is, the latter may appeal against his oppression to the Superintendent of Hill States, but from the nature of existing treaties, that officer has in general no course to pursue but to refer the case back to the chief against whom the complaint lies; with what hope of obtaining justice for the oppressed, I need not say. Thus "begar," or unremunerated forced labour, as the term implies, is a system of the internal government of the Hill States.

3. In 1815, Sir David Ochterlony, finding the Hill States impoverished to an immense extent by the protracted invasion of the Goorkas, thought it sufficient to impose upon the chiefs whose countries he restored, a recognition of our paramount authority in the shape of a trifling annual tribute, and the duty of providing begar, whenever the exigencies of the state required it.

And foreseeing with his wonted sagacity the only means by which the condition of the inhabitants of the fertile vallies embosomed within the Himalayahs could be ameliorated, he added to the engagements of each chief the obligation of constructing roads, 10 feet wide, in whatever direction the British Government should desire them, within their own chiefships. For 35 years, or up to 1850, this last condition had remained a dead letter. With the exception of slight improvements made in the different hill paths, communicating with the residences of the several chiefs and Simlah, these improvements, except in a few instances, effected no change in the mode of carriage throughout the hills; as they were confined to the widening of old pathways, adopted before the employment of beasts of burthen had been thought of by the hill-men, and were consequently of a gradient impracticable to all but themselves.

The second condition had therefore of necessity been more generally exacted, as the exigences of the British Government within these states became yearly greater. When the Sanatoria of Simlah, Subathoo, Kussowlie, and Dugshai, (which have proved of such inestimable benefit to thousands of Europeans), were established,

established, great and continuous was the demand for labour in all shapes. In the absence of other carriage, thousands of porters were yearly required for the conveyance of Government establishments, invalids, and their numerous servants; troops and camp followers; supplies and merchandise, from the plains to the Sanatoria; and thousands were again required a few months afterwards to convey the same down again. Barracks were required for the troops; hospitals for the invalids; and materials for their construction had to be brought, by the unassisted efforts of men, from glens and mountains ten miles in the interior. To assist in these laborious tasks, the people of the plains were found to be perfectly unfit. The long rugged ascents, and narrow tortuous footpaths of the hill-men, were scarcely practicable to them under any circumstances, wholly impossible when laden. Thus the whole duty fell upon the scanty population of the Hill States, and heavy and grievous was the burthen. "Begar" was claimed by their own chiefs; begar was an obligation owed us by their treaties of 1815; and although, to the credit of our Government be it spoken, they never were called upon to work without receiving remuneration, yet what amount of wage could remunerate a man for being dragged against his will from his home and family, without warning, without consideration (for what Government native official has consideration when armed with his master's warrant), to a distance of many days' journey; there to wait weary days, without shelter, without his usual food, until his services were required. Then to be laden as a beast of burthen, to be insulted, to be buffeted by the low dependents of an European master, until the time of his slavery was accomplished; when he was suffered to depart, with feelings mortified and wounded, to his distant valley. There perhaps to find, that seed time or harvest had passed during his absence, and no provision been made for his unhappy family.

It might be supposed that the influx of large sums of money, within a limited period, must have tended to enrich the population, and so reconciled them to the evils of "begar." But, as previously shown, the system of our political relations with the chiefs allows of an "imperium in imperio," and thus deprives the subject of any protection against the tyranny and malpractices of the native authorities of the states to which he belongs. The consequence is, that no amount of care on the part of the disbursing officer insures to the "begar" the permanent possession of the wages paid to him. I have been assured by the late Superintendent of Hill States, Mr. William Edwards, that having on one occasion a large sum to disburse to subjects of the Hindoor States he attended in person, and saw the money put into each man's hand, notwithstanding which, he afterwards discovered that the hardars of that state took from the unfortunate men all that he had been so careful that they should receive.

4. Besides the cruelty of the system, it was to our Government a most expensive one. I have learned from the Superintendent of Hill States, that the sums disbursed on account of the carriage of the Government establishments from 1820 to 1852, to and from Simlah, amounted to seven lacs of rupees. The cost of the barracks and other buildings for one regiment at the Dugshai Sanitarium, has amounted, I understand, to six lacs of rupees. Taking the same sum as the cost of each of the other sanatoria of Kusowlie and Subathoo, and one lac of rupees for the other buildings, the expenditure on public works within the Hill States has probably not been less than 19 lacs of rupees.

From personal experience I will venture to state, that the chief items of expense in these works was carriage of materials; and yet there is no country in the world where building materials are more abundant; stone, lime, and wood exist in profusion within a circuit of 10 miles, and all that was wanted was the means of carrying it.

To the officers and servants of the Government, who annually visit Simlah and the neighbouring sanatoria for the recovery of their health, or on duty, and average about 500 persons, the cost of the journey, and the high price of supplies, becomes to many a most serious consideration. The cost of the transport of stores and supplies from the plains to Simlah, a distance of 42 miles, averages about three rupees per hundred weight; a sum which ought to suffice for the carriage of the same weight for a distance of 1,000 miles.

Had carriage roads been at once constructed, Government would have saved 50 per cent. upon the past outlay, which, as will be shown hereafter, would have sufficed for the construction of 500 miles of carriage road, and the servants of

Government, with their families, who have visited the hills, might have returned to their duties with renovated health, purchased at a less ruinous cost.

5. It remained for the most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie to initiate arrangements having for their object the construction of roads, that would admit of the transport of baggage on four-footed animals or carts, and thus render the agency of human beings in employments so degrading, unnecessary.

And with this view his Lordship, in the spring of 1850, sanctioned the commencement of a road, which leaving the plains in the neighbourhood of Kalka, 36 miles from Umballah, should ascend to Simlah, having branch lines to the stations of Dugshai, Kussowlie, and Subathoo. Further, as a part of the same project, his Lordship directed the continuation of the line beyond Simlah towards Thibet, through the temperate valley of the Sutledge; with the twofold object of affording an easy entrance into the justly celebrated salubrious valley of "Kunawur," and of opening a direct commercial intercourse with central Asia and Western China, and thereby directing into our own provinces the trade at present monopolized by Russia. As it was expected by the terms of the treaties of 1815 that these works, so humane and important in their object, would be effected by the Hill Chiefs, the continuation of the line beyond Simlah was a measure of good policy, as it would have been objectionable to have called upon a few and not upon all the chiefs for assistance; and it would have been but a continuation of the worst feature of the "begar" system, to have demanded the attendance of the subjects of "Bussahir," and other northern chiefships to the south of Simlah, so many miles distant from their own districts.

6. It is here necessary to show that this was the best line that could have been selected between central Asia and Hindostan, whether considered mathematically, commercially, or politically, the more so as it is one that has not been hitherto so generally adopted by merchants as other routes. Viewing Lé on the Indus as the *entrepôt* between Central Asia and Hindostan, we find five different routes from it to the plains, viz. two to the south-west through Kashmir, one to the south through the East India Company's territories of Sahul and Mundee, and two easterly branches of this last through Spiti and Bussahir.

The first two are, according to Cunningham, 350 miles in length. The most westerly crosses the passes of "Namyika," Photo-la, "Pir Panjal," and "Ratanpir," varying from 12,000 to 13,300 feet in height. The other is still more difficult and crosses five passes respectively 16,952', 16,495', 18,125', 14,794', and 10,165', in height. The southern road is 370 miles in length, and crosses the passes of "Sung Sung" (17,500'), "Lunga Lacha" (17,000'), Bara Lacha (16,500'), and Rotang (13,000'). The two more easterly branches are respectively 434 miles and 479-miles in length, the first of which crosses five passes varying from 15,282 to 18,502 feet in height, and the second encounters the same number of obstacles varying from 14,821' to 17,500 feet. The great elevation of these passes necessarily renders the several lines I have named impracticable during many months of the year.

They also, with their corresponding depressions, render even an approximately true mathematical line impossible, and two of them, from lying within a foreign state, are politically objectionable, even had they possessed other superior advantages.

7. But Lé is not the most conveniently situated spot for a commercial *entrepôt* between Central Asia and Hindostan. It has certainly long enjoyed this distinction, but rather on account of the despotic influence of its rulers and the jealous care with which they have directed the trade of Central Asia towards their own territories, than for any advantage the place itself possesses. The chief products of Central Asia are shawl and common wool, borax, sulphur, and churrus. With the exception of churrus, which is brought from Yarkund, each of these articles of export are more largely produced in the districts of "Chang Tang" and "Rudok" than elsewhere. These districts lie 300 miles to the eastward of Lé, so that this distance must be added to the length of the above-mentioned routes in calculating the distance which the produce of Central Asia has hitherto been carried to reach an Indian market through that *entrepôt*. Churrus and a limited quantity of the finest shawl wool come from Yarkund, and find a convenient *entrepôt* in Lé, but not so the produce of Eastern Thibet.

Tea, another important article of trade, is brought entirely from the Chinese dominions

dominions to the eastward. A glance at the map will show how circuitous is the route to Hindostan *via* Lé from the Thibetan provinces of Chang Tang and Rudok, and from the productive districts of Western China. It will also show that from the rich mineral and silk-producing provinces of Khoten and Akson, a suppositious line may be drawn through Rudok and Chang Tang to the plains of India considerably shorter than if drawn through Lé, or indeed through any other given point.

The British protected Hill States lie comparatively contiguous to Chang Tang and Rudok, and are bisected by such a line.

There is another line from Thibet to Hindostan used by merchants from the eastwards, that *via* the Niti Pass, through the Almorah district. It does not afford so direct a communication with Thibet as the one we have adopted, but is more convenient with reference to L'hassa and Western China. The Niti Pass, however, (nearly 17,000 feet high) will ever prove an insuperable obstacle to regular and active trade. It therefore appears beyond a doubt that the best line between Thibet and Hindostan, whether in a commercial, mathematical, or political point of view, is one from the uplands of Chang Tang through Bussahir and Simlah to the plains near Kalka. Here and here only has the awful barrier of the Himalayahs been pierced and its ramifications threaded by the waters of the Sutluj, so that passes of great elevation do not present themselves, and the mathematical correctness of the line is not impaired. This is the line that has been adopted for the Hindostan and Thibet Road, and I believe that the most sceptical will now allow that it is the best that could have been selected and the best calculated to improve the commercial relations of the two countries. When completed, the keen reproach uttered by Moorcroft thirty-five years ago, will have lost its point and applicability. "The Thibetans," wrote this adventurous traveller, "have their flocks and herds in abundance, provided with wool of peculiar properties, and admirably adapted for the finest manufactures. They have also some natural products of value, salt, borax, natron and gold. They have no manufactures and rear an inadequate supply of food; the latter can be plentifully supplied from the British provinces of India. Whether they shall be clothed with the broadcloth of Russia or of England—whether they shall be provided with domestic utensils of copper, iron, or pewter, with implements of iron and steel, with hardware of every description from Petersburg or Birmingham, is entirely in the decision of the Government of British India. At present there is little doubt to which the prize will be awarded, for enterprise and vigour mark the measures of Russia towards the nations of Central Asia, whilst ours are characterised by misplaced squeamishness and unnecessary timidity."

8. The project of uniting Hindostan with Central Asia by a great commercial line having been determined on, but before operations had been commenced, Major (now Lieutenant-colonel) J. P. Kennedy, Military Secretary to Sir Charles Napier, then Commander-in-Chief in India, an officer of great talent and European reputation as an engineer, proffered his services as temporary superintendent of the new road. The principles upon which he determined to conduct the duties of superintendence had for their especial object the following results:—

First. The best mathematical line of road, with especial reference to levels.

Second. The construction of the same at the smallest possible cost.

His first care was to obtain accurate information regarding the country through which the proposed road was to run. Reserving to himself the examination of the country to a distance of 40 miles on either side of Simlah, he deputed me to examine the country towards Thibet. The result of our examination was, that no condition of the first principle need be vitiated, but that from the difficult nature of the ground, the second principle would be considerably affected by the scrupulous observance of the first. Major Kennedy considered the importance of the first principle of too much consequence to admit of modification, but I feel confident that greater experience of the astounding obstacles presented to a level road by the Himalayahs, and the number and depth of the inflections, which add so much to its length, would have induced him to admit as a condition of the best mathematical line, economy in distance. At any rate, I have found it necessary in practice to admit of such considerations,

but at the same time have been careful that they should not be allowed to affect the general correctness of the line.

9. To those who have examined the Himalayahs it will be known that they conform to a system of river basins and dividing ridges, generally extending at right angles to the main chain. These ridges, from their numerous subordinate ramifications (each pair of which form their own tributary basin), present to the uninitiated eye a confused mass without system or arrangement. Yet, between each principal artery exists a connected chain of mountains from the snowy range to the plains of Hindostan. Between the Sutluj and Ganges there are four such connected ridges, forming the water-shed lines between the four great rivers, the Sutluj, the Touse, the Jumna, and the Ganges. It requires no demonstrative proof to show that these ridges afford the best mathematical lines for a road, as they present unbroken basis, intersected by no watercourses. If the elevation of these ridges was gradual in its increase, as they approached the main chain, or snowy range, there would be little difficulty in constructing a roadway along their water-shed lines, but the incline is by no means regular; on the contrary, the outline of each ridge consists of a series of rising peaks and corresponding depressions; and it is a singular fact that, in many instances, the ridges are capped, near to where they subside into the plains, by peaks of greater altitude than the generality of those rising from parts of the range nearer the snows. In like manner, the depressions or passes on the ridges are irregular in their elevation, and those nearest to the snows are frequently of less altitude than others on the same range nearer to the plains. It is therefore apparent that if a road was constructed so as to follow the crest of the ridge, it must conform to these rises and falls, and consequently would not be mathematically correct; as the first condition of such a line is, that it shall not rise or fall unnecessarily. A perfect hill road must therefore be laid out with reference to these lowest or "obligatory" points, and, instead of mounting over the intervening peaks, must pass round, or cut through them. Two objections may be raised to the practical application of the above principles. First, the increased length and tortuous course, which is given to the road by passing round, instead of over, such impediments. Second. The necessary destruction of a portion of the hill to afford the roadway, which thereby deprives a part of the hill side of its natural base, and renders the bank above the road liable to slip, and fill up the roadway. Both objections are good, but the first is capable of considerable modification by the judicious construction of the road; and the second continues to exist only until the bank resumes a slope which will admit of the earth remaining at rest.

10. Applying the above principles to our investigations, we selected the line shown in Map No. 1, which accompanies this. The maximum gradient permitted was 1 foot in 33 $\frac{1}{2}$, or 3 feet in 100. In but a very few places have I thought it necessary permanently to increase this gradient, and then only in order to effect a great saving in distance. No permanent sacrifice of principle was admitted to avoid natural difficulties, such as precipices, deep ravines, &c.; but in future operations within the Himalayah, I would recommend that this point should receive due attention, as not unfrequently, a scarcely appreciable deviation from the true gradient will enable the engineer to escape difficult ground, and to effect a reduction of expenditure. In order to show the impossibility of availing ourselves of any portion of the old road, I have, in Map No. 2, given sections of both the old and new roads between the plains and Simlah; which will convey more just ideas of the relative difference betwixt the two, than anything I could write on the subject.

11. It will be seen that the new line leaves the plains in the neighbourhood of Kalka, and gradually ascends, for 14 miles, to a gorge in the extensive range of hills which border the plains, and extend from the Sutluj to the Jumna. On the left lies Kussowlee, six miles distant; nearer, and overlooking the gorge, stands the Lawrence Asylum. To the right is Dughai, close under which the road winds to the low neck of land which connects the long outer range above-mentioned with the main body of the Himalayahs. Here an abrupt spur thrown off to the eastward, at right angles to the desired direction, renders a tunnel of 1,900 feet necessary. From this the line runs to the next obligatory point near the rich valley of Solon, which it enters at a spot eminently calculated for a large European settlement. It then skirts the southern flank of the

Krole

Krole mountain, and running through the next obligatory point at Kundah, commences an ascent of five miles to Kearee Ghat, passing above the fine valley of Bhagurree. From this it runs nearly level, through the volcanic cliffs of Tara Devi, to an obligatory point within four miles of Simlah, to which it ascends at a gradient of 1 in 25, steeper than any on the whole line, but rendered necessary by the elevated position of the sanatorium. Two and a half miles beyond Simlah, after emerging from the fifth obligatory neck, another rugged spur, running to the south-east, renders a tunnel of 550 feet necessary; from which the line runs at an imperceptible gradient, for 40 miles, to the Nagkundah Pass, 9,300 feet above the level of the sea. From this, skirting the northern face of the massive Huttoo mountain, it holds a level course to the obligatory point under Bagee; from which an easy ascent brings it to the highest point on the line at Kundrelah, which has an elevation of 9,660 feet. Descending to the obligatory Soongree Pass, it turns northward to avoid the snow limit of the Himalayahs, and seeks the valley of the Sutluj. Skirting this at a general elevation of 6,000 feet (temporarily vitiated by the tremendous cliffs bordering the Naguree torrent,) it crosses the Sutluj River above the old bridge of Wangtoo; from which it ascends to the village of Chini, unrivalled for the beauty of its scenery and the salubrity of its climate. Gently descending, in order to avoid the deep inflections of the snow bed tributaries of the Sutluj, it runs through the rich vineyards of Rarung and Akpah, until it again meets the Sutluj, under the town of Soengum and Kanum, renowned no less in the ecclesiastical history than in the commercial estimation of Thibet and Western China. Under Sapoorie the line again crosses to the left bank of the Sutluj, now flowing at an elevation of 8,300 feet, and taking advantage of an old bed of that most turbulent stream, 100 feet above its present level, it emerges on the high lands of Thibet, near the Chinese village Shipke; from which, roads as old as the people themselves, run east, west, and north, traversed by baggage cattle of all descriptions. But it must not be supposed that the ease with which I have sketched the direction of the line affords any adequate notion of the extent or nature of the obstacles which oppose the construction of a road. In presenting a summary view of these, I cannot do better than accompany it with such remarks on the geological formation of country as my limited knowledge of the science will permit; for there can be no surer criterion of the natural obstacles which oppose the road engineer's progress.

12. On leaving the elevated plain (composed of loose conglomerate and alluvium formed from the detritus of rocks) lying between the Sewalik range and the outer spurs of the Himalayahs, the line enters a series of indurated sandstone piled in confused masses. The angle formed by the mountain side varies from 30° to 35° . This continues for about five miles from Kalka, when the line enters the basin of the Kossilah and its tributaries, when the slope of the hills becomes less abrupt, so that all the minor spurs have been reduced to terraces for the purposes of cultivation. Higher up, the spurs are capped by masses of granite and other inferior rocks, forming hard and difficult walls through which to excavate a road. As the line approaches the summit of the extensive ridge between Dugshai and Kussowlee, the slope of the hills assumes an angle of 40° ; and their composition is generally of broken and detached masses of granite, imbedded in stiff ferruginous clay, frequently intersected with walls of gneiss and overlying beds of indurated sandstone, forming obstacles of considerable magnitude from their excessive hardness and frequent recurrence. Perched above the gorge at Dhurmpoor, at an elevation of 4,900 feet, is an extensive mound of half-baked stratified rock, abounding with fossiliferous remains, especially shells of the *Spirifer Walcotii*, *Gryphæa obliquata*, *G. vergula*, *G. dilatata*, *Podopsis trunculata*, *Turrilitis tuberculatus*, and others, which I have been unable to identify. The formation of the Dugshai hill, and that through which the long tunnel is necessary, appear outwardly to be of granite masses and gneiss walls; but our excavators have exposed thick beds of graphite and marl, which, from their want of consistency and the quantity of water they contain, have considerably retarded the progress of the miners, and rendered a partial lining of the tunnel necessary. On the spur to the north of this tunnel the line runs through masses of yellow sand, argillaceous limestone, and other deposits of the oolitic system. The argillaceous limestone is so regularly stratified as to form perfect rectangular blocks, valuable for building. A white

efflorescence (probably muriate of soda) occurs in the graphite under the limestone. Above this are immense masses of coralline magnesian limestone, of fantastic shape, in places overhanging the road. The Krole Mountain is almost entirely composed of this mountain limestone, full of fissures and caverns. From its toughness and numerous cavities, it is very difficult of reduction, and consequently offers great resistance to the excavators. Between the Krole and Tara Devi Mountain the formation is of clay slate, finely laminated, but much broken. The slope of the hill side is generally about 40° , which renders the cuttings for a roadway heavy. On this, from its southern exposure, no tree vegetation appears to thrive; but the hill side annually produces a valuable crop of natural grass, and further down in the valley, where the detritus has accumulated, much fine cultivation has ensued.

The Tara Devi Mountain is of volcanic origin, composed of several of the primary rocks fused into a conglomerate mass. It appears either to have cooled irregularly, or, after cooling, to have been the scene of fresh volcanic agency, as mass is detached from mass by extensive fissures, the edge of which are not of a sharp or broken appearance, as if caused by fracture from convulsions subsequent to their formation, but rounded as if the masses had been rubbed against each other.

The composition of one such contiguous mass, frequently different from the composition of another, and the fissures are in many places lined with crystals of sulphur, iron, and other minerals. Mounds of black scorizæ are here, as also on the Krole, of frequent occurrence.

Here also a bright vermilion powder, of considerable demand amongst the natives, is found; and at another place, quartz veins impregnated with iron pyrites of a bright golden hue, gave hopes to many of the discovery of a new gold field. Along the whole extent of the Tara Devi Mountain and its neighbourhood, the cliffs are lofty and very precipitous, presenting obstacles of great magnitude to a road.

Of the formation of the ranges between Simlah and the uplands of Thibet I need say little, as they are all of the mica slate and gneiss series, crossed but seldom with any other element interesting to the geologist. This formation is however pregnant with difficulties to the engineer. The mica slate is piled up into precipices of many hundred feet, and the gneiss is exposed in not less precipitous masses of thousands of feet in extent. Neither, from being stratified, are favourable to blasting operations, and both have been already too severely tried to yield to fire and water. Veins of quartz, piercing every description of rock, form a network throughout the whole of this formation. Near Mahasoo, at an elevation of 7,000 feet, an extensive bed of lime rock lies above the slate. At Kundrellah the mica slate is strongly impregnated with iron ore, but this will be more particularly described hereafter, when treating of the iron mines opened out by the road.

Throughout the gneiss and mica slate series the hills are most rugged and abrupt, breaking into extensive cliffs, and intersected with narrow and precipitous glens. The action of the weather on their rugged outlines causes constant demolition, and the consequence is that rocky avalanches of enormous size not unfrequently descend with crushing force, carrying ruin and devastation in their impetuous course. The thin superstratum of soil lying on the sharp incline of the slate hills, in severe seasons, becomes saturated with moisture, and loses its adherence to the slate stratum underneath. It then frequently slides upon its base, and deposits its load of forest trees and surface rock into the glen below, leaving a shelving precipice of bare rock where formerly existed a rich forest.

All these serve to increase the difficulties attending the construction of a mountain road, where the principles of gradients are strictly observed.

13. The preliminaries having been arranged, operations were commenced on the Hindostan and Thibet Road in the month of July 1850. I will not here detail the mechanical operations connected with the construction of the road, but have, in Appendix (A.), given Major Kennedy's excellent instructions on the subject of "Road-making in the Hills." In the manner therein described, a five (5) feet mule-track was commenced at several points on the line. It has been frequently remarked with reference to this road, that it would have been a wiser plan to have finished one portion of the road and opened it to the public,

public, instead of commencing on a number of unconnected portions, unavailable for traffic. The reason is to be found in the nature of the labour employed. Each state furnished its quota of labourers, and as it would have been an unmitigated hardship to have demanded their services at a great distance from the boundaries of their states, they were employed at that point of the line which lay nearest to their homes. Hence the commencement of work on a number of detached portions.

14. Major Kennedy, in his letter to Government dated the 17th September 1850, fully details the means he took to obtain the efficient performance of his duties from every individual employed on the road. That he was eminently successful, admits not of a doubt; but that the sanguine expectations entertained in that letter should be realized, was simply impossible. He then stated that there was little doubt but that the whole line from Kalka to Chini, in the valley of Konawur, might be made passable for loaded animals by November 1850. That is, that a nearly level road, five feet wide, and 200 miles in length, might be constructed through the most precipitous chain of mountains in the world, within a period of four months. Major Kennedy had only inspected the lower hills. He had not examined the two miles of sheer precipice at Mutteanah; the walls of perpendicular rock lining the Nogurree and Munglad; the Rogee Abyss; or indeed any portion of the line in the rock valleys of Bussahir and Konawur. The work actually constructed within these four months was the opening of 50 miles of an irregular path, just passable for horsemen, between Simlah and Dugshai. Where cliffs occurred they were avoided by temporary ramps, made either over or under them. Twenty-five miles of similar pathway were constructed between Simlah and Chini; but as intervening cliffs were not reduced, no portion of it was available for traffic.

15. I must here observe, that I have learned from experience how erroneous is the system of opening out a hill road to a less width than what is eventually contemplated. I do not mean that no lock-spit should be made, for without it the road would not be kept level; but I object to opening the road first to five feet, then afterwards to 12, and then perhaps to a greater width. In opening the road to a width of five feet the excavators, with great labour, blast and chip off just enough to afford the pathway required, and the debris falls down and fills up the re-entering angles. When it is required to increase the width, the labourers have to recommence to excavate the bank above the former cutting, and to perform the same operation as was required for the five-foot road, only, that the labour is increased in ratio to the increased dimensions of the section. From the accumulation of the debris of the first cutting the natural bank below the road is hidden, and much labour is expended in removing the rubbish to commence the excavations for the foundations of the revetment walls. It is my opinion, that after the cutting of the lock-spit, the intended width of the roadway should be finally determined, and the foundations of the retaining walls laid out and excavated at once. The cutting into the hill side may then be commenced, the fragments of rock being used for the walls as they are dug out. By this means all unnecessary labour will be avoided, the sharp angular turns in the road will be reduced to a minimum, and the foundations of the walls, from being cut out of the unbroken hill side, will be stable.

16. The number of labourers employed in the construction of forty-six (46) miles of Major Kennedy's pathway was 80,966, or an average of 1,730 labourers per mile. The cost, at the market rate of 2 annas per man, would have been 216 rupees per mile. The actual cost to Government, in consequence of the amount of tribute labour at that time supplied, was only 147 rupees per mile.

17. In December 1850, after Major Kennedy's return to England, I commenced the widening of the Simla and Dugshai track to 12 feet; correcting all irregularities of gradient which had previously been allowed, in order to avoid difficult ground; throwing bridges over the principal torrents, and erecting staging bungalows. It was now found that the labour provided by the Hill States in terms of their treaties was such as to render it impossible for the British Government long to avail themselves of it.

Sir David Ochterlony's treaties were looked upon as a dead letter by another generation than that which had benefited by his mild rule; and the chiefs obeyed

with evident reluctance the orders of the Political Agent for the assemblage of working parties.

That officer (Mr. W. Edwards, of the Bengal Civil Service), had been highly instrumental in bringing to the notice of the Governor-general the evils of the begar system, and insisted on the construction of roads as the only means of reforming it. The assessment of the quotas of labourers exigible from each state for the construction of the road was entrusted to his care; and Appendix (B.) will show how careful he was to make it with reference to the size and population of the states, so as in no instance to exceed one per cent., and in few instances half a per cent. of the population. But all his efforts failed to enlist the good-will of the chiefs towards the work, and although from dread of the consequences of disobedience they furnished a considerable body of labourers, they adopted no means for their support, and did their utmost to make the work unpopular with their subjects. The finest sophistry could hardly lead to the supposition that the treaties did not oblige the chiefs to pay the labourers they were bound to supply. For where would have been the necessity for any stipulations in their treaties, if the British Government were themselves to bear the cost of the roads they desired to construct? Yet of the 19 Hill Chiefs who furnished labourers, not one yielded the smallest support to them whilst employed on the road, and ere four months had elapsed, it became evident that the British Government must take the burden on their own hands, if they would not have the work stigmatised, in common with the Mahmondee Canal, or like works, constructed with the blood and sinews of a starving people.

From that time every labourer has received from the hands of Government officials, 2 annas per diem; the market rate at which labourers are paid in the North-Western Provinces.

For a time an endeavour was made to enforce the payment of a moiety of the wage of each party by the state to which it belonged; but after about forty thousand (40,000) rupees had been so obtained during a period extending over four years, from the states as per margin,* it was deemed best to discontinue it, and the British Government have ever since paid, from their own coffers, every man engaged on the work, so that the treaties of protection under which the Hill Chiefs have enjoyed 35 years uninterrupted tranquillity have failed to obtain for the British Government any adequate return for the heavy expense that protection has cost them.

18. It would be tedious to describe each of the many works which were necessary in order to form a nearly level roadway of 12 feet in width, through the difficult country before described. I will merely mention a few of the works of greatest magnitude, plans of which accompanied my report of the 1st October 1852. The most expensive undertaking was the reduction of the extensive range of cliffs which line the western flank of the sacred Tara Devi Mountain. These extended for a distance of nearly two miles, varying from 50 to 200 feet in height. One portion of 400 feet in length was cut down to a depth of one hundred and fifty feet (150'), in order to obtain a sufficient breadth of roadway; another portion, three hundred feet (300') in length, was of such a height and so sheer, that in order to obtain a roadway, the reduction of the cliffs must have commenced three hundred feet (300') above the line of road; to this I preferred erecting a viaduct of two hundred and sixty (260') feet across the precipice. Under Prospect Point, near Simla, a series of cliffs, five hundred feet (500') in length, and averaging sixty feet (60') in height, were reduced by blasting, and a cutting of one hundred feet (100') in length, and fifty (50') in depth, was made through a sharp projecting spur. Retretment walls, varying from ten (10') to fifty (50') feet in height, were built in many places. These were constructed of hammer-dressed stones laid without mortar, having a general batta of one-fourth of their height.

I cannot give a better idea of the amount of work performed in opening the 40 miles of road between Simlah and Dugshai to a breadth of twelve feet (12'), than by stating the cubic measurement of each description of work :

1. Of

1. Of hard rock, reducible only by blasting	-	-	-	<i>Cubic feet.</i>
2. Of slate, shingle, stones, and earth	-	-	-	5,734,663
3. Of revetment walls	-	-	-	14,170,417
	-	-	-	823,893
Total Cubic Feet of Work				20,728,973

The number of labourers employed on this was 348,912; and the cost to the state for labour, Company's rupees thirty-one thousand and forty-nine, annas nine, and pie six (*Co.'s Rs. 31,049. 9. 6.*); there was a further sum of Company's rupees one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, annas four, and pie six (*Co.'s Rs. 1,755. 4. 6.*) expended on artificers; of which class of labour 5,610 were employed at an average rate of 4½ annas per diem. The cost of superintendence, including all staff salaries, accountant's pay, and overseer's staff allowance, was Company's rupees twelve thousand seven hundred and three, annas ten, pie nine (*Co.'s Rs. 12,703. 10. 9.*)

There were other incidental expenses for materials, books and stationery, amounting to Company's rupees three thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, annas nine, pie one (*Co.'s Rs. 3,877. 9. 1.*) The cost of tools and powder which were supplied by Government, I have no means of determining. The amount of powder expended was pounds forty thousand (40,000 lbs.). By reducing the above to a mileage denomination, we have, as the average expenditure per mile,

	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>
On labour	776
On artificers	44
On superintendence and accounts	320
On contingencies	97

or a total expenditure per mile of Company's rupees, one thousand two hundred and thirty-seven (*Co.'s Rs. 1,237.*) Besides the large viaduct mentioned above, eight wooden bridges, varying in span from 30 to 90 feet, of the "American lattice" description, were constructed. They were only furnished with single trusses in the manner of "cattle bridges," as greater strength was not considered necessary. Heavy twenty-four (24) pounder guns, with carriages, were taken over them with safety. These bridges, spanning a length of 662 feet, have cost Company's rupees nine thousand (*Co.'s Rs. 9,000.*) That is, their cost per lineal foot has averaged Company's rupees thirteen, and annas eight (*Co.'s Rs. 13. 8.*) They were constructed solely of "deodar," with oaken trenails. I do not, however, now think that they are well suited for the hills; as deodar is not of a nature to withstand the great transverse strain the component parts of the lattice bridges are subject to; and the tremendous gusts of wind which sweep down the ravines of the Himalayahs, cause much undue lateral pressure upon the trusses. The largest bridge was thus blown down in 1853, but has been replaced, without much additional expense, by another of simpler description.

Staging bungalows, of six rooms, were built at Kearee and Solon, at a total cost of Company's rupees seven thousand three hundred and fifty-five (*Co.'s Rs. 7,355.*)

19. These several works commenced in December 1850, were completed in September 1851, between which periods there were only 248 working days, in consequence of the severity of the winter and the long continuance of the rainy season. In October 1851 the most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie personally inspected the whole of the completed works.

20. The works since completed to the south of Simlah upon the principles of those just described are roads 12 feet wide, connecting the military stations of Dugshai and Kussowlie, and Dugshai and Subathoe; and the extension of the Hindostan and Tibet Road to the plains, the whole amounting to seventy-eight (78) miles of 12 feet road, constructed upon true scientific principles, through a country unrivalled in natural difficulties. The number of labourers employed has been 626,228, and the total cost on account of labour to Government, Company's rupees seventy-three thousand nine hundred and seventy-one, annas nine, and pie six (*73,971. 9. 6.*); or Company's rupees nine hundred and twenty-two, annas eleven, and pie five (*Co.'s Rs. 922. 11. 5.*) per mile. The widening

of a part of this, between Simlah and the plains, to 16 feet, is now progressing, and ere six months elapse, I have a right to expect that there will be no more difficulty in conveying goods upon waggons, from the plains to Simlah, than there is in conveying them from Allahabad to Cawnpore. Only at one place will the draught be severely felt, and that will exist until the tunnel through the Chewah range of hills is completed. This tunnel (1,900') one thousand nine hundred and ninety feet in length, was commenced in January last, and notwithstanding the unfavourable nature of the hills, which deterred our progress until both entrances were arched with masonry, the gallery is now advanced four hundred feet (400') into the interior. The expenditure on labour up to the present time has been, Company's rupees three thousand (Co.'s Rs. 3,000.)

The other heavy works which have been lately constructed, or are now in progress of construction, are, a viaduct of (420') four hundred and twenty feet in length, to correct an irregularity of gradient which had formerly been permitted near Tank Cliffs; another of (100') one hundred feet at Kundah Ghat; and a queen post bridge of (45') forty-five span near Kearee. Besides the widening of the road to a minimum breadth of sixteen feet, a parapet of rubble masonry, coped with turf, is being constructed wherever revetment walls or precipices exist, throughout the whole length of the line. Where the bank is sloping, (oaken) posts six inches thick are set at every ten feet. I intended to connect them with a rail, but the pilfering propensities of the natives have interfered with this.

A dāk bungalow of the largest size is being completed at Dhurmpore, where the roads to Kalka, Kussowlie, Dugshai, and Subathoo diverge.

21. It may be satisfactory to show here the probabilities of the financial success of a carriage-road from the plains to Simlah, or in other words, the probability of the scheme being a remunerative one.

In the first place, the distance by this new road from the plains to Simlah is 56 miles, which upon the opening of the tunnel, and the completion of other improvements, will be reduced to 50 miles. The distance by the old road (which is practicable only for porters, and light laden beasts of burden), is 42 miles. The present ascertained traffic is above 8,000 tons per annum, without calculating the occasional increase consequent on the presence of the head-quarters of the Government at Simlah.

The average cost of transit is Company's rupees fifty (Co.'s Rs. 50) per ton. The total annual cost is not probably less than four and a half laos of rupees. When the new road is fairly opened for carts, this traffic will be doubled, as the potatoe grounds of Mahasoo are as able to supply 9,000 tons of potatoes as they now supply as many hundred weights. The iron of Kotkhai and Shiel may be produced tenfold beyond the quantity now exported, which is 8,000 cwt. The deodar forests of the Putteeallah and Keuntal states may as well furnish timber for the buildings of Amballah as for those of Kussowlie and Dugshai. Simlah will become the entrepôt of hill produce instead of Loodianah and Sirhind, and when railways intersect India, it will be the summer residence of the European public of the Presidency.

Whether the Government retain the transit in their own hands, issue licences, or establish tolls, the annual returns ought not to be less than 15 per cent. upon the outlay.

But Dugshai and Subathoo have yet to be taken into account. The annual cost of transmitting Commissariat stores to these stations is not less than Company's rupees, ten thousand (Co.'s Rs. 10,000). A saving of 50 per cent. upon this will at once be the consequence of the establishment of carriage traffic. The present average cost of marching a regiment from Kalka to either of these stations is Company's rupees, two thousand (Co.'s Rs. 2,000.)

The cost of the same by means of carts, will be less than Company's rupees five hundred (Co.'s Rs. 500.) The outlay at present upon the transit of market goods and private stores is not probably less than two laos of rupees.

It has been stated by some, that the annual repairs of this road will be enormous. This opinion is proved to be erroneous by the fact, that the roads hitherto constructed are at this present moment in as good condition as they ever were, and the total amount expended in three years on the repairs of seventy-eight (78) miles, has been Co.'s Rs. 8,312. 15. 5., or Co.'s Rs. 35. 8. 5. per mile per annum. As traffic increases, it will probably be necessary to metal certain portions of the line, but it is to be supposed that the increased traffic will afford increased income.

But

But far above and beyond these considerations, is the opening out of the fertile vallies of these mountains to future European colonists. Blessed with a climate not surpassed in Europe, possessed of a soil which requires but the labour of man to produce anything; pregnant with minerals of unknown value and extent, abounding in virgin forests, the depths of which have not yet heard the sound of the woodman's axe. All, and far more, than the early colonists of America ever promised themselves, is to be found here, where under the blessings of a mild and paternal government, the colonist might increase his store, as fully assured of safety to life and property, as if the scene were in the heart of Great Britain, instead of under the shadows of the mighty Himalayahs. Instead of permitting the old worn-out European pensioner to idle away all that is left to him of life, under the scorching sun of Chunar, it might be worthy the attention of Government to give him a cottage and a spot that he might call his own within some of these elevated vallies; where, with something to occupy his time, he might, under proper superintendence, lay the foundation of an European colony; the youth of which, educated to a military life in the neighbouring "Lawrence Asylum," and "Roorkee College," might furnish our Indian army with recruits as strong, and better educated and acclimated, than the mother country does produce.

22. I will now proceed to show what progress has been made in the works to the north of Simlah, on the line towards Thibet, and should objection be taken to it, I beg that it will be borne in mind that in the Himalayan working year there are not above 190 days.

From the end of November to the end of March it would be fatal to the labourers to be encamped at elevations above 6,000 feet; and again, during the wet season, there are many days when work must be deferred; add to this the great natural difficulties to be encountered; the limited amount of labourers that are procurable from the northern states; the fact that these are changed every fifteen (15) days, thereby entailing on the road-overseers a continual, and most harassing amount of training,—the benefits of which they are never destined to reap; and the frequent desertions of entire working parties at perhaps most critical times; and the wonder will not be how little has been accomplished, but rather, that anything has been effected at all. With the exception of two breaks, of two and three miles respectively, 115 miles of six-foot road are completed.

In this, there is one abnormal portion temporarily admitted in order to avoid the tremendous cliffs which line the Nogurree torrent. A few general improvements are required, but the whole is practicable for laden mules and horse-men. At present, the working parties are pushed forward to Wangtoo on the Sutlej, where I hope they will be able to continue at work during the winter, and by next spring, I expect that but 25 miles will remain of unfinished work between Simlah and Chini, and 60 between Simlah and the frontiers of China.

23. Where all is so difficult, it appears scarcely necessary to particularise special works. There are a few, however, which I will briefly notice. A tunnel, five hundred and sixty feet (560') in length has been driven through a hill two and a half miles north of Simlah, and not the least remarkable circumstance connected with this work is, that it was constructed almost entirely by convict labour. The night-reliefs were alone composed of free labourers, and a few of the same class assisted during the day in wheeling barrows, and in such works as the convicts' chains rendered irksome. In the excavation of this work, 10,000 convicts and 8,450 free labourers were employed. At the market rate of labour, it would have cost Company's rupees one thousand and fifty-seven (Co's. Rs. 1,057.) but as a certain amount was furnished as "tribute," it only cost Company's rupees three hundred and ninety-one (Co's. Rs. 391.) A further sum of Company's rupees two hundred and twenty (Co's. Rs. 220.) was expended on artificers, so that the total cost of the tunnel to Government, was Company's rupees six hundred and eleven (Co's. Rs. 611.) The period occupied in its construction was twelve months. Considering the valuable work thus obtained from convict labour, I cannot refrain from expressing my disappointment, that since the completion of this tunnel, I have been wholly deprived of the services of the few prisoners that were employed on it.

The next heavy works are the cliffs under Phagoo, which have been cut down to a depth of one hundred and twenty feet (120').

Between Theog and Mutteeanah three strong and handsome viaducts have been erected; one of these is two hundred and twelve feet (212') in length. Beyond Mutteeanah, the tremendous range of cliffs which extend at intervals over a mile and a half, have been cut down to the depth of one hundred and thirty feet (130'), so that a ten-foot road now runs through this range of precipices where formerly a goat could not have found standing room. From Rowlee to Thedah, the road is carried for five miles through one continuous range of cliffs. Before reaching Serahun, it passes through the fearful precipices that overhang the Munglad, and beyond Serahun it is cut for half a mile through a sheer mass of rock.

The number of labourers employed upon these works has been 233,564, the cost of which, after deducting Company's rupees forty thousand (Co's. Rs. 40,000), as stated in paragraph 17, to have been subscribed by four states, has been Company's rupees, seventy-seven thousand six hundred and eighty-five (Co's. Rs. 77,685), or Company's rupees seven hundred and six, annas three, pie seven (Co's. Rs. 706. 3. 7.) per mile.

The expenditure on material, with the exception of powder, has been trifling; of this, 20,000 l. have been expended. Eight staging bungalows have been erected at a cost to the State of Co's. Rs. 9,900. 5. 7.

24. A few remarks upon the material used in the construction of the road works, and found in the neighbourhood of the line, do not appear to be irrelevant to the subject of this report; and first, with reference to building timber.

It appears to be a normal condition of the Himalayan forests that they shall have a northern aspect, the flanks of the mountains facing that quarter being alone covered with tree vegetation. So much is this the case, that a traveller from the southward is at first impressed with the barren appearance of the mountains, and the utter absence of forest scenery. When, however, he has penetrated further into the interior, and turns his face southwards, he is made aware of the erroneousness of his first impressions, by the extensive breadth of dark pine forests he finds he has passed. To account for this singular fact, several reasons may be adduced, although none appear wholly satisfactory. It may be from the accumulation of snow on the northern flanks during the winter, which protects the young plants from the severe frosts, and affords an inexhaustible supply of moisture during the summer; or perhaps from the general dip of the strata being towards the south, from which those slopes have an even and regular declination, but retain no depth of soil, from the facility with which it is washed off; whereas, from the disintegration of the northern exposed edges, deep deposits accumulate, receiving yearly increase in depth and richness, from the debris of decayed vegetation. So rich does this soil become that at elevations between 8,000 and 12,000 feet, some of the most delicate of European vegetables and flowers are naturally produced. Asparagus, celery, rhubarb, strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries, scented violets, primroses, potentillas, anemones, cowslips, are all numerous.

From the Hindostan and Thibet Road, following the left or south bank of the Sutlej, it necessarily passes through several extensive forests, but the majority of the trees furnish timber of little value, except as fuel. The immense forest extending from the Shallee Peak in the Bujjie State, to Turandah in Konawur, (a distance of at least 100 miles), does not contain one tree in a thousand capable of yielding good durable timber. Within this distance there are a few patches of pinus-deodat, than which there can be no finer timber; and at a lower elevation many strips of pinus-longifolia fit for deal boards and battens; but the mass of the forest is of pinus-excellsa, and abies-Smythiana, the timber of which much resembles that of the spruce fir of Europe, and is of little use except for fuel. From Turandah upwards, the pinus-deodat becomes more abundant, and when approaching the arid uplands of Thibet, it, with the pinus-gerrardiana, (the neoza, or edible pine) forms the general tree vegetation.

Without stopping to notice the cedar forests of the Putteelah, Keunthul, and Kotee chiefs within ten miles of Simlah; out of which have been built the Sanatoria of Dughai, Kussowlee, Subathoo, and Simlah, and which, from the short-sighted rapacity, and negligence of the chiefs, have been ruthlessly destroyed and not replanted. I shall briefly mention the position and extent of the

the other patches of deodar, which I before stated occur occasionally on the left bank of the Sutluj, before reaching the comparatively high point of Turundah on that river.

Near the summit of the Shalke Peak there are some 800 trees of large dimensions growing at a general elevation of five thousand feet (5,000) above the Sutluj, and separated from it by five (5) miles of a rough descent.

At Kotegurh there is a young healthy strip of forest, which, however, is not likely to prove more than sufficient for the local demand.

In several of the deep valleys between Kotegurh and the neighbourhood of the Soomgar Pass, at Bowlee, and at Dhurun; all stages on the Hindostan and Thet Road, there are several groves of deodar, but all of limited extent, and held sacred by the villagers as their household gods. These all exist at very long distances from the Sutluj.

Besides these patches, there are of course many individual trees of deodar amongst the dense mass of inferior pines; but they are in no place sufficiently numerous to deserve special notice, and can only be discovered after considerable search. The same forests also produce walnut, maple, horse-chestnut, hazel, several cedars, and two oaks, (*Quercus incana*, and *Q. semicaspiolia*), the timber of which is tough and durable. It is little used by the hill-men on account of the difficulty of working it; and the crooked nature of the tree rendering it not easily adaptable for building purposes. I consider this timber as peculiarly well adapted for railway sleepers, and carriage, and waggon trucks. Appendix C, gives the weight per cubic foot, and transverse strength of deodar; *P. longifolia*, and the two kinds of oak as experimentally determined at various places on the road.

It is not until reaching Turundah that the deodar becomes sufficiently abundant, within a moderate distance of the river, to suggest the possibility of floating the timber down to the plains. The rocky nature of the bed of the Sutluj within the hills, and the rapidity of its fall, has until lately been held to render improbable the success of any attempt to float timber from a high elevation. But an experiment commenced by Mr. Edwardes, and carried out by Lord William Hay, has proved the possibility of doing so, and although the result of the experiment was not satisfactory in a financial point of view, this was attributable to causes which I believe to be remediable.

The great fact of the possibility of floating timber, of almost any dimensions, from a high elevation on the Sutluj, to a point where rafts may be constructed, was proved. The following were the causes of the want of success in a pecuniary point of view.

First. The difficulty of transporting the timber from where it was felled to the river, in consequence of the precipitous nature of the country.

Second. The perishable nature of the timber floated down, four-fifths of it being *P. longifolia*.

Third. The unnecessary delay of two years in forwarding it to Ferozepore, arising from the timber having been cut too late to take advantage of the floods in the Sutluj, without which there was not sufficient water to float them down, and,

Fourth. The want of a proper establishment at Belaspore, where the current becomes sufficiently easy to allow of rafts being formed.

The first of these difficulties, and the only one I consider necessary to notice, I would remove by the erection of a slide between the forest and the river. Turundah itself is not suitable for such an arrangement, as the forest is not sufficiently extensive, and the ground between it and the river is too precipitous. The capabilities of Nachar (the next stage) are far greater. There are two forests in that neighbourhood; one to the south-east, consisting of 900 splendid trees, averaging in girth nine and a half feet, and in height 115 feet. The maximum girth measured was 24 feet, the minimum four feet. Trees of greater dimensions exist, and even reach the enormous girth of 37 feet. The other forest is immediately above the village of Nachar, and contains 20,000 sound trees, averaging in girth eight feet, and in height 110. The direct distance of these forests from the river is 20,100 yards, the first 800 yards of which is at an average slope of 20°; the next 800 yards are at 22°, and the last 800 (down to the river's edge) vary from 33° to 40°. I was apprehensive that these last gra-

lients would prove too steep for the efficient working of a slide, but I have since constructed an experimental slide at an angle of 40° and found it to answer every requirement. The frequency and depth of the inflections render a diagonal line along the hill side impossible. I now feel perfectly confident of the success of this scheme, which I recommended to Government in 1852. The probable cost of the erection of the slide would be 10,500 rupees, and the Ferozepoor value of the timber which might be daily sent down by it, from May to September (whilst the river is flooded) 3,000 rupees.

Three lacs' worth of the finest timber, of a scantling fit even for the Bombay market, might be annually supplied by such an arrangement during the next seven years. The selling price at Ferozepoor, for building timber of deodar is 12 annas per cubic foot. I will warrant, should Government be pleased to approve of my suggestions, the delivery at that point on the Sutluj, of any quantity of prime wood at four annas per cubic foot.

But before sending down timber to be used in the Punjab, where it is exposed to the ravages of the white ants, I would recommend the precaution of rendering it impregnable to their attacks by the infusion of some antiseptic substance into the sap of the growing tree. Appendix (D.) gives the result of four experiments made by me during the past year, which it will be seen were entirely successful.

Fifteen days sufficed for the impregnation and destruction of the growing trees; they were felled, and on being sawn up the sulphate of copper, with which they had been destroyed, was observed to have coloured almost every portion of the timber. Four logs were sent to Captain Johnson, Assistant Quarter-master-general at Umballah, who, in the beginning of July had them buried, with four unimpregnated logs, in a spot swarming with white ants. They were dug up in November, having been four months underground, when it was found that all the unimpregnated timber, with the exception of one log of deodar, was more or less destroyed; whilst the impregnated logs, with the exception of one in which the infusion had not penetrated the "alburnum," and which was consequently slightly excoriated by the insects, were in perfect condition. The fact of the infusion refusing to pass by the "alburnum" is remarked by Lindley—Introduction to Botany, vol. 2, p. 328.

The probable cost of thus insuring the durability of the timber will be half an anna per cubic foot, if impregnated with sulphate of copper and salt, or one anna if with sulphate of zinc.

Before leaving this subject I am desirous of pressing on the notice of Government the necessity for making arrangements for the purchase and preservation of the deodar forests of the Himalayahs, bordering the Sutluj, Pabur, and other rivers. These, with scarcely an exception, exist in independent states to which we accord protection. It is a remarkable fact that more than one of the chiefs of these states owe their positions to our generosity, rather than to any right derived from birth, and yet there are no more rapacious dealers in any market when they find that the Government are in want of any article they possess. Should Government direct a revision of their "sunnuds" with a view to increase the tribute they pay, these chiefs would represent their estates to be nearly worthless. But if within their chiefships the Government should require a barren hill for a sanatorium, the price demanded would be such as might be asked were the ground as productive as the wheat fields of Kent.

The forests of the far Himalayahs are profitless to the chiefs, and consequently neglected. The natural grasses underneath are of more value to the villagers of the neighbourhood than the tall pines above, which shade them, and check their growth. Fire strengthens the grass, and removes the offending giant trees, and thus whole forests fall before the improvident brand of the hill-man.

The Nachar forest shows a belt of dry sticks and blackened stumps 500 feet wide, and 2,000 feet long, where, but a few years back existed some 3,000 noble deodars. But let a Government official express a wish for but one tree, and the price demanded would be such as to startle the most uncompromising advocate of "free trade." Far in the interior of one of these states I lately required for the public service a few trees of *P. excelsa*, from a very extensive forest, for charcoal; and although the timber of this tree is absolutely worthless, the price demanded was equivalent to that obtained in Simlah for the best deodar. I observe, as one of the causes of the pecuniary failure of Mr. Edward's scheme for floating down timber, that the Rajah of Bussahir charged Government two rupees per tree for the common *P. longifolia*.

P. longifolia, cut in the virgin forests of Konawur, which, even in the neighbourhood of the Simlah market, would not have been worth half that price.

Were Government now pleased to express a desire to cut timber in the Nachar forests, I feel confident that, however worthless they are at present to the Rajah of Bussahir, the sum he would demand would be almost prohibitory, as far as the success of the scheme financially considered. I would, therefore, earnestly solicit permission to ascertain accurately the extent and value of the best deodar forests on either side of the Sutluj and Pabur, and at once arrange with the chiefs the purchase of a certain portion of them (say as much as 50,000 rupees), at a fair valuation. The forests having once become the property of Government should be properly guarded, and means for their extension adopted. The planting of the hill side above and below the Hindostan and Thibet Road with fine timber trees, is another part of the same project, which may be thought worthy of the attention of Government.

27. I will now briefly describe the iron ore exposed by the road excavations, or lying in the vicinity of its course.

It is first met with near Kundrelah, close to where the two great spurs of Simla and the Uhor bifurcate, and it extends at intervals over 200 square miles of the latter spur. The species is magnetic iron, and it occurs in very dark iron—black grains disseminated in veins throughout the mica schist. I believe it to be similar in its external, physical, and chemical characters to the magnetic iron ore of Norway and Sweden. In two districts, Kolkhai and Shiel, it has long been worked by the hill-men, and from its malleability is much prized in the Indian market.

Near Kundrelah, where the Hindoostan and Thibet Road lays open the mineral, the ore enters too intimately into the composition of the compact mica slate, in which it occurs, and bears too small a proportion to the matrix to afford a profitable return; but nine miles to the eastward, and close to the Pabur river, the entire side of a mountain rising 1,500 feet from the valley below and reaching an elevation of 7,000 feet above the level of the sea, was found to contain numerous rich veins of magnetic ore disseminated amongst the mica schist, which was here of the most friable nature. A land-lip on one face of the hill afforded the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages the means of procuring the ore without the expense of excavating.

So disintegrated are the particles of ore, that on a stream of water being brought over the mineral veins, the shale is washed off and the ore, as a coarse granular black powder, remained. The expense of procuring the ore in this state does not exceed three annas per cwt. The per-centage of iron obtainable from it is 52·17.

Having obtained a grant of 5,000 rupees for the experimental working of these mines, a locality was selected where ore, wood, water and flux were obtainable at the least practicable cost. Ore was excavated with the sanction of the Rajah of Bussahir on a condition that he should receive a per-centage (hereafter to be fixed) upon the iron produced from the furnace.

The sole right of cutting wood over eighty acres of pine forest in the neighbourhood of the mines I obtained from the villagers of Shiel on favorable terms. With proper coalings the yield of charcoal from this forest should not be less than 7,000 tons. But within a circle of 10 miles there are forests capable of yielding as many millions of tons.

A strong stream of water flowed through the valley at an elevation which admitted of a portion being led to the mines by a cut one-and-a-half miles in length. With proper management, power sufficient to drive machinery may be so obtained. Lime, as a flux, was obtained for the carriage within a distance of three miles.

The result of the last few months' working has been the construction of the watercourse, the erection of necessary storehouses and workshops, the completion of one blast-furnace and the semi-completion of two others on European principles, with several of native construction, the washing and storing of 170 tons of ore, and the burning and storing of a large quantity of charcoal.

The estimated cost at which (if working on an extended scale) we can turn out iron, is 85 rupees per ton; but by the introduction of machinery (the air-furnace or, better still, the hot-blast) I feel confident that the Himalayan iron works of Shiel might be brought to produce iron at the same rates as those of Merthyr

Tydvil and Glasgow, and of a superior quality. I have hitherto received practical assistance in the direction of the works from assistant overseer Nelson, a son of the large iron-founder of Glasgow; but illness has deprived me of his services, and until I can obtain a qualified person to conduct the European mode of smelting the ore, the yield will be but small and precarious.

I have marked upon the map the situation of the iron mines, and would direct the attention of Government to their favourable position with reference to the navigation of the Tonse, which for six months of the year I am inclined to think would prove no impossibility for flat-bottom barges.

28. The system of accounts which obtains on all works connected with the Hindostan and Thibet Road, from its efficient working during five years, is deserving of notice in this report. It is based on a system of checks which, if the superintendent of works does his duty, affords the best security against fraud. It has proved successful with fifteen different works in hand, and I am confident would do the same with five times that number and with any amount of expenditure. That it has been successful is owing to the separation, in all details, of the accountant's department from that of the executive, by placing at its head a responsible party qualified for the duties of an accountant.

The appointment of Mr. J. Graham relieved the superintendent of the road of all responsibility of details in accounts, and by doing so afforded him increased opportunities of giving his time and attention to the constructive duties of his office. I feel assured that the appointment of an efficient accountant in divisions of public works where extensive operations are in progress would, so far from increasing the cost of the works, effect a large reduction in expenditure, as it would render the principal officer and his subordinates more efficient, inasmuch as their time and attention would be wholly devoted to the economical construction of the public works entrusted to their charge.

Requisitions for advances for the payment of labourers are sent into the office by officers in charge of divisions and overseers in independent charge of sections. The accountant examines their respective accounts, and if they exhibit close balances he forwards their requisition to the superintendent, who affixes his signature and returns them to the office, when the money is immediately despatched. In cases of emergency the accountant is authorised to comply with requisitions in anticipation of sanction. The amounts of these advances are entered to the debit of the parties in a waste cash-book. Overseers, or others in charge of sections, submit daily to the superintendent lithographed reports of the number of men and artificers on each description of work under their charge, and as the system of daily payments to labourers is enforced on this work, a certificate to the following effect is entered at foot of the "daily report:"

"We do hereby certify that the numbers returned in this report were present on this day, and employed solely on Government works; and that the sums specified were paid to the labourers of each state by A. B., in the presence of C. D. and E. F.

Officers in charge of Division.

Overseer,
In charge of Section."

These reports are aggregated in eight-day reports (or three reports per month), which accompany an abstract exhibiting the amount of cash received in advance on requisition, the amount of pay accounts for labour, and bills for materials expended, and incidental charges, for all of which vouchers or receipts are requisite. These, after having been "passed" by the superintendent, are closely examined as to their particular correctness by the accountant. The debit side of these abstracts relieves the waste cash-book, and the credit side, or items of expenditure, are transferred to the day-book, whence they are posted to their respective divisions.

At intervals of three months, or on completion of any particular work, a general inspection of the accounts is made by the superintendent, who after careful audit attaches his signature to the total of each book, and furnishes a certificate of such audit, which, with the vouchers, are deposited with the office records. An audit of this kind precedes the preparation of the half-yearly accounts current submitted to the accountant North-Western Provinces. Bills for the expenditure upon sanctioned works are, upon their completion, submitted to the Auditor-general, and from him are sent to the Accountant-general, who speedily relieves the superintendent of the road from his responsibility of their amount.

amount. Independent of tools and materials, which are supplied on indent by the various ordnance magazines, many articles of a local character are required for the works. These are either manufactured on the works or obtained from contractors and tradesmen. They are entered to the debit of the general stock account, which obtains a corresponding credit by debit to the particular division or work upon which they have been expended. Previous to any material being ordered, the signature of the superintendent is affixed to the indent, which has been previously signed by the overseer, and countersigned by his officer, as absolutely necessary. At the beginning of each month these indents are forwarded to the superintendent, in support of accompanying bills, for the cost of material, the items of which, with their prices, are tested by the accountant. The bills, if satisfactory to the superintendent, receive his sanction, and form vouchers either for monthly contingent bill submitted to Government, or for the general bill for works.

The whole of the permanent establishment are paid as soon as possible after the first of each month, and a receipt taken from each individual. These are deposited in the office as vouchers for the establishment abstract, the details of which are entered in the day-book, and each division or work debited with its share. By these means the road officers and overseers are reciprocally checks upon each other in the matter of disbursements, and the superintendent and accountant in the matter of accounts.

Every month a progress report is furnished to Government, which exhibits the amount of work executed in each division, the number of labourers employed, and the amount of cash expended.

The following books are kept in the office :—

1st. Divisional ledger, in which is entered from the day-book the various items of expenditure incurred in each division.

2d. The day-book, in which all items of expenditure are entered, with numeral references to ledger and vouchers.

3d. Cash-book, in which assignments and valuation statements are debited, and all audited bills credited.

4th. Waste cash-book, in which are entered all advances on account of works.

5th. Bill book, in which all bills are entered, and endorsed with copy of civil auditor's passing.

6th. Indent-book, for tools, stores, and materials obtained on indent.

7th. Stock-book.

8th. Official letter-book.

9th. Demi-official letter-book and circulars.

29. Having stated the result of our operations during the past five years, I will now briefly show the work still to be done.

With reference to the road between Simla and the plains, I have nothing further to propose. Within six months I fully anticipate its completion to a minimum width of 15 feet, which is sufficient for general carriage traffic. Much of the road will be above 20 feet in width, but 15 will be the minimum within the parapet walls.

The extensive works connected with the Dugshai Tunnel will not be completed for three years, but, as before stated, this will not affect the general usefulness of the line.

With the exception of the tunnel, I already possess funds sufficient for the completion of this part of the road.

The military road from Kussowlie to Buddee, to open out a direct communication between the Punjab and the military sanatoria, is under course of completion.

With respect to the road from Simlah to the Chinese frontier, I must consider it to terminate in the neighbourhood of the first Chinese village met with, Shipké, as beyond that we cannot work without the sanction of the Chinese Government. Besides, as formerly stated, when once that point is reached, all

obstacles to carriage by beasts of burden cease. Broad tracks formed from the most ancient times by the constant passage of horses and other baggage animals, communicate with the cities of Central Asia and Western China; and the only difficulties they exhibit are those incidental to a thinly populated country, lying at a general elevation of 15,000 feet.

About 70 miles of very difficult road still remain unfinished; and to that which has been reported completed to six feet in width, several improvements are required.

The monthly grant for these works has hitherto been limited to 3,000 rupees. I have already solicited its increase to 6,000 rupees, in order to insure the more speedy completion of the works. With this grant for a period of three years, I feel confident of finishing the entire line from Simlah to the Chinese territories, level almost throughout its whole extent, and broad enough for the transport of goods on mules and horses. I have further proposed the erection of staging bungalows, at every 12 miles, at a total cost of 16,000 rupees.

30. I cannot close this report without bringing to the notice of the Governor-general in Council the zeal and intelligence displayed by the several officers who have assisted in bringing these important works to their present forward condition. Lieutenant Dawson (now Executive Officer in the Punjab) and Major Cautley (Retired List) each showed the most praiseworthy energy and perseverance in carrying out my orders, at times too when difficulties of no ordinary magnitude opposed, and when from the apathy and indolence of the hill-men the greatest discouragements were placed in our way. Lieutenant Johnson, of the 33d N. I. (now Assistant Quartermaster-General at Umballah) and Lieutenant Montgomerie, of the Engineers, each for some time in command of the 5th Company of Sappers and Miners attached to the road, entered entirely into the spirit of the work and gave me assistance as fully and cheerfully as if they had been officers of the road department. Since their removal to higher employ, Mr. T. W. Knowles, Assistant Executive Officer, an intelligent and zealous young man, and Lieutenant Price, 31st N. I., have done what they could to further the work. The latter has lately been succeeded by Lieutenant Houchen, of the 55th N. I., who I have reason to believe will afford me every satisfaction in the discharge of his duties.

Of the accountant's department I have before spoken, and will therefore merely state my entire satisfaction with the manner in which the head of it, Mr. Graham, has conducted his duties.

I will venture to say that no class of men in India have undergone greater privations with cheerfulness and unremitting attention to their duties than the assistant overseers of the Department of Public Works and the non-commissioned officers of the Sappers and Miners attached to this road. They have been required to remain under canvas in all seasons, and these, within the Himalayas, embrace the extremes of temperature.

Some have been for years attached to distant divisions in the far interior, shut out from intercourse with their comrades and deprived of many of the comforts of life.

Of the usefulness and general good conduct of the small detachments from Her Majesty's 22d, 32d, 53d, and 98th Regiments, which have been from time to time employed on this road, I cannot speak too highly: they are zealous, honest, and hardworking men. Some of them have fitted themselves for independent charge of sections. One of them, who could neither read nor write when he joined the work, now conducts the duties of an assistant overseer to my perfect satisfaction. As the 20 rupees per mensem they now receive as staff allowance, is small in a country where provisions are dear, I have to solicit the sanction of Government to an increase of ten rupees per mensem, to the allowances of those men whom I may find worthy of it.

The value of such men in operations such as this, cannot be over-rated, and were their services more generally available, a great saving, both in money and time, would be manifest in the public works of India.

I have, &c.

(signed) *David Briggs,*
Superintendent, Hill Roads.

Simlah, 19 December 1855.

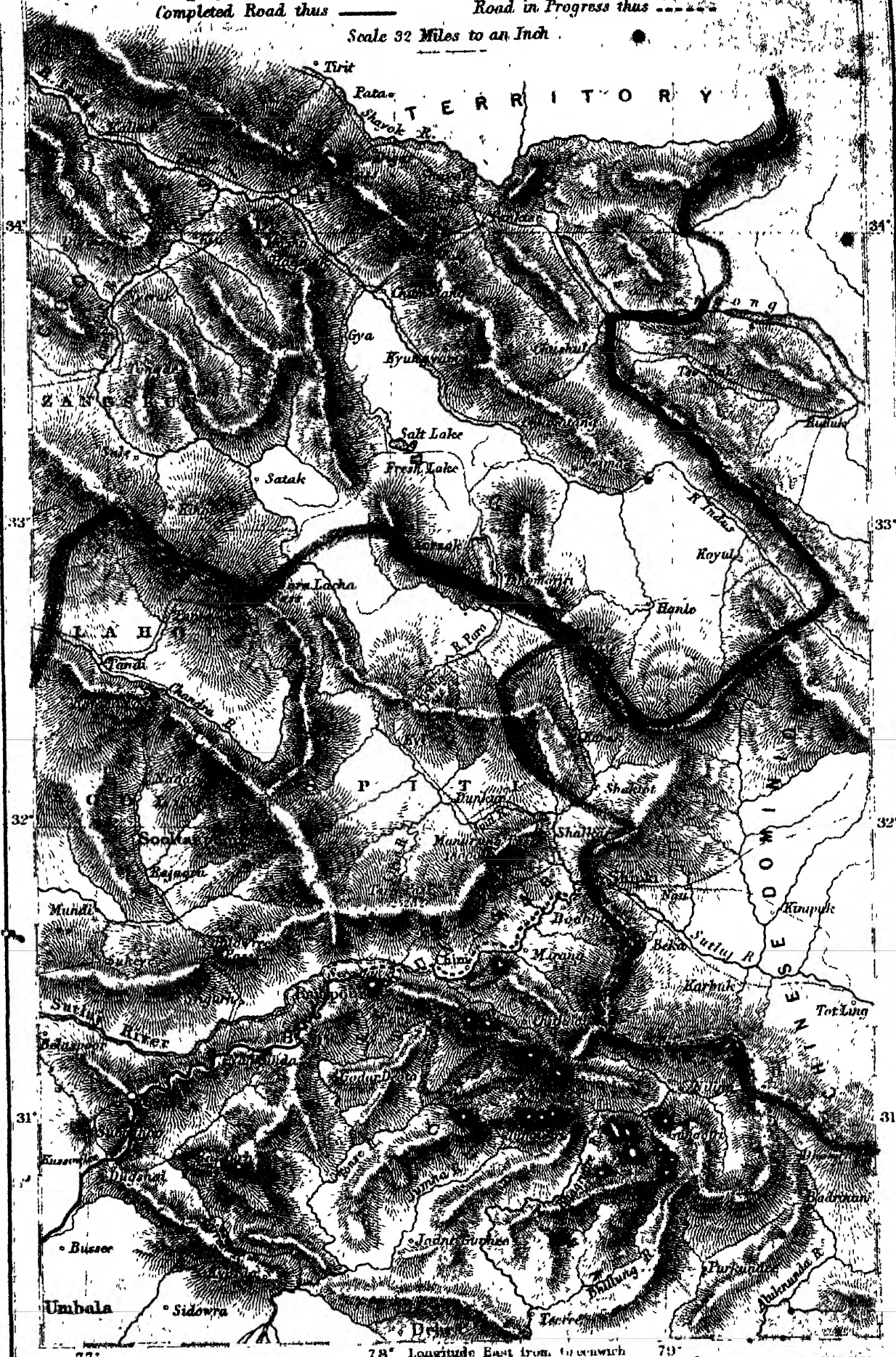
INDEX MAP.

to accompany Report on the HINDOOSTAN & THIBET ROAD, for 1855

Completed Road thus ——— Road in Progress thus - - - - -

Scale 32 Miles to an Inch

[To face page 89.]



THE HINDOSTAN AND TIBET ROAD, &c.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, concurred in by the Members of Government.

HINDOSTAN AND THIBET ROAD.

1. THE general Report which has now been submitted by Lieutenant Briggs upon the Hill Road, which has been for some time under construction from the plains of Hindostan near Umballa, to the frontier of Thibet beyond Chini, in Kunawur, was prepared at my request. The work is one which deserves to be better known than it is, and to that end it has been my intention that it should be published as one of the selections by the Government of India.

2. In a former Minute recorded upon the 6th July 1852, I endeavoured to do justice to the great merits and exertions of Lieutenant Briggs, by whom this work had been principally directed up to that time. On Lieutenant Briggs' return from leave, rendered necessary by the consequences of exposure in the hills, he again received charge of the road. I can say nothing more laudatory of Lieutenant Briggs, or more true, than that he has fully maintained, since his return, the reputation he had acquired before his departure. I shall leave India with full confidence that the project of forming a road from the plains of India to Thibet, which I have regarded as of great importance in many ways, and in which I have taken a strong interest, will be completed in due time, and will be productive of all the benefits that have been anticipated from it.

3. To that end I would sanction the grant of 6,000 rupees a month, which Lieutenant Briggs has shown will be required to complete the road in three years to the frontier.

4. I would offer to Lieutenant Briggs, on the part of the Government, a renewal of the sentiments which were expressed to him in 1852, together with the marked thanks of the Governor-general in Council.

5. Lieutenant Briggs should be requested to convey to the officers he has named, Lieutenant Dawson, Major Cautley, Lieutenant Johnson, and Lieutenant Montgomerie, engineers, the thanks of the Government for their exertions in this work.

The full approbation of the Government should also be expressed to Mr. Graham, and to the body of the overseers, who well deserve the small increase of pay which Lieutenant Briggs recommends.

(signed) *Dalhousie*, 14 January 1856.

I concur,

(signed) *J. Dorin*, 18 January 1856.
J. P. Grant, 18 January 1856.
B. Peacock, 19 January 1856.

(No. 160.)

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council, in the Public Works Department (Public,) under date the 21st January 1856.

(No. 512.)

LETTER from Lieutenant *D. Briggs*, Superintendent, Hill Roads, to Lieutenant-Colonel *W. E. Baker*, Secretary to the Government of India, Public Works Department, Fort William.

Sir,

Simla, 6 December 1855.


I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the most Noble the Governor-general, that I have lately completed a survey of the country between Chini and the Chinese frontier, and have ascertained that but 35 miles of road are required to bring the terminus of the Hindostan and Thibet Road within the Thibetan provinces of China, at a point where roads now practicable for beasts of burden,

burden, stretch eastwards and northwards towards the emporiums of Garoo, Lé, and Yarkund, passing through the shawl-wool and borax-producing districts of Changtang and Rudok.

2. I will not here enter into a detailed account of the line, whether as regards its difficulties of construction or the benefits which must accrue from it, as I have noticed these in detail in the report on the whole undertaking which I am now preparing, by his Lordship's orders, for submission to Government. My present object is to bring to the notice of his Lordship in Council the extreme difficulties I have encountered from an insufficiency of labourers upon that portion of the line within the Bussahir territory to the south of Chini, in consequence of which its completion has been greatly retarded, and to represent the impossibility of either completing it or commencing upon the line beyond towards Thibet, without such increased expenditure as shall permit of the entertainment of a greater number of labourers. Without entering into a dissertation on the existing treaty between the British Government and the Hill States, by which the latter are bound to provide labourers when the exigencies of the former require them, it will be sufficient to state that the Superintendent of Hill States, when fixing the quotas of labourers which each state should furnish for the road, considered that out of a population of 120,000, it was not politic to call upon Bussahir to furnish more than 600 labourers, to be paid at the rate of two annas per diem. But during the seven working months of this year, that state has barely averaged 500 labourers per diem, a party wholly insufficient to carry on with energy the exceedingly difficult operations in that country.

3. It is known to his Lordship's Government that the expenditure on the Hindostan and Thibet Road, north of Simla, is limited to the small sum of 300*l.* per mensem. This is little more than sufficient to pay the 600 Bussahir labourers, and yet with this allowance we have opened 116 miles, leaving only 39 to complete the line as far as Chini, or 74 to bring Hindostan in as easy communication, for beasts of burden, with the western provinces of China, as Benares is with Calcutta. The total cost of the undertaking to the British Government has been 9,000*l.*

4. I have no expectation of Bussahir being able to furnish more than the present nominal quota, and I must therefore look to foreign districts for the supply of the requisite number of labourers. But these will not, and cannot be expected, to accept service in a country where food is four times dearer than in the plains of India, unless the wages offered are in accordance with the high rate of food. I have therefore to submit for the consideration of his Lordship's Government, that the present monthly grant of 300*l.* be doubled, in order to permit of the more speedy completion of the road.

5. I beg also to enclose, for the sanction of his Lordship in Council, a bill amounting to *Co.'s Rs.* 9,990. 5. 7. for eight dák bungalows constructed between Simlah and Serahun, which afford accommodation for travellers at each stage. A portion of their cost has been defrayed from local funds, as per Government letter, No. 3219, of the 10th September 1852. I have further to request the sanction of Government to the construction of  bungalows according to the annexed statement, which will provide accommodation along the whole line as far as Chini, and thus render it unnecessary for travellers to carry with them camp equipage, which will effect a great reduction of "begar." They are also of great service to our working parties, in affording shelter to the officers and European soldiers during the severe weather they are not unfrequently exposed to.

I have, &c.
(signed) *David Briggs,*
Superintendent, Hill Roads.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.—PUBLIC, No. 147.

(No. 161.)

LETTER from Captain *H. Yule*, Under Secretary to the Government of India, to Lieutenant *D. Briggs*, Superintendent of Hill Roads.

Sir,

Fort William, 15 January 1856.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 512, dated the 6th ultimo, with enclosure, reporting that you have completed a survey of the country between Chini and the Chinese frontier, and that but 35 miles of road are required to bring the terminus of the Hindostan and Thibet Road within the Thibetan provinces of China.

2. The most Noble the Governor-general in Council sanctions the bill submitted by you, amounting to *Co.'s Rs. 9,990. 5. 7.*, for constructing eight staging bungalows, at every 10 miles, on the Hindostan and Thibet Road, north of Simla. This, I am to observe, is in excess of the sum of 6,410 rupees, originally authorised to be expended from local funds for bungalows, at every 15 miles, under orders of Government in the Foreign Department, communicated to you in Mr. Officiating Secretary Allen's letter, No. 3219, of the 10th September 1852.

3. His Lordship in Council is also pleased to sanction the erection of seven additional bungalows, to complete the chain at 10 miles apart as far as Chini, at an estimated cost of 16,000 rupees.

4. Under the circumstances represented, the Governor-general in Council has been pleased, in compliance with your recommendation, to sanction the present monthly allowance for expenditure on the Hindostan and Thibet Road being increased from 3,000 rupees to 6,000 rupees.

I have, &c.

(signed) *H. Yule*, Captain,

Under Secretary to the Government of India.

(No. 84.)

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, in the Public Works Department (Public), under date the 1st August 1856.

(No. 45.)

LETTER from Captain *D. Briggs*, Superintendent, Hill Roads, to Lieutenant-Colonel *W. E. Baker*, Secretary to the Government of India, Public Works Department, Fort William.

Sir,

Simla, 12 June 1856.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the progress report of the Hindostan and Thibet Road for the month of April 1856, which I request you will have the goodness to submit for the information of the Right honourable the Governor-general in Council.

Absence from Simla on special duty in the Punjab has caused the delay in transmitting this document beyond the usual period.

I have, &c.

(signed) *David Briggs*,
Superintendent, Hill Roads.

HINDOSTAN AND

PROGRESS REPORT of Works, Labourers Employed, and

DIVISIONS.	Completed up to 31st March 1856,			Completed during the month of April 1856,			Remaining to Complete,			No. of Labourers Employed up to 31st March 1856.	Average No. of Coolies on 16 feet road per Mile.	Average No. of Coolies on 12 feet road per Mile.
	To 16 feet wide.	To 12 feet wide.	To 6 feet wide.	To 16 feet wide.	To 12 feet wide.	To 6 feet wide.	To 16 feet wide.	To 12 feet wide.	To 6 feet wide.			
1. Kalka - - -	M. F. 13 2	M. F. 16 5	M. F. - -	M. F. 2 6	M. F. - -	M. F. - -	M. F. 0 6	M. F. - -	M. F. - -	299,836	10,032	-
Dugshai Tunnel - - -	- -	0 1 ¹¹ / ₈₀₀	- -	- -	0 0 ²⁶ / ₈₀₀	- -	- -	0 1 ³⁹ / ₈₀₀	- -	42,552	-	-
Deon ditto - - -	- -	0 0 ³⁹ / ₈₀₀	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	0 0 ³⁹ / ₈₀₀	- -	4,280	-	-
2. Krole - - -	20 5	40 1	- -	2 7	- -	- -	12 5	- -	- -	614,413	10,100	-
3. Lower Simla - - -	0 2	4 5	- -	0 2	- -	- -	4 1	- -	- -	62,443	12,800	-
4. Mahasso :												
Tunnel - - -	- -	0 1	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	5,400	-	-
Road - - -	- -	- -	15 0	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 0	25,280	-	-
5. Mattecana - - -	- -	- -	26 7	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	0 1	330,558	-	-
6. Kundrela - - -	- -	- -	34 4	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 2	123,736	-	-
7. Serahun - - -	- -	- -	28 7	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	4 1	344,374	-	-
8. Turanda - - -	- -	- -	4 5	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	13 5	104,744	-	-
9. Chini - - -	- -	- -	10 4	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	12 4	6,674	-	-
Branch :												
Kussowlic and Buddee - - -	- -	6 3	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	8 5	- -	116,328	-	18,096
TOTAL - - -	34 1	68 0 ²⁹ / ₈₀₀	120 3	5 7	0 0 ⁵⁶ / ₈₀₀	- -	17 4	8 7 ¹² / ₈₀₀	32 5	2,080,618	-	-

		Rs.	a.	p.
	Amount Expended on Labour up to 30th April 1856 - - - - -	2,85,	496	- -
	Ditto ditto recovered from Local Funds - - - - -	1,811	-	-
Less {	Ditto ditto from those States who have worked their Coolies within their own Territories - - - - -	40,848	-	-
		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u>- -</u>
			42,659	- -
		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u>- -</u>
	Amount Expended on Labour by Government up to 30th April 1856 - - -	Rs. 2,42,837	-	-

THIBET ROAD.

Cash Expended on Labour, for the Month of April 1856.

Average No. of Coolies on 6 feet road per Mile.	No. of Labourers Employed during the month of April 1856.	Average No. of Coolies on 16 feet road per Mile.	Average No. of Coolies on 12 feet road per Mile.	Average No. of Coolies on 6 feet road per Mile.	Cash Expended up to 31st March 1856 on Labour.	Cash Expended during the Month.	TOTAL Amount of Cash Expended up to 30th April 1856.	Date of Superintendent's last Inspection.	REMARKS.
					<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. . a. p.</i>		
-	40,672	14,784	-	-	37,383 - -	5,084 - -	42,467 - -	-	The widening to 16 feet nearly completed.
-	3,808	-	-	-	5,319 - -	476 - -	5,795 - -	-	Leading entrance with masonry gallery advanced 66 feet during the month.
-	-	-	-	-	535 - -	- -	535 - -	-	Excavations interfered with by heavy breaches at mouth of gallery.
-	93,280	32,440	-	-	80,679 - -	11,660 - -	92,339 - -	-	The widening to 16 feet progressing satisfactorily.
-	5,904	2,952	-	-	9,091 - -	738 - -	9,829 - -	-	The widening to 16 feet progressing satisfactorily.
-	-	-	-	-	611 - -	- -	611 - -	13th April.	Completed to 16 feet in width,
1,685	-	-	-	-	3,943 - -	- -	3,943 - -		Completed to 6 feet in width.
12,296	-	-	-	-	41,452 - -	- -	41,452 - -		Completed to 6 feet in width.
3,584	-	-	-	-	16,324 - -	- -	16,324 - -		Completed with exception of one mile.
11,920	512	-	-	-	43,466 - -	64 - -	43,530 - -		
22,640	-	-	-	-	13,093 - -	- -	13,093 - -	-	Work in these Divisions will be commenced 1st June 1856.
632	-	-	-	-	1,037 - -	- -	1,037 - -	-	
-	-	-	-	-	14,541 - -	- -	14,541 - -	-	Work temporarily suspended on this Branch to afford additional labour to the main line from Kalka to Simla.
-	144,176	-	-	-	2,67,474 - -	18,022 - -	285,496 - -	-	

Hill Roads Office, Simla,
1 May 1856.(Signed) David Briggs,
Superintendent, Hill Roads.

(True copies.)

East India House,
2 February 1857.J. S. Mill,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

EAST INDIA (ROADS). "

MINUTES and CORRESPONDENCE in reference to the Project of the HINDOSTAN and THIBET ROAD, with Reports of Major *Kennedy* and Lieutenant *Briggs* relating thereto; and, an Account of the Expenditure incurred in the Construction of the New Road between *Kalka* and *Dugshai*.

(*Mr. Kennedy.*)

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
4 March 1857.*

[*Price 4 s.*]

79.

Under 16 oz.

EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 25 March 1858;—for,

A RETURN of all SUMS disbursed by the Government of *India* on account of INTEREST upon RAILWAY CAPITAL of COMPANIES carrying on WORKS in *India*, from the Commencement of Railway Operations in that Country to the present Time, so far as the same can be obtained in this Country without reference to *India*; and stating the Aggregate Amount paid to the Shareholders of each separate Company, and the Total AMOUNT of CAPITAL raised by each Company, and paid by them into the HOME and INDIAN TREASURIES."

East India House, }
27 April 1858.

J. D. DICKINSON,
Secretary

STATEMENT of the Amount of all SUMS disbursed by the Government of *India* on account of INTEREST upon RAILWAY CAPITAL from the Commencement of Railway Operations in that Country to the present Time, so far as the same can be obtained in this Country without reference to *India*.

	IN ENGLAND (to 31 March 1858).			IN INDIA (to 30 June 1857).			TOTAL.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
East Indian Railway - - -	1,066,654	17	7	27,423	3	-	1,094,078	-	7
Great Indian Peninsula Railway	306,017	-	-	51,892	-	4	447,909	-	4
Madras Railway - - -	260,736	12	-	-	-	-	260,736	12	-
Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway	41,957	7	4	558	1	2	42,515	8	6
Scinde Railway - - -	35,382	5	7	805	10	0	36,187	16	4
£.	1,800,748	2	6	80,678	15	3	1,881,426	17	9

STATEMENT showing the Total Amount of CAPITAL raised by each RAILWAY COMPANY, and paid by them into the HOME and INDIAN TREASURIES of the EAST INDIA COMPANY.

	IN ENGLAND (to 31 March 1858).			IN INDIA.			TOTAL.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
East Indian Railway Company -	7,757,949	4	-	227,848 19 10 (to 31 Jan. 1858).			7,985,798	3	10
Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company.	3,356,257	8	4	325,990 14 8 (to 28 Feb. 1858).			3,682,248	3	-
Madras Railway Company - -	2,689,800	-	-	-	-	-	2,689,800	-	-
Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Company.	723,448	1	5	11,089 6 3 (to 31 Jan. 1858).			734,537	7	8
Scinde Railway Company - -	934,150	10	9	12,050 5 7 (to 31 Jan. 1858).			946,200	16	4
Eastern Bengal Railway Company	35,000	-	-	-	-	-	35,000	-	-
£.	15,496,605	4	6	576,979	6	4	16,073,584	10	10

EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS).

RETURN of all Sums disbursed by the Government of *India* on Account of INTEREST upon RAILWAY CAPITAL, from the Commencement of Railway Operations in that Country to the present Time; and the Total Amount of CAPITAL raised by each RAILWAY COMPANY, and paid by them into the HOME and INDIAN TREASURIES of the EAST INDIA COMPANY.

(*Mr. Liddell.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
28 April 1858.

EAST INDIA RAILWAYS.

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 12 February 1857;—for,

A RETURN of the TOTAL AMOUNT of the CAPITAL due to the various INDIAN RAILWAY COMPANIES remaining in the Home Treasury of the East India Company on the last day of every Month, in the Twelve Months ending the 30th day of April 1856; with an Account of the Proportions in which the said Total Amount of Indian Railway Capital was held as Cash, or invested, by the East India Company at the above Dates."

East India House,
26 Feb. 1857. }

JAMES C. MELVILL,
Secretary.

The Capital of the several Railway Companies upon which Interest is guaranteed by the East India Company, although received principally in *London*, is immediately available in *India* to the extent required for Railway works there; and in *London* for the provision of Railway Machinery, including in both cases Establishment Expenses. It is not possible to distinguish the proportion of Capital available in *London* at any one time from that available in *India*. The following is a statement of the actual Amounts of Capital in deposit with the East India Company, whether in *London* or in *India*, at the periods specified :

STATEMENT of the Total Amount of the CAPITAL due to the various INDIAN RAILWAY COMPANIES in deposit with the EAST INDIA COMPANY on the last day of every Month, in the Twelve Months ending the 30th day of April 1856.

	East Indian Railway Company.	Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company.	Madras Railway Company.	Scinde Railway Company.	Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Company.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
31 May - 1855	1,568,253 16 8	447,380 2 -	271,851 13 4	—	—
30 June - "	1,442,263 13 10	533,047 12 7	222,389 8 1	173,111 7 3	16,908 10 -
31 July - "	1,343,205 9 7	509,069 16 9	214,371 10 2	243,093 3 7	129,923 10 -
31 August "	1,259,781 9 3	487,710 1 6	178,416 13 -	213,093 3 7	177,157 2 11
30 September "	1,151,811 1 8	773,399 12 3	483,070 1 8	249,906 3 7	189,303 7 9
31 October "	1,040,011 10 -	751,934 12 7	420,775 7 8	249,906 3 7	191,698 - -
30 November "	1,107,995 12 6	824,926 15 10	383,168 1 9	255,899 19 11	202,698 12 3
31 December "	1,373,149 12 8	912,499 6 5	318,720 17 3	254,802 19 10	200,691 2 2
31 January 1856	1,252,456 8 7	894,424 19 11	326,258 7 -	261,639 16 6	196,936 4 10
29 February "	1,136,251 13 5	1,123,287 5 8	378,601 4 7	246,783 17 -	198,179 9 6
31 March - "	1,486,699 15 1	1,117,163 7 7	288,806 2 9	226,122 12 -	195,421 13 4
30 April - "	1,411,692 9 5	1,104,753 16 7	317,656 3 3	214,256 11 9	203,913 2 -

The capital of the Railway Companies is held as cash to answer their liabilities. No investment is made on that account distinct from the general balances of the East India Company.

Errors excepted.

East India House,
26 February 1857. }

James C. Melvill,
Secretary.

EAST-INDIA RAILWAYS.

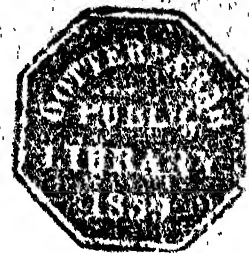
RETURN of the TOTAL AMOUNT of the CAPITAL
due to the various INDIAN RAILWAY COMPANIES
remaining in the Home Treasury of the East
India Company on the last day of every Month,
in the Twelve Months ending 30 April 1856; &c.

(*Mr. Otway.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
4 March 1857.

I N D E X
TO
R E P O R T
FROM THE
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON
EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS).

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
13 July 1858.*



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BOMBAY, BARODA, AND CENTRAL INDIA RAILWAY:

1. *Approval of the Line by the Authorities in India.*
2. *Delay before the Sanction by the Home Government of the Section between Surat and Bombay; Importance of this portion of the Line.*
3. *Route proposed to be taken by the Railway.*
4. *Progress of the Works.*
5. *Exhaustion and Delay through the Government Supervision.*
6. *Engineering Difficulties.*
7. *Staff.*
8. *Traffic.*
9. *Importance, in point of Cost, of Expedition in Construction.*

1. *Approval of the Line by the Authorities in India:*

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1. East Indian Railway:

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Colonel Pears' monthly reports were made upon the reports to him by witness, 1361-1365—Although a very good military engineer, Colonel Pears was not qualified to give a proper opinion upon the progress of the railway, 1366-1368—Previous to the annual report, and at other times, Colonel Pears personally inspected the works, 1369-1371—Monthly reports by Colonel Pears were unnecessary and injurious, 1372-1378—Past experience of witness in civil engineering, 1379, 1380—Pleasant character of the verbal communications between Colonel Pears and witness, 1381, 1382—Colonel Pears offered no suggestions for remedying the faults of which he complained, 1382-1384.

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Instances of the exercise of Government control in regard to gradients, curves, &c., where the effect was in each case to increase the cost, 1414-1416—Instances of vexatious interference in trifling matters, such as the expense of a timekeeper, &c., 1416—Considerable difficulty frequently experienced by witness in obtaining the funds required for the payment of salaries, wages, &c.; strong complaints as to the practice of

Bruce, George Barclay. (Analysis of his Evidence)—continued.

the local government on this score; effect of the want of proper funds always in hand to enhance cost and to create delay, 1417-1448.

Particulars as to the forms required in contracting for wooden sleepers, and as to the effect of these forms in enhancing the price and in rendering it exceedingly difficult at times to procure any sleepers at all, 1449-1451. 1460-1462. 1500-1513—Explanation of the circumstances connected with the purchase, through witness, of a lot of 3,000 sleepers; obstacles raised by Colonel Pears, who required the botanical name of the wood before authorising the purchase, 1452-1459. 1466-1486. 1514. 1515—Great importance of a permission to procure sleepers by a direct ready-money payment; this plan was adopted for a short time, but was given up at the suggestion of the Railway Company's agent, who however has since been most anxious to return to it, 1462-1465. 1487-1499.

Further statement as to the great loss of time generally through the minute Government supervision, 1516—If the supervising officer were a civil engineer, the same minute restrictions would not be enforced by him, 1517, 1518.

Strong complaint on the score of the obstacles raised for some time to the employment of a sufficient staff of European inspectors over the works, 1519 *et seq.*—Requirement at one time by the Government that natives should be employed as masons, &c.; illustration of the objections to this requirement, 1523-1526. 1535—Useful employment of some pensioned soldiers as inspectors, 1527-1530—Witness would not have European superintendents exclusively; in some places trustworthy natives might be employed as inspectors, &c., but as a rule, they should be under Europeans, 1540-1547—Efficiency of the pupils taken by the Company from schools in Madras, &c., 1548, 1549.

[Second Examination.]—Further evidence condemnatory of the restrictions exercised by the local Government in regard to the supply of sleepers, 1550 *et seq.*—Purchase of bricks, lime, and other materials without that undue control which has been exercised in the case of sleepers, 1553, 1554. 1562-1565—Approval of the Government, through its engineer, settling some limit as to the woods to be used for sleepers, and the price to be paid for them, 1555. 1560, 1561.

As regards a power in witness, as a subordinate, to make purchases, it is hardly correct to look upon him as a subordinate at all, nor is the money spent to be considered public money, 1555-1557. 1567-1571. 1576. 1579-1584—Approval by the Home Government of the plan suggested by witness for purchasing sleepers, 1572-1575—The line, as hitherto opened, has not been delayed for want of sleepers, 1577, 1578—Adverse feeling of the natives in the interior of the Madras Presidency towards rigid forms of tender for materials, 1585-1591. 1608-1611.

Nature of the control exercised by the Government over the cutting of timber in the forests, 1592-1594. 1612-1615—Reference to the wood used for making charcoal, 1594-1597—Particulars as to the kinds of wood used for sleepers, the districts from which procured, and the prices at which they may be obtained, 1598, 1599. 1616-1618—Constant attempts by the natives to sell inferior woods for sleepers, 1601—Import of some creosoted sleepers from England; their cost, 1604-1607. 1623.

Statement as to Colonel Pears having, in 1856, ordered a new survey with the view to a diversion of the Madras line, as originally sanctioned; considerable delay and confusion in consequence of this survey, which was stopped by the Government, and the suspended works continued, on the remonstrance of the Company, 1629-1645.

Complaint in regard to the drawings and minute information required by the Government engineer relative to the engines and carriages, &c. on the line, 1647-1683—Impression that Colonel Pears may have required the drawings and information about the engines, &c., as useful in the event of Government itself constructing a line in the Presidency; Colonel Pears wished to have a line so constructed, 1659-1683—Colonel Pears was formerly in the same corps as General Sim, the chairman of the Madras Railway, 1684-1686.

Insufficiency of the staff of engineers of the line further adverted to; witness does not attribute any blame to Colonel Pears on this score, and cannot say that it may not have been the fault of the railway directors at home, 1684-1702—Witness cannot define the proportion of delay due respectively to the inadequacy of the staff and to the Government supervision, 1703-1706—With a proper staff, and without Government supervision, the whole line from Madras to Beypoor might have been finished when witness left India, 1707-1710.

Necessity of the delay at one period in determining the course of the line after the first fifty miles, 1711-1716—The cost of the completed portion of the Beypoor line is about 6,000 £ a mile, including stations, but without rolling stock, 1718—Amount of the European staff necessary in carrying out the works, 1719-1728—Actual staff of engineers employed on each twenty-five miles of line, 1729.

Different channels through which all indents by witness are obliged to go, 1730-1731—Process necessary before the salaries of any of the staff can be increased, 1732-1738—

Report, 1857-8—continued.

Bruce, George Barclay. (Analysis of his Evidence)—continued.

1738—Very considerable delay before indents are complied with from home; impossibility always of anticipating this delay, 1739-1748—Improvement, if supplies, once sanctioned by the Government in India, could be forwarded from this country without the present double sanction, 1748-1750.

[Third Examination.]—Witness never wrote any letter in reply to that of the Railway Board in 1855, censuring him on certain points; he has never seen the charges of the Government engineer upon which that letter was based, 2930-2932.

[Fourth Examination.]—Evidence as to the inaccuracy of statements by Colonel Pears, that the officials of the Madras Company had always sufficient funds in hands, 4088—Inaccuracy of the illustrations cited by Colonel Pears in proof of his argument that Government could construct bridges, &c., more cheaply and expeditiously than the Railway Company, 4089-4094.

BUNGALOWS:

1. *East Indian Railway.*
2. *Madras Railway.*

1. *East Indian Railway:*

Reference to a complaint by Mr. Turnbull in regard to non-compliance with a demand for bungalows, &c.; examination hereon, *Noad* 639 *et seq.* 711, 712.

Impression that it must have been for want of proper information that sanction has been refused to the construction of some bungalows on the East Indian line, *Baker* 3376.

2. *Madras Railway:*

Difficulties in regard to the provision of bungalows for the engineers and their assistants, on account of the objection of the local government to sanction a proper expenditure for the purpose, *Bruce* 1385-1413—Redress through the Home Government in the matter of the bungalows, *ib.* 1389, 1391, 1392—Nature of the buildings erected as bungalows; class of building required, *ib.* 1393-1411.

Explanation relative to the bungalows for the engineers, and sums allowed for their erection; undue expenditure on this score, and propriety of the action of Government in the matter, *Pears* 2519, 2520, 2558-2571, 2601-2605—Statement as to one engineer having spent 5,000 rupees on a bungalow, whereas the limit prescribed was 350 rupees, *ib.* 2560, 2601-2605.

Particulars connected with the execution and cost of bungalows for the engineers; inaccurate statement by Colonel Pears as to the amount of the excess of expenditure on this score, *Walker* 2721-2723—Instead of 5,000 rupees, the bungalow referred to by Colonel Pears cost only 2,020 rupees instead of 350, *ib.* 2721—Course adopted in the case of the bungalow which cost this excess; censure cast upon the engineer, *ib.* 2722, 2723, 2733-2737—Circumstances under which instead of 350 rupees, 900 rupees were eventually allowed for each bungalow, *ib.* 2722.

C.

Calcutta and South Eastern Railway. The Calcutta and South Eastern project, or the Mutlah line, is the only one not guaranteed, *Danvers* 65-67—Present position of the Mutlah undertakings as regards the raising of money without a guarantee, *Sir J. Melvill* 3772-3774.

Capital. Opportunity of Government for raising the necessary capital for the construction of railways, *Kennedy* 1900-1903—More than two-thirds of the payments in connexion with witness's line have been made in England, *ib.* 1914, 1915—Slight amount of native capital in the Madras Railway, or in the other undertakings, *Pears*, 2342-2345, 2390-2393, 2444.—See also *Guarantee.* *Unguaranteed Capital.*

Carriages. Carriages for the Madras line are constructed in India very satisfactorily, *Walker* 2649, 2651.

Causes of Delay. The chief causes of delay in the first commencement of the lines were the differences between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, and the depressed state of the money market in 1847, *Danvers* 15, 24.

Enumeration by the Committee of the chief causes of delay in the construction of the several lines, *Rep.* p. iv—Enumeration of sundry causes of delay incidental to the construction of railways in so distant a country as India, *ib.* v.

Cauvery Bridge (Madras Line). Reference to the delay in the commencement of the bridge through the stoppage of the works for a certain purpose, *Walker* 2742, 2745-2750.

Report, 1857-8—continued.

Cawnpore to Allahabad. The East Indian line between Cawnpore and Allahabad will soon be open, *Danvers* 210.

Climate. Loss of several valuable officers on the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India line through sickness and death, *Kennedy* 2119—Reference to the difficulty, through the effect of Indian climate upon European constitutions, *Rep. p. v.*

Coal and Coal Traffic (East Indian Railway). Use of Indian coal as fuel for the engines; its cost, *Noad* 946-948—Considerable coal traffic over the line through the branch from Burdwan to Raneejung; the coal is very abundant, *ib.* 962-966. 970-974—Charge for the conveyance of coal by the railway, *ib.* 1001, 1002—Uses to which the coal brought over the line is applied at Calcutta, *ib.* 1011-1013.

Colleroon Bridge. Reference to the erection by Government, within two years, of the bridge over the Colleroon River; its cost; inference therefrom unfavourable to the construction of bridges by the Madras Railway Company, *Pears* 2422-2424.

Inaccuracy of the inference drawn by Colonel Pears from the case of the Colleroon Bridge, *Bruce* 4089-4091.

Commercial Crisis of 1847-48. Loss of time on account of the commercial crisis having arisen while the preliminary negotiations for the formation of the companies and of their plans were still incomplete, *Danvers* 15. 24; *Rep. p. vi.*

Commercial and Political Advantages of the Railways. Commercial as well as political objects kept in view by the Home Government in deciding upon the laying out of any line, *Danvers* 77, 78; *Sir J. Melvill* 3825—Government has never selected a line for merely political purposes; the commercial element has been fully considered, *Danvers* 227-229. 263-271.

Sundry respects in which the East Indian Railway will be highly beneficial to the East India Company, so that even should there be no profits the guarantee will not be so much loss, *Noad* 452. 456-462—For commercial and political objects the lines in India have on the whole been fairly laid out, *ib.* 533.

The construction of railways in India is most essential for the improvement of the country, and for the maintenance of the political and commercial interests of England, *Kennedy* 1756, 1757—Still greater importance of railways in a commercial than in a political point of view, *ib.* 1758. 1820.

The Madras line was approved by the Madras Government almost entirely on commercial grounds, *Pears* 2448, 2449. 2536, 2537.

Witness considers his scheme of the Scinde Railway to be very important in a commercial point of view, and of infinite importance in a military point of view, *Andrew* 3276.

Competition. Absence of undue competition between the Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian line and the Great Indian Peninsula line, as regards the connexion with Indore and other places, *Kennedy* 1814-1819—Objection to the construction by another company of certain other lines in the Madras territory, which lines formed part of the original projects of the Madras Railway Company, *Walker* 2967-2970—Doubt whether competing lines may not arise, *Sir J. Melvill* 3858, 3859.

Compulsory Labour. Strong feeling produced by the Government impressment system upon the natives; illustration of this, *Sibley* 1107-1110—Injurious effect produced for a time upon the progress of the East India Railway through the system of compulsory labour as employed generally in the case of the public works; oppressive operation of the system upon the natives, *ib.* 1128-1145—Reference to certain public documents as showing the cognisance of the Indian Government in regard to the oppressive operation of the forced supply of labour and of carriages, *ib.* 1220—Witness never heard of the employment of compulsory labour on railways in India, *ib.* 1221-1224.

Entire inaccuracy of Mr. Sibley's evidence as to the employment of forced labour on almost all the public works in Bengal, *Baker* 3381. 3417.

CONSTRUCTION:

1. Power of Government in regard to the Construction of the Works.
2. Disposition at one period in the Court of Directors to undertake the Construction themselves.
3. Advantages respectively of Construction by Government and by the Companies.
4. Excellent manner in which the Construction has been carried out.
5. Question as to the advantage of the Telescopic Mode of Construction.

1. Power of Government in regard to the Construction of the Works.

The lines are constructed directly by the companies whose proceedings are subject to supervision on the part of the Government, *Danvers* 12—Power of the Government to assume

Report, 1857—continued.

CONSTRUCTION—continued.

1. *Power of Government in regard to the Construction of the Works*—continued.

assume the conduct of the works, if, in their opinion, carried on unsatisfactorily by the companies, *Danvers* 214-217.

2. *Disposition at one period in the Court of Directors to undertake the Construction themselves.*

- There was a disposition on the part of a majority of the Court of Directors, in January 1849, to make the lines themselves; the Board of Control differed from this view, *Danvers* 15; *Sir J. Melvill* 3878-3880—Rumour in June 1848, that the East India Company intended to construct the railways themselves, *Noad* 333. 374. 375. 383.

3. *Advantages respectively of Construction by Government and by the Companies.*

As a principle, it would have been better if Government had undertaken the construction of the railways; practical obstacles, however, to their doing so advantageously, *Kennedy* 1885-1903—It must depend upon the organisation, and upon those at the head of the system whether Government could carry on the works better than the companies, *ib.* 1885-1899.

Opinion expressed by witness, after four years' experience, in disapproval of the present system of carrying on the undertakings, and in favour of their entire transfer to Government, *Pears* 2241, 2242—Witness has always strongly felt that Government should undertake and construct the works, *ib.* 2243, 2244. 2328-2334—The system of construction hitherto pursued has been a failure; greater delay in the case of the Madras and other lines through being executed by the companies, *ib.* 2346-2372.

The railways might have been formed more efficiently and economically, and more beneficial to the natives, if they were entirely Government undertakings, *ib.* 2439-2444. 2458-2462—Advantage on the score of the exercise of discipline is the main ground on which Government could execute the works more expeditiously and cheaply than the railway company, *ib.* 2524-2535.

Belief that Government might have constructed the railways more economically and quickly than the companies, and as efficiently, *Baker* 3388. 3412-3416. 3459. 3461—Military engineers could not of themselves, or without some previous experience on railways, have properly carried out the works, *ib.* 3389. 3453. 3454.

Witness considers that Government acted wisely in delegating the construction of the railways to private companies rather than in undertaking it themselves, *Sir J. Melvill* 3602. 3802-3809.

Witness is still of opinion that it would have been better if railway construction in India had been undertaken by Government, *Pears* 3980, 3981.

Decided dissent from the statement of Colonel Pears that the railways might be executed more cheaply and expeditiously by Government than by the companies, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4016, 4019-4022.

Government has acted wisely in committing to private enterprise the execution of the works, *Rep.* p. vii.

4. *Excellent Manner in which the Construction has been carried out :*

The construction has been carried out in a very admirable manner in an *et point of view*, *Sir J. Melvill* 3745.

5. *Question as to the advantage of the Telescopic Mode of Construction :*

Advantage as regards the conveyance of materials of using the completed portion of the line as the means of transit, *Noad* 607-613—Longer time in construction if the railways had been made on the telescopic principle, *Baker* 3523, 3524—Difficulty as regards the supply of materials in constructing the lines on the telescopic principle, *Sir J. Melvill* 3821, 3822—Drawbacks upon the advantage of the telescopic principle of construction, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4013.

See also *Contracts. Supervision.*

Consulting Engineer (Court of Directors.) Objection to their being a consulting engineer in this country on the part of the East India Company or the Government, *Noad* 874, 875. 896-898—Except in the case of certain bridge structures, and of the permanent way and rolling stock; the consulting engineers in this country have not directly had to do with the direction of the line, *ib.* 933-937—Further element of delay if the Court of Directors had a consulting engineer of their own, *Sibley* 1175.

Advantage if there were a practical and eminent professional man to consider questions on the part of the Indian Government at home; *Sir James Melvill* does not decide important engineering questions, *Kennedy* 1949-1954.

Consulting Engineers (in India.) See *Supervision, II.*

CONTRACTS:

1. *Generally as to the Difficulties and Delays in connexion with the Contracts.*
2. *Advantages respectively of the Contract System, and of the Departmental System of Construction.*
3. *East Indian Railway.*
4. *Great Indian Peninsula Railway.*
5. *Madras Railway.*

1. *Generally as to the Difficulties and Delays in connexion with the Contracts:*

Difficulties in several instances through the contracts with British contractors, but not with the native contractors, *Danvers* 317-321—Adverse feeling of the natives in the interior of the Madras Presidency towards rigid forms of tender for materials, *Bruce* 1585-1591. 1608-1611—Feeling of unwillingness on the part of the poorer natives in the interior of the Madras Presidency to enter into contracts, but not on the part of the better educated class in the large towns, *Pears* 2283-2289.

Principal defects of the contract system in the construction of the lines, *Baker* 3342-3345—In the Bengal Presidency no native is prepared to undertake the construction of anything like twenty or thirty miles of railway, *ib.* 3351-3353—Witness has not found any unwillingness in the natives in Bengal to sign tenders, *ib.* 3354.

Reference to the unwillingness of large contractors in England to undertake contracts in India under the Government supervision, *Sir J. Melvill* 3668-3671—Anxiety of Government to employ the energies and resources of native contractors, *ib.* 3672—Failure rather of the European contractors in India than of the native contractors or Parees, *ib.* 3673-3676—The failure of contracts has been productive of much delay, *ib.* 3710—Greater tendency lately of contractors in England to undertake railway contracts in India, *ib.* 3747, 3748.

Reference by the Committee to the difficulty through the frequent failures of contractors, *Rep. p. v.*

2. *Advantages respectively of the Contract System, and of the Departmental System of Construction:*

Success of the system of constructing the Madras Railway without the aid of contractors, *Bruce* 1241, 1242—Preference given to the system of construction through officers of the companies rather than through contractors, *Kennedy* 1877. 1885. 2112—Grounds for concluding that the works should be carried out by the railway company's engineers rather than by contract, *Baker* 3341, 3342—Grounds upon which witness prefers the contract system to the departmental system for the execution of the works; he would like to see the latter system tried, *Sir J. Melvill* 3712. 3746—Grounds upon which the Board of Directors of the East India Railway Company determined to adopt the contract system, rather than the departmental system in the execution of the works, *Sir M. Stephenson* 3553, 3554. 3991-3994.

Necessity of a fair trial being given to the contract and departmental systems of construction before any decided preference is given to either, *Rep. p. vii.*

3. *East Indian Railway:*

Statement as to the Court of Directors having in October 1849, after a delay of three months declined to sanction a tender by Mr. Jackson for the construction of the entire works from Calcutta to Raneegunge, *Noad* 345-347. 356-364—Different contracts entered into for different portions of the line to Allahabad, &c., failure of several of these, *ib.* 492-495—The contracts have all been with Europeans settled in India; reason why contractors in this country were not applied to, *ib.* 493. 496, 497—Delay through the failure of the contractors, *ib.* 532—Probable causes of the failure of the contractors, *ib.* 554, 555. 673.

Prejudicial working of the contract system as hitherto pursued; advantage if tenders had been advertised for in England, *Noad* 556, 557. 574-587. 614. 900-902—Precautions taken before entering into the contracts which failed; necessary sanction of Government before any contract was made, *ib.* 674-677. 681-683—Advantage of the system of executing the works by small contracts, as at first, rather than by the large contracts subsequently entered into, *Sibley* 1083-1085.

Failure of contractors on the East India line, and consequent delay in the progress of the works; causes of these failures, *Baker* 3344-3349. 3436-3438—Explanation and defence of the action of the Indian Government and of witness in regard to their sanctioning the letting of the works on the East India line by contracts taken in India, *ib.* 3350-3362—Circumstances under which witness sanctioned contracts which he felt could not be completed in the stipulated time, *ib.* 3352-3362. 3408-3411—In sanctioning the contracts witness felt the works could never be completed in the stipulated time; the prices, however, were fair, and witness saw that the contracts would enable him to stimulate the progress of the line, *ib.* 3355-3358.

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CONTRACTS—continued.

3. *East Indian Railway*—continued.

Grounds upon which it was determined by the railway company to execute the works by contract rather than through their engineers, *Sir M. Stephenson* 3553. 3554. 3991-3994—Failure of several of the contracts adverted to; blame attributed to Government in their rigid enforcement of the original conditions without reference to the altered circumstances and unforeseen difficulties under which the contractors laboured, *ib.* 3554-3563—Explanation as to all the contracts having been made in India; failure, on account of the system of Government supervision, of attempts to obtain contractors from England, *ib.* 3564-3570—Reference to the rejection by the India Board of a tender by Mr. Jackson for the execution of a first section of seventy miles on advantageous terms, approved by the Railway Board and the East India Company, *ib.* 3564, 3565.

Objections on the part of the Board of Control which led to the non-acceptance of a tender by Mr. Thomas Jackson for the construction of the East India line, as far as Raneeungee for 8,000*l.* a mile, *Sir J. Melvill* 3669, 3670—Impression that Messrs. Bray & Elmsley were the only contractors who succeeded in Bengal, *ib.* 3749, 3750.

Gain of nearly four years in the completion of the line if Mr. Jackson's tender in 1848 had been accepted, *Sir M. Stephenson* 3985, 3986—Careful manner in which the contracts were prepared, *ib.* 3987—Explanation that there are three contracting firms on the Bengal line who have not failed, *ib.* 3988-3990—Reasons for not tendering in England, *ib.* 3993—Delay through the non-acceptance of Mr. Jackson's tender further adverted to, *ib.* 4043. 4047.

4. *Great Indian Peninsula Railway* :

Execution hitherto of the whole of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway by means of contracts, all of which have been satisfactorily fulfilled, *Watt* 3017. 3018. 3050—There is one native contractor who has performed his contract most satisfactorily, *ib.* 3044-3049—The European contractors have all gone out from this country; particulars hereon, and as to the system of tender adopted by the company in India and in England, *ib.* 3044. 3097-3100—Employment by the European contractors of native sub-contractors; advantage thereof, *ib.* 3101-3105.

5. *Madras Railway* :

Delay through the failure of the native contractors engaged upon the Goriattum and Palar Bridges, *Walker* 2656. 2698, 2699—The Madras Company have had no European contractors, *ib.* 2698—Delay through the wish to employ native contractors, *ib.* 2698, 2699. 2708. 2742. 2744.

See also *Supervision*, II. 4.

Correspondence. Delay through the circuitous and lengthy correspondence between the railway Boards and their agents, on the one hand, and the several Government departments in England and India on the other, *Rep.* p. v.

See also *Indents.* *Supervision.*

Cost. Estimated cost of the several railways of the East India Company; total of 35,231,000*l.*, *Danvers* 75, 76—Average cost per mile in the case of the lines now open, *ib.* 137, 138—Single lines can be made for about 6,000*l.* a mile, so that 72,000,000*l.* would be required to make 12,000 miles, *Kennedy* 1763-1766—The cost of a double line as compared with a single line is about as eight to five, *ib.* 1767—The only economical principle of inter-communication is a good and efficient railroad, *ib.* 2110, 2111—Causes of the much less cost of railroads in India than in England, *Baker* 2437.

The very low price of labour keeps down the cost to an average for the whole country of about 10,000*l.* a mile, *Rep.* p. vi.

See also *Construction.* *Contracts.* *Great Indian Railway*, 14. *Great Indian Peninsula Railway*, 5. *Madras Railway*, 8. *Supervision.*

Cotton. Anticipated carriage of large supplies of cotton over the railways, *Sir J. Melvill* 3824.

Court of Directors. Witness is assistant to the secretary in the India House; has charge of all matters relating to railways in India, *Danvers* 1-5—The railways' business of the India House has been gradually increasing for several years past, but there is no regularly constituted railway department, *ib.* 2-4.

Average delay of about a month occupied by the Court of Directors in the settlement of questions submitted to them by the East India Railway Board, *Noad* 830, 831. 863-867. 892-894—Doubt as to any practical grievance through the loss of time in the settling of questions needlessly referred to the Court of Directors, *ib.* 830. 868. 923-926.

Court of Directors—continued.

There have not been any serious points of difference between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, *Sir J. Melvill* 3601—Explanation as to the formation of the department of the India House which conducts the railway business; its efficiency, *ib.* 3786-3792—Prompt action of the India House in clearing off railway business so as to prevent any delay, *ib.* 3792—Absence of unnecessary delay on the part of the Home Government in sanctioning lines already sanctioned in India; propriety of their inquiries before sanction, *ib.* 3889-3893.

The Committee confidently expect that the contemplated consolidation of the departments of the India House, and the Board of Control will materially expedite the future transaction of railway business, *Rep. p. iv, v.*

See also *Construction, 2. Guarantee. Preliminary Negotiations. Supervision, I.*

Crawford, Colonel. Colonel Crawford, the Government consulting engineer at Bombay, is anxious to stimulate the progress of the railway works, *Kennedy* 2186.

D.

Dalhousie, Lord. The whole scheme of the Indian railways was laid down by Lord Dalhousie, *Danvers* 220, 221—Feeling of Lord Dalhousie that the East India Railway might have been completed much more readily, *Noad* 614—The Government of India, through Lord Dalhousie, was in favour of the works being undertaken by the companies, *Baker* 3457, 3458. 3460—Lord Dalhousie had the most sanguine expectations of the railways being very profitable, *Sir J. Melvill* 3856—Minute by Lord Dalhousie upon the railway system adverted to; excellent facilities possessed by him for arriving at a sound conclusion on the subject, *ib.* 3894-3903—Reference to the opinion of Lord Dalhousie that Government supervision need not cause vexation or delay, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4049-4052.

Danvers, Juland. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Assistant to the secretary in the India House; has charge of all matters relating to railways in India, 1-5—The railway business of the India House has been gradually increasing for several years past, but there is no regularly constituted railway department, 2-4—Schemes for the construction of railways in India were first proposed in the year 1844 by Mr. Stephenson (now Sir Macdonald Stephenson), and almost simultaneously by Mr. Chapman, 6, 7. 9-11.

Schemes for railways in India are first formed by companies in this country, and are submitted to the India House, whence they are referred to the authorities in India, in accordance with whose reports they are accepted or rejected, 8—The lines are constructed directly by the companies, whose proceedings are subject to supervision on the part of the Government, 12—The first contracts with any companies whose lines were sanctioned, were made in 1849, the first propositions having been made in 1844; 13-17.

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E.

EAST INDIAN RAILWAY:

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2. *Preliminary Proceedings of the Company, and Negotiations and Lapse of Time before a Guarantee was obtained.*
3. *Capital of the Company: Amount paid-up.*
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6. *Contracts*—continued.

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8. *Preference given to the Direct Route over that by the Ganges Valley*—continued.

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Inaccuracy of a certain statement as to sanctions being required before the appointment in India of any officer on the East India Railway, *Baker* 3326, 3327, 3393-3395—
Statement in explanation of the refusal of Government to sanction a certain scale of engineering staff proposed by Mr. Turnbull, the chief engineer of the Railway, *ib.* 3372
—Efficiency on the whole of the railway engineers in Bengal, *ib.* 3455, 3456.

A demand by the chief engineer of the East Indian Railway for an increased staff of engineers did not come before the Railway Board, Sir J. Melvill 3732, 3773.

14. Rate of Expenditure in Construction :

Excess of expenditure by the company over the estimated cost, *Danvers* 247—The railway will be constructed much within the estimate, *Noad* 731, 732—The estimated cost of the line per mile is 9,600 *l.*, including rolling stock, *ib.* 1006—Sundry items besides the mere cost of constructing of the 121 miles of the East India Railway now open, which are included in the expenditure hitherto of 12,000 *l.* per mile, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4008-4012.

15. *Amount of Traffic, and Rates charged:

Rate of freight for passengers and goods over the line, *Noad* 944.—Number of passengers and tonnage of goods carried over the line since June 1855, *ib.* 950, 951.—The traffic is in excess of the estimate, *ib.* 952, 953.—Very low rates at which passengers and goods are carried, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4029, 4030.

16. Profits on the portion of the Line now in operation :

The railway company have paid over about 170,000*l.* as profits to the East India Company, and have received in interest about 1,045,000*l.*; *Noud* 444. 450. 942, 943—The experimental section of 121 miles is producing more than five per cent. profit, so that the East India Company would have nothing to pay with reference only to that section, *ib.* 446—Highly satisfactory results of the experimental portion of the line; profit at present of about 68 per cent., *ib.* 938-941. 950-954—The 121 miles now open pay about seven per cent.; *Sir M. Stephenson* 4029.

See also Agents in India. Bricks, 1. Bungalows, 1. Cawnpore to Allahabad.
Coal and Coal Traffic. Gradients. Inland Transport. Inundations.
Jubbulpore Extension. Edhore. Management. Mutiny. Pumping Engines.
Santhal Rebellion. Soane Bridge. Timber.

Engineering Difficulties. Numerous physical and engineering difficulties in the way of the completion of several of the undertakings; *Danvers* 100-102.—Reference to the numerous physical difficulties to the construction of the works in the crossing of the rivers and the surmounting of the ghauts; instances of the heavy character of these works. *Rep.* p. vi.

See also *Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway*, 3. *Bridges.* *East Indian Railway*, 10. *Great Indian Peninsular Railway*, 4.

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Engineers. Efficiency of some civil engineers recently obtained by the Indian Government from this country for employment on public works, *Baker* 3444-3446 — Operation of the colleges in India for the education of civil engineers, *ib.* 3529-3534 — There has been occasional delay in obtaining the services of competent engineers, *Sir J. Melvill* 3711 — Testimonials required in the case of the officers sent out by the Companies, *ib.* 3734 — Satisfactory conduct generally of the railway engineers in their exertions in the execution of the works, *ib.* 3744 — Beneficial results anticipated from the operation of the engineering colleges at Roorkee and Calcutta, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4071, 4072, 4082-4084 — Ability of the natives of India in imitating and carrying out the designs of others for public works, but not in themselves designing any great undertaking, *ib.* 4073-4081, 4085-4087.

Engines. Up to the present time 122 engines have been sent out for the East India Railway; their cost in this country and on arrival in India, *Noad* 955-961 — Importance of due proportion between the power of the engines and the weight of the traffic on each line, *Kennedy* 2111 — The ballast-engines and locomotives for the Bombay and Baroda line will be sent first to Bombay and thence by boats to Surat, *ib.* 2139-2142 — Weight of the ballast-engines and of the tram-engines; they are to be sent out in pieces and put together at Surat, where an establishment is being formed, *ib.* 2143-2145.

Establishment Expenses. Disposition at times of the railway engineers to undue establishment expenses, *Baker* 3392.

Expedition in Construction. See *Progress of the Works*.

Expenditure. Expediency of proper control over the expenditure, and in connexion with the guarantee, *Danvers* 229; *Noad* 632-634, 709, 912-915; *Kennedy* 1874, 1929-1931, 2184, 2185, 2198-2203; *Pears* 2218-2220; *Walker* 2777; *Andrew* 3219, 3240, 3241; *Baker* 3501-3504; *Sir J. Melvill* 3700-3703, 3719, 3720, 3798-3801.

Complete audit and control exercised in regard to all payments by the East India Railway Company, *Noad* 852-862 — Notwithstanding the Government control there have been some few instances of objectionable expenditure in India, *Sir J. Melvill* 3682, 3685-3687 — Witness, as official director, would feel great hesitation in disallowing expenditure which had been sanctioned by the Indian Government, *ib.* 3683, 3684 — Practice as regards payments by the railway companies in London; useful check on the part of the Court of Directors, *ib.* 3724-3730.

See also *Construction*. *Contracts*. *Cost*. *Supervision*.

Extension of Railways. Calculation as to the railway mileage required in India; according to the amount in the United States there should be 12,000 miles, with reference to the area of each country, *Kennedy* 1759-1762 — Inexpediency of any very large and sudden extension of the railway system, *Sir J. Melvill* 3622, 3739, 3740.

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Facilities of Construction. Respects in which there are greater natural facilities respectively in Bombay and Bengal, in the construction of railways, *Baker* 3400, 3401.

Financial Results. It is essentially to the financial interest of the Indian Government to encourage the construction of railways, *Kennedy* 1904, 1905, 1934.

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Freeman, John. (Analysis of his Evidence.) — Has resided for upwards of twenty-five years in the district between Calcutta and Benares, 1179 — Gives evidence to the effect that there are ample facilities in India for making bricks to an unlimited extent, 1180-1184.

Freights. Probable difficulty as regards freight for the conveyance of increased materials from this country; practice hereon, *Danvers* 104-112 — Further reference to the question of freights; hitherto there has been no difficulty in the conveyance of the requisite materials, *ib.* 274-284, 291, 294.

Number of vessels employed by the East India Railway Company in taking out materials, *Noad* 488 — Grounds for concluding that it will always be possible to procure any supply of freight to India that may be demanded by the necessities of the railways, *Kennedy* 2121-2126 — Much lower amount of the rate of freight outwards than homewards, *ib.* 2123-2125 — Practice of the Bombay and Central India Railway Company in obtaining freights, *ib.* 2137, 2138 — Rate of freight for the transmission of material for the Madras line; difficulty at one period in procuring freight to Madras, *Walker* 2652-2654.

Advantage of the position of witness at the Boards as a means of preventing competition for freight, *Sir J. Melvill* 3708 — Limit to construction on the score of freight; that is, if the materials are still to be sent from this country, *ib.* 3740, 3815-3820.

Considerable source of difficulty and delay on the score of freight, *Rep. p. v.*

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Freshfield, Charles. Letter from Mr. Freshfield to the chairman of the Court of Directors, dated 20 January 1857, to the effect that the Government run no risk by reason of their guarantee, and setting forth the great benefits to be derived from the railways, *App. p. 298-305.*

Fuel. Reference by the Committee to the difficulties of construction through the want of fuel for lime and brick burning, *Rep. p. v.*

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Ganges Canal. Great importance of the Ganges Canal, and great credit due to the Government for its mode of execution, *Kennedy 1889-1891*—Immense use of bricks on the works of the Ganges Canal, *Baker 3368-3371*—Advantage on the score of cost and time in the execution of the works on the Ganges Canal as compared with the railway works, *ib. 3412-3418.*

Ganges Valley Line. See *East Indian Railway, 7. 8.*

Ghatts. Considerable impediments to rapid construction through the heavy works required in the passing of the ghatts, *Rep. p. vi*

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Gradients. Statement as to the refusal of the Bengal Government to sanction gradients of more than 1 in 500 on the East India Railway, *Noad 589. 603-605. 616-620*—The ruling gradient over the portion of the East India line under witness is 1 in 500; at first there was a restriction to a gradient of 1 in 1000, which would have required much heavier works, *Sibley 1061-1064*—Considerable saving on the earthworks between Rajmahal and Colgong, by the extension of the gradient to 1 in 200, *ib. 1086-1088.*

Importance of easy gradients on the railways in India, *Baker 3333-3336*—Explanation as to a permission by witness to Mr. Sibley to reduce the gradients, wherever necessary, in his district of the East India Railway to 1 in 500, *ib. 3334-3338.*

—With the exception of the ghatts and the rivers the general face of the country seems favourable for railway construction, presenting for the most part easy gradients, *Rep. p. vi.*

GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY:

1. *Origin and Outline of the Undertaking.*
2. *Progress made with the Works.*
3. *Contracts.*
4. *Heavy Works over the Thul and Bhore Ghatts, &c.*
5. *Cost.*
6. *Traffic Receipts and Expenditure.*
7. *Government Supervision.*
8. *Other Evidence generally.*

1. *Origin and Outline of the Undertaking:*

The scheme of the Company was originated by Mr. John Chapman in the spring of 1845, but the Act of incorporation was not obtained till August 1849, *Watt 3006-3009*—In August 1849 the Company contracted with the Court of Directors to make a line from Bombay to Callian, a distance of thirty-three miles; this was completed in May 1854, *ib. 3010-3016*—The extent of the railway as now sanctioned is 1,235 miles, these are made up by the main line to Jubbulpore, and by lines to Magpore and the River Kistna, *ib. 3019. 3022-3025*—The Madras Company have not been ready to settle the point of junction between their line and the Peninsula line, *ib. 3025, 3026*—The portion between Sholapore and the River Kistna, that is 110 miles, is in abeyance, *ib. 3025. 3121.*

2. *Progress made with the Works:*

Length of the lines, portion completed, and periods at which it is estimated the remaining works will be completed, *Danvers 74*—Mileage now open, under construction, or about to be commenced, with the dates at which further portions will be opened, *Watt 3121, 3122*—Paper delivered in by Mr. Watt, dated 15th June 1858, showing the present position of the undertaking, *App. p. 291.*

3. *Contracts:*

The European contractors have all gone out from this country; particulars here on, and as to the system of tender adopted by the Company in India and England, *Watt 3044. 3097-3100*—There is one native contractor who has performed his contracts most satisfactorily
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satisfactorily, *Watt* 3044-3049—Employment by the European contractors of native sub-contractors; advantage thereof, *ib.* 3101-3105.

4. Heavy Works over the Thul and Bhore Ghauts, &c.:

Particulars as to the heavy and exceedingly costly character of the works necessary in the crossing of the Thul Ghaut on the main line and of the Bhore Ghaut on the line to the Kistna, *Watt* 3027-3042. 3045—Steep gradients over portions of the distance in crossing the ghauts, *ib.* 3029, 3039—Difficulty on the score of labour of the works at the Bhore Ghaut, and consequent check to the progress of the works, *ib.* 3040, 3041. 3147-3149—Mention of several heavy works on the line in the shape of bridges and viaducts, *ib.* 3054-3058—Particulars as to the delay before sanction was given to take the works over Bhore Ghaut and the Thul Ghaut; alternative lines contemplated by Government, *ib.* 3073-3089—The Thul Ghaut works were only commenced in February last; those on the Bhore Ghaut were begun in February last, *ib.* 3146. 3148.

Reference to the stupendous task undertaken by the company as regards the passage of the Thul Ghaut and the Bhore Ghaut, *Rep.* p. vi.

5. Cost:

The whole railway is estimated to cost not more than 6,500*l.* a mile; the eighty-eight and a half miles now open have cost 9,000*l.* a mile, *Watt* 3051-3053—About 9,000,000*l.* may be required for the whole 1,235 miles, *ib.* 3124.

6. Traffic Receipts and Expenditure.

The company have paid to the Government about 70,000*l.* towards the 460,000*l.* received as interest, *Watt* 3125-3127—Very satisfactory receipts on the completed portion of the line; grounds for anticipating largely increased receipts from the conveyance of salt, cotton, &c., when the line is extended into the interior of the country, *ib.* 3128-3140—In 1857 the net earnings were equal to 4½ per cent. on the expenditure at 9,000*l.* a mile, *ib.* 3131.

Statement of receipts and working expenses, revenue account, for half-yearly periods from April 1853 to 31 December 1857, *App.* p. 292.

7. Government Supervision:

Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford was till May 1856, and Captain Rivers has since been, the Government consulting engineer on the line, *Watt* 3160—Absence of any undue supervision or interference during the time of Colonel Crawford, *ib.* 3060; 3094-3096—Interference on the part of Captain Rivers as regards the portion of the completed line near Callian, *ib.* 3060-3062—There has been no avoidable delay in the construction of the lines when sanctioned, *ib.* 3091-3093.

Reference to the circumstance of the Bombay Government officers having on the whole worked very harmoniously with the Board of the Great Indian Peninsula Company in India, *Sir J. Melvill* 3607-3610.

The relations between the Government and the railway officials appear to have been for the most part of a harmonious and satisfactory character, *Rep.* p. v.

8. Other Evidence generally:

Total amount of the guaranteed capital in shares and loans, *Watt* 3020, 3021—Mr. James Berkeley is the chief engineer, *ib.* 3035, 3036—The line is a double one as far as Callian; reason of this, *ib.* 3053, 3144—Ample supply of stone readily available along the line, *ib.* 3108-3110—Particulars as to the difficulty and delay experienced in obtaining sanction for the extension from Callian to Munwar and Jubbulpore, *ib.* 3063-3072.

There is a register for the transfer of shares in Bombay, and many natives are shareholders, *Watt* 3118-3120—Total of 3,682,238*l.* as the amount of capital paid up out of eight millions, *ib.* 3123—About 460,000*l.* has been received as interest, *ib.*

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Great Southern of India Railway. There is a scheme, the Great Southern of India, now under consideration by the Court of Directors, *Danvers* 26, 27. 67.

Guarantee. Explanation of the course pursued by the East India Company with reference to the first proposition for the construction of the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsula Railways; refusal of the Board of Control to sanction the guarantee first proposed by the company in aid of those undertakings, *Danvers* 15—Settlement ultimately in August 1849 of the terms of the contracts with the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsula Companies, such terms being adhered to as the basis of all subsequent undertakings, *ib.*—Guarantee by the Government of 5*l.* per cent. interest on the capital of the subscribers for 99 years, *ib.* 30. 33. 54.

Explanation of the several conditions attached to the Government guarantee, and with reference to the future possession of the lines, *Danvers* 34-39—There are six guaranteed undertakings;

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undertakings; names of these, *Danvers* 65. 67—Difference at first between the companies and the Court of Directors in regard to the guarantee being one of dividend or of interest; how this difference was settled, *ib.* 144-162; *Sir J. Melvill* 3887. 3888.

Repudiation by the Court of Directors, in September 1848, in its negotiations with the East Indian Railway Company of the term "guaranteed dividend;" substitution eventually of a guaranteed interest of five per cent. for ninety-nine years, *Noad* 333-344—Circumstance cited in proof of the first understanding about the guarantee having been that it was to be a guaranteed dividend, *ib.* 377—The terms eventually obtained are, in witness's opinion, better than those first asked for, *ib.* 378—Probability of the East India Company at present paying the guarantee out of the balance of the subscribed railway capital deposited with them; propriety of their doing so, *ib.* 408, 409. 427-443.

Witness considers the expenditure on the railways to be as much public money as any money that is raised on loan, *Pears* 2373-2375—In the expenditure on the works there can be no risk on the part of the company, inasmuch as the money is all guaranteed; in fact, the larger the expenditure the better for the shareholders as regards immediate returns, *ib.* 2403-2409. 2451-2457—Necessity of a guaranteed interest as a means of raising capital, *Pears* 2428. 2430; *Andrew* 3234; *Rep.* p. vii.

Witness does not see much commercial enterprise in the fact of English capital having been subscribed for the railways upon a safe guarantee, *Pears* 2429-2431—Witness concurs with Colonel Pears in his view that the capital subscribed does not represent so much private enterprise; the money is merely a loan, and the shareholders are free from risk, *Baker* 2461-2463.

The Government cannot exercise too much vigilance and caution in granting guarantees, *Sir J. Melvill* 3621, 3622—Risk incurred by the guarantee; the capital may, in fact, be regarded as public money, *ib.* 3623, 3624—View of the Home Government that the trunk lines only should be guaranteed, *ib.* 3639-3641.

Reference to a letter from Mr. Charles Freshfield, dated 20 January 1857, as showing that the guarantee principle is in no way financially onerous to the East India Company, *Sir M. Stephenson* 3995, 3996, and *App.* p. 298-305—Statistical information provided by witness formed the basis of the Government guarantee, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4005-4007—Obstacles to a direct loan by the East India Company for the formation of the railways, *ib.* 4023. 4024.

See also *Madras Railway*, 2. *Peel*, *Sir Robert (the late)*. *Wilson*, Mr.

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I.

Incorporation of Companies. Necessity of the railway companies being incorporated by Act of Parliament previously to the sanction of the Court of Directors, *Danvers* 233-235.

Indents. Practice as regards the consideration of indents or requisitions from India for materials for the railways; routine and correspondence necessary on this score, *Danvers* 49-64. 169-201—Opinion given by the Government engineer in India as to the propriety of acceding to requisitions for materials, *ib.* 236-239—Absence of any undue delay through the practice of considering the indents, *ib.* 272, 273.

Sundry channels through which indents from the railway engineers in India pass before they are complied with, *Noad* 702—Improvement through the *ex officio* director having been recently empowered to sanction indents for materials, *ib.* 829. 888. 923-926—Illustration of the enhanced expense incurred through the form required in the sanctioning of indents, *Sibley* 1111-1113.

Different channels through which all indents by witness are obliged to go, *Bruce* 1730, 1731—Very considerable delay before indents are complied with from home; impossibility always of anticipating this delay, *ib.* 1739-1748—Improvement if supplies, once sanctioned by the Government in India, could be forwarded from this country without the present double sanction, *ib.* 1748-1750.

Delay as regards the Madras line necessarily consequent upon the system first laid down in this country in regard to requisitions for materials; this system explained, *Walker* 2710-2713—Considerable improvement in June 1855, and subsequently in the system adopted, before compliance with requisitions, *ib.* 2713, 2714—Instance of rapid compliance

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compliance with a requisition for some axles and wheels, the Court of Directors having relaxed the rules on this occasion, *Walker* 2714-2719.

A little time as possible is occupied in India in the settlement of indents, *Baker* 3440, 3441.

Important and useful enlargement in March last of witness's power at the railway boards in regard to indents for railway materials, *Sir J. Melvill* 3575-3587, 3615-3617, 3695-3699—Indents for increase of establishment still go through the same process as formerly was required in the case of indents for materials; this process explained, *ib.* 3579-3583—Delay consequent upon the former practice in regard to indents for materials, more especially on account of the reference to the Board of Control, *ib.* 3581-3585, 3656-3659.

The former system as regards the sanctioning of indents necessarily entailed a very considerable amount of delay and correspondence, *Rep. p. iv*—The best results may be anticipated from the judicious changes lately effected in this respect, *ib.*

Indus Navigation. Scheme of river steam navigation from Hyderabad to Moultan, embraced in the project of the Scinde Railway Company, *Andrew* 3187-3192—Difficulties experienced as regards the determination of the proper kind of boat for the navigation of the Indus, *ib.* 3204-3206—Origin and character of the first communications by witness on the subject of the navigation of the Indus, from Hyderabad to Moultan, *ib.* 3263-3273—Reference to the date and character of Mr. Bourne's plan for the navigation of the Indus; a subsidy has been granted for it, *ib.* 3265, 3266, 3283-3285—Further explanation as to the use proposed to be made of the river, and as to the present character of the navigation; profitable traffic expected, *ib.* 3277-3295—Encouragement by the Court of Directors of the steam navigation of the Indus, *ib.* 3290-3292.

Inland Transport. Great difficulties and expense in the conveyance of the materials up the country for the East India railway, *Noad* 489-491, 520, 521, 573, 601, 612, 614—Heavy cost of conveying materials from Calcutta up to Allahabad, &c.; less cost from England to Calcutta, *ib.* 573—Injurious effect upon the progress of the works through the Government impressment of carriages and animals, *Sibley* 1100-1107—Ample supply of carriages or hackneys for the conveyance of materials; nature of these vehicles, *ib.* 1213-1217.

There has been some delay on the Madras works, through the pressing of cases and bullocks for Government, *Walker* 2742.

Measures taken or to be taken by the East India Railway Company for sending the permanent way up the country; impression that the best means have not been employed, *Baker* 3515-3521—Great difficulty in the conveyance up the country of the permanent way, &c. required for the East India line, *Sir J. Melvill* 3767-3771, 3821; *Sir M. Stephenson* 3999; *Rep. p. v*—Steps taken in the matter by the railway company, *Sir M. Stephenson* 3999.

Interest on Dividends. Conditions as regards interest to the East India Company on advances by them towards the payment of interest, that is, if the profit be more than equal to the guarantee, *Noad* 447-450—Hardship upon witness's company in being charged with interest upon the dividends whilst there are large sums of theirs in the hands of the East India Company, *Kennedy* 2208-2212.

Inundations. Difficulty as regards the works on the East India railway on account of floods; very large bridges required in consequence, *Noad* 514, 515, 526-529—Increased works on the Ganges Valley line in order to provide against the periodical large inundations, the effects of which were not properly calculated upon at first, *Baker* 2431-2434.

Iron. Difficulty as regards the production of iron in India; steps taken by the Board of Directors to develop the iron mines, *Danvers* 114-123—Estimate of 1,075,000 tons of iron, as the quantity required for the sanctioned works, *ib.* 124-126, 131-135—Objection to the East India Railway Company undertaking iron or coal works; greater advantage in sending all iron material from this country, *Noad* 967-969, 995-999—Superior quality of the iron in the Madras Presidency, *ib.* 1000—Encouragement by witness of the production and manufacture of native iron; results thereof, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4000, 4048.

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Jubbulpore Extension (East Indian Railway). There is to be a line from Mirzapore to Jubbulpore, 300 miles long; this will not be very difficult of execution, *Danvers* 211-213—Remarks relative to the long time taken by the Court of Directors before the settlement of the contract for the Jubbulpore line, *Noad* 831-838, 922—The probable cost of the Jubbulpore line is estimated at 7,800 l. a mile, exclusive of rolling stock, *ib.* 1038, 1040.

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Kennedy, Colonel John Pitt. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Went to India in 1849; was appointed consulting engineer to the Government of India in the railway department in the summer of 1850, and returned to this country through ill health in the spring of 1851; 1751-1754—Is now consulting engineer for the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, 1755—Considers that the construction of railways in India is most essential for the improvement of the country, and for the maintenance of the political and commercial interests of England, 1756, 1757.

Estimate that a proper system of railways would render possible a reduction of at least 7,000,000*l.* a year on the military expenditure that must henceforth be incurred, 1758—Still greater importance of railways in a commercial than in a political point of view, 1758. 1820—Calculation as to the railway mileage required; according to the amount in the United States, there should be 12,000 miles, 1759-1762—Single lines can be made for about 6,000*l.* a mile, so that 72,000,000*l.* would be required to make 12,000 miles, 1763-1766—The cost of a double line, as compared with a single line, is as about eight to five, 1767—All the bridges must be constructed for double lines, 1768.

Calculation that sections of 200 miles in length may, under certain conditions, be completed every three years, 1769-1771—Satisfactory progress being made with the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway, 1772—Considerable delay on account of the Home Government not having sanctioned, till November 1857, the most important portion of the line, that is, from Bombay to Surat; belief that the refusal was on the part of the Board of Control, 1773-1791. 1865-1868—Unavailability of Surat as a port of shipment, 1787-1791.

Greater engineering difficulties on the line between Surat and Ahmedabad than between Surat and Bombay, 1792, 1793—Difficulty at the present time in regard to the line coming into Bombay; way in which this difficulty should be overcome, 1794-1801. 1852-1871—Objections to the Central India Line being forced to join the Great Indian Peninsula line at some point near Bombay; importance, instead, of an independent access to Bombay, and a separate terminus there, 1802-1804. 1869-1871.

Considerable importance of the line to Bombay on account of the facilities thereby for the conveyance of cotton for Guzerat, 1805-1813. 1820-1839—Absence of undue competition between witness's line and the Great India Peninsula as regards the connexion with Indore and other places, 1814-1819—Rich country, in the production of cotton, opium and indigo, through which the Central India line will pass, 1821.

Further reference to the great advantages of railways in India, in a military point of view, 1840. 1845—Great importance of railways in developing the agricultural resources and natural products of the country, 1846-1851—Different gradients on different parts of the Bombay and Central India line, 1855-1861—Obstacles raised to a separate line into Bombay further adverted to; anticipation that before long the objections of the Government may be removed, 1865-1871.

Witness delivers in a progress report of works on the first concession (143 miles) of line from Surat to Ahmedabad, framed to ascertain how far the rate of expenditure is in accordance with the original estimate, both as regards money and time, 1872—Considerable importance of accurate progress reports; they should be made monthly, and should be properly audited, 1872—Careful estimates should first be made, and should be followed by progress reports, as a substitute for the present system of supervision, 1872. 1911. 1924. 1925—The question as to the mode by which witness's line should approach Bombay arises at a point about 30 miles distant, 1873.

Importance of the principle of good and vigilant Government supervision over the construction of the railways, 1874. 1931—Expediency however of the present supervision being modified, so that the railway engineers may not be unnecessarily impeded or harassed in detail matters, 1874. 1876. 1924. 1925. 1931—Advantage if the decision of the *ex officio* Government director in England were final except on important questions, 1875, 1876.

Suggestion that the railway engineers should receive bonuses for efficient and quick work, 1877-1883—Advantage of the companies executing the works through their own officers rather than by contracts, 1877. 1885—Low salaries on witness's line on account of the system of bonus being established, 1880-1882—But for Government interference the best direction would from the first have been selected for the line, 1884—As a principle it would have been better if Government had undertaken the construction of the railways; practical obstacles however to their doing so advantageously, 1885-1903.

It is essentially to the financial interest of the Indian Government to encourage the construction of railways, 1904. 1905. 1934—Facility for providing unguaranteed capital for the extension of the railway system, that is, if confidence be given by the results of the present undertakings, 1906-1911. 1934—Objection to the system of a directing board

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board in India for the execution of the works; a single responsible officer is much better. 1912, 1913—More than two-thirds of the payments in connexion with witness's line have been made in England, 1914, 1915.

Difficulties as regards supplies of wooden sleepers in India which have necessitated the transmission of sleepers from this country, 1915, 1916, 1918-1920—Means of procuring excellent sleepers from Australia, 1916, 1917, 1920—Advantage anticipated from the use of iron sleepers in India; recommendations already made by witness on this point has not been sanctioned by the home Government, 1920-1923, 1927, 1928, 1936-1948—Approval of the office of the Government consulting engineer in India, provided there be less interference in detail, 1929-1931—No portion of witness's line is yet open, 1932—Satisfactory receipts on the lines hitherto opened, 1933, 1934.

How far the Government of India can be said to have pursued a course of delay and neglect in regard to the railways, 1935—Advantage if there were a practical and eminent professional man to consider questions on the part of the Indian Government at home; Sir James Melvill does not decide important engineering questions, 1949-1954—Greater powers recently conferred on the *ex officio* director, and greater despatch consequently in the settlement of questions in this country, 1955-1957.

[Second Examination.]—Calculation showing the great importance, in a financial point of view, of expedition in the execution of the works; enhanced cost as the works are prolonged; examination as to the accuracy of the data upon which this calculation is based, 1958-1979—Table, in illustration of the foregoing calculation, containing a financial analysis of the Indian Government guarantee principle, as applied to the time to be occupied in the construction of the line of 335 miles between Bombay and Ahmedabad; data for this table considered, 1958-1979, 1999—Reference to the bridging of the rivers, as the great and almost the only practical impediment to railway construction in India, 1969-1973, 1990-2011, 2026, 2027.

Nature of the progress made with the surveys and works of the East Indian line when witness left India in 1851; 1980-1982—Full approval by witness, when Government consulting engineer in India, of everything that was proposed to be done as regards the construction of the East Indian line, 1982-1984—Personal inspection of the line by witness, with reference to the direction proposed to be taken, 1984-1988—Explanation in detail as to the grounds upon which witness recommended the indirect or Ganges Valley line to Mirzapore, in preference to the direct line, 1987 *et seq.*

Further examination relative to the route of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, as recommended by witness; consideration of several objections raised to this line, more especially to the portion proposed between Bombay and Surat, 2028 *et seq.*—Consideration of the probable amount of traffic along this railway, and of the rates at which it can be carried, 2034-2077, 2085-2090—Further reference to the advantage of the line from Bombay to Surat, &c. for the carriage of cotton, 2050, 2051, 2057—Explanation as to the main object of the Bombay and Central India line; the principal branch, that is the Taptee line, was to go on to Mirzapore, 2053-2056.

Considerations as to the heavy nature of some of the works on the Bombay and Baroda line, more especially as regards the crossing of the Bassein and other inlets of the sea, and of the Nerbudda, Taptee, and Mhye rivers, 2067-2084, 2148-2160—Doubt as to the delay before the commencement of the railway works in India being attributable to any other causes besides the action of the Government authorities, 2091-2094—Impression that delay had not arisen, when witness left India, through any deficiency in the supply of bricks, 2095-2098.

Further statement in favour of the indirect rather than the direct route from Calcutta to Mirzapore, 2099-2106—Necessity of sending large supplies of sleepers from England for the Bombay and Central India line, on account of advices just received as to the high price of sleepers in Bombay, 2107—Considerable advantage of iron sleepers over wooden sleepers further adverted to, more especially as regards their duration, 2108, 2109.

Bad economy in the construction of tramroads in India instead of railroads, 2110—The only economical principle is a good and efficient railroad, 2110, 2111—Importance of due proportion between the power of the engines and the weight of the traffic on each line, 2111—Preference further given to the system of construction through officers of the companies rather than through contractors, 2112.

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The weight of the rail sent out by witness's company is sixty-two pounds per yard; it appears to answer, 2127, 2128—Iron sleepers or bearers, for about twenty miles, have been allowed to be sent out as an experiment, 2129, 2130—The iron sleepers, which are known by the name of Adam's girder-rail, have been tried with success in this country; they are on the longitudinal principle, 2130-2132—The wooden sleepers sent out have all been creosoted, 2133-2136.

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Importance of the Government consulting engineer being a person in whom both the Government and the companies can feel confidence, 2199, 2200—Further approval of a system of monthly reports, as presenting a means of adequate supervision, 2201-2203—Hardship upon witness's Company in being charged with interest upon the dividends whilst there are large sums of theirs in the hands of the East India Company, 2208-2212.

Kudulhoondy Bridge (Madras). Illustration in the case of the Kudulhoondy Bridge, of the inconvenience and delay consequent upon the reference of questions to the consulting engineer of the company in England, *Pears* 2526-2530, 2582-2593.

Explanation relative to the considerable time which elapsed in reference to the bridge over the Kudulhoondy; final settlement of the question in this country, *Walker* 2845-2847.

Kurrachee Harbour. Intention of the East India Company to improve the harbour of Kurrachee; the harbour has been very favourably reported upon, *Andrew* 3238.

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Labour. Particulars as to the supply of native labour on the East India Railway works, and the payment made for it, *Noad* 795-810—Great difficulty in procuring labour in the Rajmahal districts in consequence of the Santhal insurrection, *ib.* 795—The rate per day is about 2½d. or 3d., *ib.* 807—About four natives are equal, as regards work, to one European navvy, *ib.* 809, 810.

Reference to the operation of an impressment act lately passed in India for impressing labour; exemption of railway labourers from its operation, *Noad* 811-823—The natives are very handy workmen; they are not employed as skilled labourers, *Sibley* 1074, 1077—The Government demand for labour has not interfered with railway construction, *ib.* 1100.

Labour was after a time readily procured for the Madras Railway, *Bruce* 1257—The labourers were paid regularly every week, *ib.* 1258—Difficulty as regards the supply of skilled native labour, but not as regards unskilled labour, *ib.* 1339-1346—Requirement at one time by the Government that natives should be employed as masons, &c.; illustration of the objections to this requirement, *ib.* 1523-1526, 1535—Witness would not have European superintendents exclusively; in some places trustworthy natives might be employed as inspectors, &c., but as a rule they should be under Europeans, *ib.* 1540-1547—Delay on the Madras line through inadequate supplies of labour, *Wather* 2742.

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Employment on the Great Indian Peninsular line, of natives as well as Europeans, as inspectors, &c., *Watt* 3033, 3034.

Latitude allowed as regards the amount and distribution of labour on the East India line, *Baker* 3330, 3331—Relative rates of pay on Government works and on the railway, *ib.* 3382, 3418—Particular class of natives employed on the railway works, *ib.* 3383-3386—Further reference to the rate of wages respectively on the railway works and on public works, the pay is sufficient to provide food for the men and their families, *Baker* 3494-3500.

Want of skilled native labour on the Great Indian Peninsular line, *Sir J. Melvill* 3629—Difficulty in obtaining skilled labour in India, though not from this country, *ib.* 3741—Endeavour to employ the labour and materials of the country, as far as possible; instances of this, *Sir M. Stephenson* 3999, 4000.

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Local Governments (India) Adoption by the Home Government of all lines sanctioned by the Indian and local governments, *Danvers* 223, 224—How far the Government of India or the local governments can be said to have pursued a course of delay and neglect in regard to the railways, *Kennedy* 1935—It is only on very important questions that the local governments refer to the central Government, *Baker* 3305, 3306, 3315-3317—It is not the practice to refer to the supreme Government for the decision of any questions about demands for increased staff in the Presidencies, *ib.* 3373-3375—It would be well if the Home Government were to delegate to the local authorities everything connected with the execution of the works and with the management and detail of the railways, *Pears* 3924-3926.

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M.

MADRAS RAILWAY:

1. *Preliminary Proceedings in connexion with the Sanction of the Scheme.*
2. *Varying Rates of Guarantee.*
3. *Amount of Capital paid up.*
4. *Sanction of the Cuddapah Route instead of the Bangalore route; Merits of each.*
5. *Line to Bellary.*
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7. *Progress of the Works.*
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10. *Profits.*
11. *Question of Construction by the Madras Government.*
12. *Native Contracts.*
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20. *Stoppage of the Works in the Salem District with the view to the adoption of a different Route.*
21. *Branch Line to the Government Salt Dept.*
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1. *Preliminary Proceedings in connexion with the Sanction of the Scheme:*

Account of the early history of the Madras Railway; the scheme assumed its present development about the end of 1853, *Bruce* 1227-1235—A company was formed in 1845, for the purpose of constructing a railway at Madras; but after two years' unsuccessful

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1. Preliminary Proceedings in connection with the sanction of the Scheme—contd.

cessful application for a guarantee, it wound up in 1847, *Walker* 2605-2509—The present company applied for a guarantee in May 1849, but were unsuccessful, *ib.* 2610-2613.

In February 1850, the company renewed the application, and subsequently took other steps in the matter, and in May 1852, a guarantee of 4½ per cent. was given on 500,000 l. for a line from Madras to Arcot, *Walker* 2614-2623—Arrangements in 1853 and subsequently for extensions of the line first agreed upon, *ib.* 2627-2631—Different amounts of capital and different rates of guarantee embraced by the arrangements up to the present time, *ib.* 2627. 2632-2635.

2. Varying Rates of Guarantee :

Exception, as regards the amount of the guarantee, in the case of the Madras Company; somewhat lower terms in this instance, *Danvers* 30-33—Dissatisfaction through the different rates of interest guaranteed, *Walker* 2636—Different market value of the shares bearing different rates of interest, *ib.* 2753-2758—Objectionable operation of the varying rates of interest, *ib.* 2758-2762—The investment, on the whole, has been a popular one, but the capital could not have been raised at all but for the guarantee, *ib.* 1763-2767.

3. Amount of Capital paid up :

Capital of 2,754, 690 l. hitherto paid over to the East India Company, and balance of 287,000 l. in their hands at the present time, *Walker* 2637-2645.

4. Sanction of the Cuddapah Route instead of the Bangalore Route ; Merits of each :

Difference of opinion between the central Government on the one hand and the Madras Government and Madras Railway Company on the other hand, in regard to the course of the Madras line, *Danvers* 82-87—Delay through the difference of opinion about the line of the Madras Company, *ib.* 243. 245.

The Indian Government directed the course to be taken by the railway, but the railway engineers surveyed and laid out the line, *Walker* 2772—Examination relative to the respective merits of line by Cuddapah, and of that by Bangalore to Bellary; evidence adduced in favour of the latter route, and in condemnation of the action of the Home Government, in requiring the adoption of the former route, *ib.* 2773, 2774. 2781-2802—The line by Cuddapah is somewhat the shorter, *ib.* 2774—Reference to a letter from the Collector of Bellary in favour of the Bangalore route, *ib.* 2791. 2794, 2795—The Madras Government have been much in favour of the line by Bangalore, *ib.* 2791—Views of Colonel Pears as to the advantages of the Bangalore route, *ib.* 2796, 2797.

Further statements as to the advantages of the line by Bangalore over that by Cuddapah, *Walker* 2961-2966.

Grounds upon which the Board of Control differed from the railway authorities and the East India Company, in requiring that the Madras line should go by Cuddapah instead of by Bangalore; witness's view was that the latter line or branch should also be made, *Sir J. Melvill* 3598-3600. 3642-3650.

5. Line to Bellary :

Particulars as to the negotiations with the Court of Directors in regard to the terms of the contract for the line to Bellary; they are not yet arranged, *Walker* 2676-2689.

The Court of Directors have, since witness's former statement, consented to withdraw certain objections to entering into the contract for the North Western or Bellary line, *Walker* 2791-2793.

6. Bangalore Branch :

Anxiety on the parts of the Railway Company and of the East India Company that the works in the Bangalore branch should be commenced; belief that the objection to proceeding arises from the Board of Control, *Walker* 2665-2675.

7. Progress of the Works :

Length of the lines of the company; portion completed; periods at which it is estimated the several lines and works will be completed, *Danvers* 74.

Witness and two assistants commenced the surveys for the experimental line from Madras to Arcot in April 1853, and the line was opened on the 1st July 1856, *Bruce* 1236-1240—Delay in the completion of the line to Arcot, on account of only 50 miles of it having at first been sanctioned, *ib.* 1239, 1240—Reference to some of witness's reports in explanation of the operation of the system of constructing the Madras line without contractors; success of the system, *ib.* 1241, 1242—The Company conducted its operations in remote districts without any direct protection from Government, *ib.* 1242-1244.

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7. *Progress of the Works*—continued.

Completion, by the present time, of ninety-seven miles of the line, *Bruce* 1245, 1246 — The progress made with the works has on the whole been very satisfactory, *ib.* 1247. — Each section of the line might be opened in two years after its commencement; this result has hitherto been attained, *ib.* 1314-1318 — Reference to the view of Mr. Fisher, and other settlers in Madras, as to the progress of the works, *ib.* 1321-1324. 1347-1352 — With a proper staff, and without Government supervision, the whole line from Madras to Beypoor might have been finished when witness left India, *ib.* 1707-1710 — Necessity of the delay at one period in determining the course of the line after the first fifty miles, *ib.* 1711-1716.

Circumstance of witness having recently heard from his successor that the line is not likely to be completed to Beypoor until almost the end of 1860, that is seven years after the commencement, *Pears* 2395-2398. 2477-2481. 2487-2490 — Absence of delay through the actual practice as regards the construction of the works, *ib.* 2491, 2492.

The works were commenced in July 1853, and by July 1856 sixty-five miles were opened, *Walker* 2624-2627 — Mileage open and progress made at the present time; by the middle of 1859 the line is expected to be open to Salem, 200 miles from Madras, *ib.* 2655. 2657, 2658 — Reference to a report received by the last mail from Captain Johnston, successor to Colonel Pears, wherein the latest period assigned for the opening of the entire line is the 1st May 1860, misapprehension of Colonel Pears on this point, *ib.* 2658-2664 — The general survey of the line has been made as far as Bellary, *ib.* 2690-2692 — Very few cases of delay in the construction of the works, *ib.* 2694 — The works are now being carried on entirely through the engineers, *ib.* 2699.

Absence of ground for charging the company with undue delay in the construction of the works, taking everything into consideration, the directors are well satisfied with the progress made, *Walker* 2725, 2734-2752. 2771 — Explanation that only an experimental section of the line was begun in 1853, *ib.* 2725 — It was stated that the entire line might be completed by January 1859, whereas it may be completed by the end of that year, *ib.* 2725 2771 — Reference to a recent report from Captain Johnston, in which strong testimony is borne to the satisfactory progress of the works, and to the efficiency of the engineers, *ib.* 2957.

8. *Cost.*

The Madras line has cost under 6,000 *l.* a mile, *Danvers* 138 — The cost of the completed portion of the Beypore line is about 6,000 *l.* a mile, including stations, but without rolling stock, *Bruce* 1714 — Belief that the remaining portion of the line will not be executed for 6,000 *l.* a mile, *Pears* 2394 2396. 2398 — Considerable excess of the estimated cost of the first sixty-five miles of the line, *ib.* 2399-2401

Statement showing that the cost of the first seventy-one miles of the line including everything but rolling stock, has been at the rate of less than 6,000 *l.* a mile, *Walker* 2724, 2768-2770 — Belief as to the inaccuracy of Colonel Pears' statement that the portion of the line yet to be completed will cost much more than 6,000 *l.* a mile, *ib.* 2725. 2770 — Any excess of expenditure over the regulated allowance, as in the case of the bungalows, has gone to the charge of construction, *ib.* 2733-2737 — If the whole line can be executed at the same cost as the portion now open, the original estimate of 7,000 *l.* per mile, including rolling stock, will more than cover the outlay, *ib.* 2768-2770 — Belief as to the inaccuracy of a statement by Colonel Pears, as to the excess of cost per mile beyond the engineer's estimate, *ib.* 2895-2899.

9. *Traffic.*

Doubt as to the Madras railway obtaining all the local traffic in goods, *Pears* 2437, 2438. 2440. 2486 — Populous districts through which parts of the line runs, *ib.* 2446, 2447. 2482-2485 — Considerable importance of proper steps being taken to bring the salt traffic on the railway, *ib.* 2544, 2545. 2554-2556.

Cotton is still carried along the road by the side of the railroad, *Walker* 2812 — Great advantage if there were depôts of salt in the interior of Madras, *ib.* 2813, 2814 — There are two trains a day each way between Madras and Vellore, *ib.* 2815 — Very considerable increase in the salt traffic over the line, much greater increase expected, *ib.* 3003.

10. *Profits.*

Doubt as to the line ever earning more than five per cent. or even that amount, *Pears* 2406-2413 — The portion now open does not as yet earn anything like five per cent., *ib.* 2412.

Amount received by the railway company as interest, and amount transferred to them as profits on the opened portion of the line, *Walker* 2646, 2647 — Grounds for dissenting from the opinion of Colonel Pears that the railway will never earn more than five per cent. profit; increasing amount of traffic adverted to hereon, *ib.* 3003 — Opinion that the

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10. *Profits*—continued.

the Madras line will pay remarkably well as soon as there is a sufficient length of it opened, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4026.

11. *Question of Construction by the Madras Government.*

Reference to the circumstance of the Madras Government having been anxious themselves to construct the railway, *Bruce* 1231. 1277-1280. 1306-1312.

Witness has always felt that Government should construct the works, *Pears* 2243, 2244. 2328-2334 — Failure of the present system of construction, greater delay thereby, *ib.* 2346-2376 — Enhanced cost of the railway through the works not being undertaken by Government *ib.* 2351-2354.

Further statement that the Madras railway might have been executed at a much less cost by Government, though not at such a saving as 50 per cent., *Pears* 2394-2401 — Considerable saving of time also, if the works had been undertaken by Government, *ib.* 2395-2397 — Belief that the whole line might have been completed by Government in four years, *ib.* 2397 — Illustration in support of witness's argument that the railway might have been made more cheaply and expeditiously if undertaken by Government, *ib.* 2399-2401, 2414-2424 — Witness suggested at one time that Government, having made the line, should allow it to be worked by a company, but he now considers that Government should themselves work the line, as being more for the benefit of the people, *ib.* 2493-2495.

Belief that Government could not make the railway more cheaply than the company, *Walker* 2724, 2725 2776 — Information relative to the cost of materials and of freight, and the course adopted by the company in providing freight; Government could not have procured the former for less money, and must have paid more for the latter, *ib.* 2724. 2726-2732 — If the company had been unrestricted by Government they might have made the line more economically and expeditiously, *ib.* 2724. 2776, 2777 — Neither the company nor the Government could, under any circumstances, have completed the Madras Railway in four years, *ib.* 2842 — Further statements that Government could not have executed the works more cheaply or expeditiously than the Railway Company, if unfettered by Government, *ib.* 2900-2904.

Inaccuracies of the illustrations cited by Colonel Pears, in proof of his argument that Government could construct the works more cheaply and expeditiously than the railway company, *Bruce* 4089-4094.

12. *Native Contractors.*

Delay through the failure of the native contractors engaged upon the Goriattum and Palai bridges, *Walker* 2656. 2698, 2699 — The Madras Company have had no European contractors, *ib.* 2698 — Delay through the wish to employ native contractors, *ib.* 2698, 2699. 2738. 2742. 2744.

13. *Staff.*

Inadequate staff always employed on the undertaking, *Bruce* 1248 — Strong complaint on the score of the obstacles raised for some time, to the employment of a sufficient staff of European inspectors over the works, *ib.* 1519 *et seq.* — Circumstance of skilled labourers having been sent out on witness's requisition, and of his having been required to give explanations on the subject, reference to his report on this matter, *ib.* 1519. 1534 — Useful employment of some pensioned soldiers as inspectors, *ib.* 1527-1530 — Inefficiency of the pupils taken by the company from schools in Madras, &c., *ib.* 1548, 1549.

Inefficiency of the staff of engineers on the line further adverted to; witness does not attribute any blame to Colonel Pears on this score, and cannot say that it may not have been the fault of the railway directors at home, *Bruce* 1687-1702 — Amount of the European staff necessary in carrying out the works, *ib.* 1719-1728 — Inefficiency of the inspection of the brick-work, *ib.* 1722-1725 — Actual staff of engineers employed on each twenty-five miles of line, *ib.* 1929.

In urging the importance of the appointment by the companies of the most efficient representatives in India, as engineers, &c., without reference to interested or personal considerations, witness does not imply that any improper appointments have been made, *Pears* 2377-2383 — Support given by witness and the Government to applications for an increase in the staff of engineers, *ib.* 2521-2523. 2580 — Feeling expressed by Government in favour of employing European subordinates as sparingly as possible; the decision, however was left with the railway directors in England, *ib.* 2521. 2581 — Witness does not make any charge against the engineers of indifference in the discharge of their duties, *ib.* 2541-2543.

Grounds upon which the railway board in this country declined to send out the increased number of engineers asked for by Mr. Bruce in January 1854; the number however has been increased as the exigencies of the case required, *Walker* 2694-2697.

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13. *Staff*—continued.

2699, 2700—Circumstance of Mr. Bruce having been obliged through ill health to resign the office of chief engineer to the Company; delay on this score, *Walker* 2709, 2710—Delay through the deficiency for a time of skilled European inspectors, *ib.* 2722—Number of engineers engaged respectively on the Madras and East India railways; there are four to every seventy-five miles of the former, *ib.* 2806-2808—Delay through the chief engineer not being allowed to draw for English subordinate assistants, *ib.* 2831.

14. *Absence of a System of Transfer of Shares in Madras:*

Circumstance of there being no system of transfer or registration of shares in Madras; check thereby upon native investments, *Pears* 2342-2345, 2390-2393, 2444—Reasons why the Madras company have not thought it desirable to have a register of shares at Madras, *Walker* 2809-2811.

15. *Improvement if the Executive Management were local:*

Reference to the circumstance of the chief authority in the case of the railways, as well as of the Government, being in this country, *Pears* 2338-2341—Disadvantage in the executive management of the railway being in this country, and in all the capital being raised here; advantage if there were an executive board in Madras, *ib.* 2384-2389, 3919-3924.

16. *Generally as to the Government Supervision of the Works; Complaints and Explanations hereon:*

Evidence condemnatory of the minute Government supervision exercised over witness, *Bruce* 1247 *et seq.*—Effect of the minuteness of the supervision to retard the progress of the works, *ib.* 1248—Witness accords the best intentions to the Government officers in the exercise of their superintendence, *ib.* 1249—Unsound principle on which the Government supervision was based, *ib.* 1250, 1262—Sore feeling produced in the minds of the railway engineers through the minute supervision, *ib.* 1250, 1262—Witness complained against the undue interference with his mode of action, but no redress was obtained, *ib.* 1251.

Reference to certain complaints by Colonel Pears and by the Madras Government in regard to the progress of the works; injustice of these complaints, *Bruce* 1252-1255, 1259-1261—Although a very good military engineer, Colonel Pears was not qualified to give a proper opinion upon the progress of the railway, *ib.* 1366-1368—Pleasant character of the verbal communications between Colonel Pears and witness, *ib.* 1381, 1382—Colonel Pears offered no suggestions for remedying the faults of which he complained, *ib.* 1382-1384—Instances of the exercise of Government control in regard to gradients, curves, &c., where the effect was in each case to increase the cost, *ib.* 1414-1416—Instances of vexatious interference in trifling matters, such as the expense of a timekeeper, &c., *ib.* 1416.

Further statements as to the great loss of time generally through the minute Government supervision, *Bruce* 1516—As regards a power in witness as a subordinate, to make purchases, it is hardly correct to look upon him as a subordinate at all, nor is the money spent to be considered public money, *ib.* 1555-1557, 1567-1571, 1576, 1579-1584—Complaint in regard to the drawings, and minute information required by the Government engineer, relative to the engines and carriages, &c. on the line, *ib.* 1647-1683—Impression that Colonel Pears may have required the drawings and information about the engines, &c. as useful in the event of Government itself constructing a line in the Presidency; Colonel Pears wished to have a line so constructed, *ib.* 1659-1683—Colonel Pears was formerly in the same corps as General Sim, the chairman of the Madras Railway, *Bruce* 1684-1686; *Walker* 2915, 2916—Witness cannot define the proportion of delay due respectively to the inadequacy of the staff and to the Government supervision, *Bruce* 1703-1706.

Witness has been employed as Government consulting engineer upon the works of the Madras Railway since their commencement nearly five years ago, *Pears* 2214-2217—Anxiety of witness as well as of the Madras Railway officers that the works on that line should be carried out promptly, *ib.* 2221—Considerable controversy has arisen upon different questions, but the works of the line have not been delayed thereby, *ib.* 2221-2224—Retrospective system of control suggested and acted upon by witness in the construction of the Madras line, *ib.* 2240.

In all cases of importance witness was careful to communicate with the company's agent as well as with the chief engineer, for there was a great deal of jealousy, *Pears* 2279—There was an unreasonable degree of sensitiveness about any suggestions by witness as to the execution of the works, *ib.* 2280—Several instances of suggestions made by witness, some of which were not attended to by the chief engineer, *ib.* 2281, 2282—Subordinate relation in which the Madras Railway Company stand in relation to Government, *ib.* 2335-2337—Witness has interfered with the works only where he considered them deficient in strength or waterway, *ib.* 2402.

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16. Generally as to the Government Supervision of the Works, &c.—continued.

Instances of the Madras Company's agents, Mr. Smalley and Major Jenkins having gratefully acknowledged the part taken by witness as Government engineer; on the whole witness worked very cordially with those gentlemen, *Pears* 2474, 2475, 2511-2518.—Reference to the last inspection report by witness in September 1856, wherein he speaks favourably of the progress then being made, *ib.* 2476.—Explanation as to the information and the drawings or tracings required by witness from the chief engineer in regard to the locomotives, &c.; necessity of such information and plans in order that witness might be competent to exercise his supervision in a proper manner, *ib.* 2594-2600.

In Madras the supervision has been exercised too minutely, and during the latter part of the operations of the company has been of a harsh and rather arbitrary character, *Walker* 2778.—The supervision has been irritating to the railway servants, and has in some cases been productive of actual delay, *ib.* 2779.

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Belief as to the erroneous interpretation placed by the Madras Government and Colonel Pears upon a certain despatch from the India House as to the relation in which the railway company stood towards the Government, *Walker* 2952-2956.

Reference to the orders of the Home Government as showing the close and strict supervision required of witness, *Pears* 3913.—Duties of witness as to the audit of the accounts of expenditure; alteration made by him in the practice on this point, *ib.* 3914-3917.—Exceptional instances of complaint by the home authorities with the supervision exercised by witness, *ib.* 3927, 3928, 3976.—Circumstance of witness's reports not having been generally before the Railway Board, who decided everything on the reports of their agent, *ib.* 3933.—Disposal by witness of the great mass of railway business without reference to Government, *ib.* 3945.—Witness was from the first most anxious to act in harmony with the railway officials, and was always on terms of cordiality with them, *ib.* 3956-3959.

Further defence generally of the system of supervision established and practised by witness; though necessarily difficult of application at first, it will gradually be carried out with greater facility and more harmoniously, *Pears* 3970-3978.—In the earlier part of the proceedings there may have been two or three occasions on which witness erred, *ib.* 3977.—Belief that the supervision never interfered with the progress of the works for one hour, except in the case of the suspension of the works near Salem with a view to better gradients, *ib.* 3979.

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17. Complaint and Explanation as to the Advances of Money by the Local Government:

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System established by witness in regard to the advances of money to the Railway Company's agent or chief engineer, *Pears* 2266.—Probable inconvenience and delay on occasions through the withholding of advances until the proper reports or returns were forthcoming; the railway officials, and not witness, were blameable for any such deficiency of funds, *ib.* 2267-2274.

Delay on some occasions through the withholding of funds, *Walker* 2827-2830.—Reference to a letter from Mr. Smalley, the former agent of the company, in which he seems to admit that grounds existed for withholding a certain advance, which was however made by the Government, *ib.* 2870-2879.—Instance of the Railway Board having addressed the Court of Directors as to the withholding of funds in the autumn of 1856; there has been no further cause for remonstrance on this score, *ib.* 2879-2883.—Further information as to the serious inconvenience, amounting almost to a stoppage of works, which resulted through the withholding of funds in August and September 1856; how far a non-production of accounts may have been at the bottom of the refusal to make these advances, *ib.* 2976-2994.

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MADRAS RAILWAY—continued.**17. Complaint and Explanation as to the Advances of Money, &c.—continued.**

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18. Complaint and Explanation as to the System of Monthly Reports and Publication adopted by Government:

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Explanation of the practice adopted in regard to the publication of reports by witness relative to the progress of the Madras line; care taken that explanatory statements by the railway engineers should also be made public, *Pears* 2245-2265—Groundlessness of a certain charge by fifteen or sixteen of the railway engineers that *ex parte* statements had been published by witness, *ib.* 2259-2261.

Further explanation and defence of the system of monthly supervision by witness over the expenditure, *Pears* 2406—Explanation as to the faults occasionally found by witness in his monthly reports, with the progress on different parts of the line; incentive to progress by these reports, *ib.* 2501-2510.

Further reference to the memorial by the district and assistant engineers in regard to the supervision by witness and the publication of his reports; its unfounded character, *Pears* 2572-2579.

Evidence in condemnation of the practice of the Madras Government in publishing censures upon the railway engineers with reference to the progress of the works, *Walker* 2848-2856—Information relative to a memorial by the railway engineers, complaining of the censures passed upon them by Colonel Pears and the Madras Government; action of the Railway Board in reference to this memorial, *ib.* 2857-2868—Disapproval of the practice of the Government at Bombay, as well as at Madras, in publishing correspondence reflecting on the railway engineers, *Watt* 3141-3143.

Further explanation of the principles by which witness was guided in the publication of reports; inaccuracy of statements that there was ever any suppression of explanatory letters from the railway officials, *Pears* 3929-3932—Absence of inconsistency between the progress reports and the general reports of witness, *ib.* 3954—The documents complained of, as reflecting on the engineers, were printed for the use of the Government railway department, and, as witness believes, have never been published at all, *ib.* 3966-3969.

Copy of engineers' memorial, complaining of certain censures conveyed upon them through the Government department, *App. p.* 293-295—Extract from the minutes of consultation, Railway Department, referred to in the engineers' memorials, *ib.* 295, 296.

19. Complaint as to the Supervision exercised over the Traffic Arrangements:

Witness complains against the Government interference chiefly as regards the traffic and conduct of the line when opened, *Walker* 2779, 2780. 2953—The traffic manager has complained very much of the Government interference, but the supervision on this score has been much modified, *ib.* 2919, 2920—The main objection raised by the Madras Railway Company has been lately with regard to Government control over the traffic operations, *Pears* 3975.

20. Stoppage of the Works in the Salem District, with the view to the adoption of a different Route:

Statement as to Colonel Pears having in 1856 ordered a new survey with the view to a diversion of the Madras line, as originally sanctioned; considerable delay and confusion in consequence of this survey which was stopped by the Government, and the suspended works continued, on the remonstrance of the company, *Bruce* 1629-1645.

Explanation as to a change suggested by witness in the course of the Madras Railway near the River Cauvery; misunderstanding in the matter, and delay of about six weeks before the original line was again allowed to be proceeded with, *Pears* 2225-2233.

Delay through the stoppage of the works in the Salem district by order of the Government consulting engineer, with a view to the examination of an alternative line of deviation, *Walker* 2742, 2744-2750.

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21. Branch Line to the Government Salt Depot :

Explanation of the grounds upon which witness recommended that a short branch line in connexion with the Government salt depot shall be laid down upon a narrower gauge than the railway itself, *Pears* 2544-2557—Impression that the branch is not above 800 or 900 yards long, *ib.* 2553.

Information relative to the branch line proposed to be constructed down to the Government salt depot; objections to its being constructed on the narrow gauge proposed by Colonel Pears, *Walker* 2933-2949—The branch is described by the railway officers as being $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in length, *ib.* 2935-2937.

Further explanation relative to the action of witness in the matter of the branch line to the Government salt depot, *Pears* 3909-3912.

22. Chief Engineer : way in which his Duties were fulfilled :

Witness was employed for about a year at the Calcutta end of the East India Railway, and was subsequently for four years in Madras as the chief engineer of the Madras Railway, *Bruce* 1226—Past experience of witness in civil engineering, *ib.* 1379, 1380.

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Explanation as to a censure passed by the Railway Board in 1855 upon the conduct of Mr. Bruce, and conveyed in a letter to the company's agent, *Walker* 2818-2823, 2825-2844—Objection made by the company to the publication by Government of the censure upon Mr. Bruce, *ib.* 2836, 2844—Mr. Bruce was on the whole an able, efficient, and most zealous servant, *ib.* 2839-2844.

The agent has frequently observed upon the want of punctuality in the rendering of accounts and the explanations of the chief engineer were sometimes unsatisfactory, *Walker* 2873, 2874, 2890-2894—Explanation as to the dealing before the settlement of Mr. Bruce's accounts; they were, however, satisfactorily closed, inasmuch as out of about half-a-million sterling there was only about twopence-halfpenny unaccounted for, *ib.* 2884-2889—Explanation as to the censure passed by the Madras Government upon Mr. Bruce for having commenced the Corattum Bridge without sanction, and as to Mr. Bruce having been subsequently exonerated by the Railway Board from blame in the matter, *ib.* 2905-2911—Doubt as to the Madras Government having been in possession of any explanatory letter from Mr. Bruce which they could have published as a reply to the censure in the published letter from the Railway Board in 1855, *ib.* 2921-2929.

Witness never wrote any letter in reply to that of the Railway Board in 1855 censuring him on certain points; he has never seen the charges of the Government engineer upon which that letter was based, *Bruce* 2930-2932.

The Railway Board have had occasion to find fault on the score of irregularity in the transmission of papers, &c. by the engineers, the agent at Madras has also complained on this point, *Walker* 2992-2994—The present agent has been anxious to bring up the engineers' accounts more closely, and to have an accountant for the engineering department, *ib.* 2996-3002.

Arrears in the conduct of business by the railway officials, but not in witness's case, *Pears* 3946-3950—Circumstance of the Railway Board in London having frequently complained of the insufficient information sent home with indent, *ib.* 3955—As regards the delay in the rendering of the accounts of the chief engineer he had altogether too much work on his hands, *ib.* 3963-3965.

Extracts from a letter from Mr. Bruce, dated Madras, 2 October 1855, denying the accuracy of certain charges brought against him in his conduct of the work, *App. p.* 296.

The Committee cannot think that the proceedings of the chief engineer of the railway company have been wholly free from blame, *Rep. p.* v.

23. Proceedings of the Court of Directors in regard to the Local Supervision :

Fair and impartial action of the Court of Directors as opposed to that of the local Government in regard to the progress and conduct of the works of the Madras Railway, *Bruce* 1290-1292—Statement as to certain orders having been sent out by the Court of Directors with regard to the local supervision and the publication of official reports; the former of these orders has not been properly received, *ib.* 1292-1297, 1330-1337—Instruction sent out to Madras to modify the supervision, more especially after the line is opened, *Sir J. Melvill* 3662, 3663, 3771-3773.

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Reference by the Committee to the circumstance of instructions having been sent out from the home authorities to the Madras Government to relax the extent of supervision in force there, although such instructions have not as yet taken effect, *Rep. p. v.*

See also *Agents in India.* *Beypore Harbour.* *Bricks, 2.* *Bungalows, 2.* *Cauvery Bridge.* *Competition.* *Kudulhoondy Bridge.* *Pumping.* *Sleepers, 2.* *Engines.* *Waggon Iron Work.*

Malsej Ghaut. Obstacle to a line into the Deccan by way of the Malsej Ghaut, *Walt 3090.*

Management. The immense undertaking of the East Indian Railway Company when completed in its entirety may be readily and economically managed by a Board of Directors in this country, *Noad 916-921.*

More prompt and economical execution of the works if the Railway Company had adopted a plan of prompt local government instead of the present complicated and obstructive system of double Government here and in India, *Pears 2425-2427, 2443. 2458, 2459. 2525-2535.*

See also *Agents in India.* *Railway Boards.* *Supervision.*

Materials. Abundant supply of materials available in this country, *Danvers 104, 105—* Great difficulty in supplying material in India, *ib. 113, 114—* Actual tonnage of materials forwarded from this country, *ib. 127-130. 136—* Delays have of course arisen through the necessity of sending materials from this country, *ib. 244.*

Particulars as to the quantity and cost, as well as the freightage of the materials sent from England for the East India Railway, *Noad 480-488—* Materials amounting to 85,458 tonnage have been sent to India for the Madras line, *Walker 2648-2650.*

See also *Bricks.* *Freights.* *Indents.* *Inland Transport.* *Iron.* *Sleepers.*

Melville, Sir James, K. C. B. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Was until lately secretary to the Court of Directors, and has since 1849 been *ex officio* director of the Indian Railway Companies, 3571-3573—Very limited powers first vested in witness as *ex officio* director, 3574—Important and useful enlargement in March last of witness's power at the boards, in regard to indents for railway materials, 3575-3587. 3615-3617. 3695-3699—Indents for increase of establishment still go through the same process as formerly was required in the case of indents for materials; this process explained, 3579-3583.

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N.

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Profits. In two instances the profits have exceeded the guaranteed interest, *Danvers* 260—Any well-selected line is sure to pay, *ib.* 261—The profit realised on the opened lines has fully answered expectations, *ib.* 295-301.

Witness considers that the chance of a profit of more than five per cent. on the Madras Railway or any railway in the south of India, is very remote, *Pears* 2406-2413, 2432-2438, 2445-2450.

Witness believes that the Madras and other railways will pay considerably more than the guaranteed rates of interest, *Walker* 3003.

Grounds for apprehending that the profits cannot be large, *Sir J. Melvill* 3776-3779, 3856-3864—Whilst the fares must necessarily be low, the working expenses will be high, *ib.* 3776-3779, 3861-3864.

Belief that all the railways in India, selected with ordinary care and judgment, will pay more than the five per cent. guaranteed, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4002-4004, 4025-4031.

See also *East Indian Railway, 16. Madras Railway, 10.*

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Progress of the Works. Witness hands in a table showing the length of the several lines, the experimental or completed portions, and the periods at which it is estimated the remaining works will be completed, *Danvers* 73, 74—Opinion that after the sanction and commencement of any line there has not been much delay, *ib.* 103—Undue enhancements of the cost of construction where the works are pushed on very fast, *Sibley* 1121-1126—Chief causes of the limit upon the rate of construction, *ib.* 1128.

Calculation that sections of 200 miles in length may, under certain conditions, be completed every three years, *Kennedy* 1769-1771—Suggestion that the railway engineers in India should receive bonuses for efficient and quick work, *ib.* 1877-1883—Calculation showing the great importance in a financial point of view of expedition in the execution of the works; enhanced cost as the works are prolonged; examination as to the accuracy of the data upon which this calculation is based, *ib.* 1958-1979.

Limit, on the score of freight, &c., to the construction of railways in India, *Sir J. Melvill* 3622, 3740, 3741—More expeditious construction of the railways in India, notwithstanding the great engineering difficulties, than of railways in England, *ib.* 3688-3694.

The evidence given induces the belief that the progress of railroads under construction in India will bear favourable comparison with that of English lines, *Rep. p. vii.*

See also *Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway*, 4. *Construction. Contracts. East Indian Railway*, 5. *Great Indian Peninsula Railway*, 2. *Inland Transport. Madras Railway*, 7. *Mutiny. Santhal Rebellion. Supervision.*

Projection of Railways. Schemes for the construction of railways in India were first projected in 1844 by Mr. Stephenson (now Sir Macdonald Stephenson), and almost simultaneously by Mr. John Chapman, *Danvers* 6, 7, 9-11; *Rep. p. iv.*

Particulars as to the steps taken by witness in the years 1841-44, with a view to obtaining the support of the East India Company towards railways in India, *Sir M. Stephenson* 3549.

Public Works Department (India). The Board of Public Works in India have nothing to do with the supervision, *Kennedy* 1929, 1930, 2164—From March 1851 until March 1855, witness was consulting engineer to the Government of India in the railway department, and from the latter date until November 1857, held the additional office of Secretary to the Government of India for the Public Works Department, *Baker* 3301—The two offices above-mentioned have since been separated on the recommendation of witness, *ib.* 3302.—See also *Compulsory Labour. Ganges Canal.*

Pumping Engines. Instance of the lapse of twenty one months before an application for some pumping engines for the East Indian line was complied with, *Sibley* 1051—

Lapse of about two years before the receipt of some pumps indented for in 1856 for the Madras line, *Bruce* 1740—Explanation as to the lapse of fifteen months (and not of two years, as stated by Mr. Bruce) before a requisition for pumps was complied with; *Walker* 2719, 2720—As regards the delay in the supply of some pumping engines for the East Indian line, it is not in any way attributable to Government supervision, *Baker* 3377.

Punjab Railway. See *Scinde and Punjab Railway.*

Punjab War. Great advantage if the railways had been constructed before the Punjab War, *Sir J. Melvill* 3846-3848.

Purchase of Works. Power of the East India Company to purchase the railway; conditions under which the purchase may be made, *Rep. p. iv.*

R.

Railway Boards. Very satisfactory manner in which the operations of the railway boards in this country have been conducted; witness has worked very harmoniously with them, and has never exercised his power of veto, *Sir J. Melvill* 3611-3613, 3660, 3742, 3743.

The harmony which has prevailed at the railway boards, seems to be in no small degree attributable to the judgment and discretion exercised on all occasions by the official director, and to the respect shown to his opinion, *Rep. p. v.*

See also *Management. Supervision, I.*

Requisitions for Materials. See *Indents.*

Responsibility. Responsibility incurred by Government by reason of its supervision over the railway, *Noad* 671, 681, 682, 735.

Expediency of a simplification of the system in order that the responsibility and functions of the several departments may be clearly defined, *Rep. p. vii*—Facility under the present system for the evasion of responsibility, *ib.*

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Roads. Explanatory statement as to the time occupied in the construction of the trunk road from Calcutta to Delhi; it is now all open for traffic, *Baker* 3475, 3476.

Rolling Stock. Arrangement with a view to an assimilation of the rolling stock throughout the country, *Danvers* 285-290; *Kennedy* 1804.

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Salaries. Remarks on the inability of the East Indian Railway Board to increase any salary without the sanction of the Court of Directors, *Noad* 703-708—Process necessary before the salaries of any of the railway staff can be increased, *Bruce* 1732-1738—Low salaries on the Bombay and Central India line, on account of the system of bonus being established, *Kennedy* 1880-1882.

Salt Traffic. See *Madras Railway*, 9. 19.

Sanction of Undertakings. Different periods at which the different lines were sanctioned, *Danvers* 25, 26.

Santhal Rebellion. The Santhal rebellion has been very injurious to the East Indian Railway Company, and has thrown back the operations for twelve months, *Noad* 626.

Scinde and Punjaub Railway. Numerous surveys required in the case of the Scinde and Punjaub line by the Bombay Government; sanction ultimately by the Court of Directors of the line as first projected, *Danvers* 68-72. 142. 243. 258.

Survey of the line between Kurrachee and Kotree, a distance of 110 miles, in 1853, by order of the Government, who contemplated constructing the line themselves, *Andrew* 3154-3159—Formation through witness in December 1854 of the present company, in consequence of the information sent home from India, *ib.* 3158. 3160—Official application for a guarantee in January 1855, and grant of the Act of Incorporation in July 1855, the East India Company having given a guarantee of five per cent. on 500,000 *l.* *ib.* 3161-3663. 3274. 3275—The line was commenced on the 29th April last, *ib.* 3164.

Particulars as to the delay incurred before the commencement of the works between Kurrachee and Kotree on account of the numerous surveys entered with a view to the adoption of a different route; unjustifiable character of these surveys; local authorities responsible for them, *Andrew* 3165-3178. 3242-3250—Mr. Frere, Commissioner in Scinde, has been from the first completely favourable to the original scheme, *ib.* 3167, 3168—The difficulties arose during the absence of Mr. Frere and Colonel Crawford from India, *ib.* 3167. 3171—The Home Government had never any idea of deviating from the original plan, *ib.* 3172.

The entire line to Kotree is being made under contract by Messrs. Bray, the Company providing the permanent way, *Andrew* 3180, 3181—About 80 miles of permanent way have been sent to Kurrachee, *ib.* 3182—Considerable natural facilities for the formation of the line, *ib.* 3183-3186—Schemes for the extension of the railway to Omerkote and Deesa, *ib.* 3189. 3199, 3200.

• Scheme of the Punjaub Railway, as embraced by the Scinde Company, *Andrew* 3193-3196. 3221-3223—Some of the recent surveys have been made at the expense of Government, *ib.* 3197—Different amounts guaranteed respectively for the Scinde Railway, the Punjaub Railway, and the Indus steam flotilla, *ib.* 3198. 3202, 3203. 3224-3233—Obstacles to the progress of the undertaking through the Commissioner and the deputy consulting engineer in Scinde, being obliged constantly to refer to the Bombay authorities before sanctioning proceedings, *ib.* 3207, 3208. 3211-3215. 3251-3259.

Representations made by witness in 1855 and 1857 with a view to larger powers of discretion being vested in Mr. Frere; enlargement of these powers through orders from the Home Government, but not by any means to the extent desirable, *Andrew* 3207-3220. 3251-3262. 3296, 3297—The local supervision has been minute and vexatious, *ib.* 3207. 3213-3215. 3218—Both the Court of Directors and the Board of Control have given every facility towards the progress of the undertaking, *ib.* 3218. 3260-3262—Witness considers that his Company have experienced an unusual amount of red-tape opposition on account of the inadequate powers of the local authorities, *ib.* 3298—The contractors are bound to have the line in working order, in two years and a half from the date of being put in possession of the land, *ib.* 3299.

Importance of the Commissioner of Scinde having extensive powers of supervision; impression that he is satisfied with his present powers, *Sir J. Melvill* 3764-3766. 3785. 3785*.

See also *Indus Navigation*.

Selection of Lines. Advantage generally if the selection and sanction of the lines were left to the Governor-general, after the Home Government had assented to the financial arrangements, *Kennedy* 2162, 2163.

See also *Commercial and Political Advantages of Railway.*

Sibley, George. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Has been employed since the autumn of 1851 as district engineer under Mr. Turnbull, on certain portions of the East Indian Railway, 1041-1047—Irregular and inconvenient operation of the Government supervision over the undertaking, 1048-1055—Inconvenience through the inadequacy of the staff, for an increase of which an application has been made, but has not yet been granted, 1052-1055, 1080-1082.

Witness at present has charge of forty-five miles of works, that is from the junction near Bardwan to over the River Mor, 1056-1058—Heavy character of the works on this portion of the line, 1059, 1060—The ruling gradient is 1 in 500; at first there was a restriction to a gradient of 1 in 1,000, which would have required much heavier works, 1061-1064—Particulars as to the bridges being built over the Hadjai and Mor; supply of bricks for the purpose, 1065-1073.

The natives are very handy workmen; they are not employed as skilled labourers, 1074, 1077—Nature of the superintendence or inspection employed over the native labourers, 1075-1079—Extent of the European staff of inspectors and engineers asked for by the Railway Company, 1079—Advantage of the system of executing the works by small contracts, as at first, rather than by the large contracts subsequently entered into, 1083-1085—Considerable saving on the earthworks between Rajmahal and Calgong by the extension of the gradient to 1 in 200; 1086-1088.

Consideration of the merits respectively of the direct and indirect line to Mirzapore; the former line could have been finished earlier, and at less cost than the latter, and on the score of traffic would have been preferable on the whole, 1089-1099, 1145-1178—Injurious effect upon the progress of the works through the Government impressment of carriages and animals, 1100-1107—Strong feeling produced by the impressment system upon the natives; illustration of this, 1107-1110.

Illustration of the enhanced expense incurred through the form required on the sanctioning of indents, 1111-1113—Satisfactory result of the discretion allowed to witness in his particular district in the procuring of supplies, &c., 1111, 1118-1120—Injurious effect produced as regards the railway engineers by the minute interference of the Government engineers, 1114-1117—Undue enhancement of the cost of construction where the works are pushed on very fast, 1121-1126—In the case of the works under witness, the rate of progress may be considered to have reached its limit, 1127—Chief causes of the limit upon the rate of construction, 1128.

Injurious effect produced for a time upon the progress of the railway through the system of compulsory labour as employed in the case of the public works; oppressive operation of the system upon the natives, 1128-1145—Examination to the effect that if certain data be correct, the heavy cost of working the traffic on the direct line to Mirzapore would counterbalance the advantage on the score of its being much the shorter line, 1146-1171—Further element of delay if the Court of Directors had a consulting engineer of their own, 1175—Opinion that the direct line to Mirzapore, as well as the indirect line, will eventually be made, 1176.

[Second Examination.]—Further consideration of the cost of working the traffic if the direct line to Mirzapore be made according to certain gradients; belief that goods may be carried more economically than on the indirect line, 1185-1212—Opinion that in no case need there be a steeper gradient than one in 200 on the direct line; the cutting would in places be heavy, 1201-1204, 1218, 1219.

Ample supply of carriages, or hackerys, for the conveyance of materials; nature of these vehicles, 1213-1217—Reference to certain public documents as showing the cognisance of the Indian Government in regard to the oppressive operation of the forced supply of labour and carriages, 1220—Witness never heard of the employment of compulsory labour on any railways in India, 1221-1224.

SLEEPERS:

1. *Difficulty as regards Supplies of Wooden Sleepers.*
2. *Complaint and Explanation in the case of the Madras Railway.*
3. *Experimental Supply of Iron Sleepers; increased Supplies recommended.*

1. *Difficulty as regards Supplies of Wooden Sleepers:*

There has been much difficulty in procuring wooden sleepers in India, *Dangers* 114-232; *Rep. p. v.*—Difficulties in regard to supplies of wooden sleepers in India which have necessitated the transmission of sleepers from this country, *Kennedy* 1915, 1916, 1918-1920—Means of procuring excellent sleepers from Australia, *ib.* 1916, 1917, 1926—Necessity of sending large supplies of sleepers from England for the Bombay and Central India line on account of advices just received as to the high price of sleepers.

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sleepers in Bombay, *Kennedy* 2107—The wooden sleepers sent out have all been creosoted, *ib.* 2133-2136—Encouragement by witness of the provision of sleepers from the native forests, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4000.

2. *Complaint and Explanation in the case of the Madras Railway:*

Particulars as to the forms required in contracting for wooden sleepers, and as to the effect of the forms in enhancing the price and in rendering it exceedingly difficult at times to procure any sleepers at all, *Bruce* 1449-1451. 1460-1462. 1500-1513—Considerable delay in the acceptance of some tenders for sleepers, *ib.* 1450, 1451. 1500-1512—Explanation of the circumstances connected with the purchase, through witness, of a lot of 3,000 sleepers; obstacles raised by Colonel Pears, who required the botanical name of the wood before authorising the purchase, *ib.* 1452-1459. 1466-1486. 1514, 1515—Great importance of a permission to procure sleepers by a direct money payment; the plan was adopted for a short time, but was given up at the suggestion of the railway company's agent, who, however, has since been most anxious to return to it, *ib.* 1462-1465. 1487-1489—Strong remonstrances against the present system have been sent out by the railway directors in England, in concert with the Court of Directors, *ib.* 1499. 1513.

Further evidence condemnatory of the restrictions exercised by the local Government in regard to the supply of sleepers, *Bruce* 1550 *et seq.*—Purchase of bricks, lime, and other materials without that undue control which has been exercised in the case of sleepers, *ib.* 1553, 1554. 1562-1565—Approval of the Government, through its engineer, settling some limit as to the woods to be used for sleepers, and the price to be paid for them, *ib.* 1555. 1560, 1561—Way in which the restrictions greatly added to the price, *ib.* 1558, 1559—Approval by the Home Government of the plan suggested by witness for purchasing sleepers, *ib.* 1572-1575—The line as hitherto opened has not been delayed for want of sleepers, *ib.* 1577, 1578.

Particulars as to the kinds of woods used for sleepers, the districts from which procured, and the prices at which they may be obtained, *Bruce* 1598, 1599. 1616-1628—Constant attempt of the natives to sell inferior wood for sleepers, *ib.* 1601—Import of some creosoted sleepers from England; their cost, *ib.* 1604-1607. 1623.

Reasons why witness required that wooden sleepers should be supplied by contract, though such requirement was not made in the case of bricks, lime, &c., *Pears* 2290-2293

—Respect in which the system of tenders for sleepers is preferable to that of direct purchase by the engineers, either with or without a limit upon the price, *ib.* 2293-2309—The strict system of tenders for sleepers, as advocated by witness, was never properly carried out, *ib.* 2296-2300—Failure of an attempt to purchase sleepers through the engineers, *ib.* 2300, 2301. 2309—Means of procuring sleepers through Parsee contractors, *ib.* 2305-2307.

Difficulty as regards obtaining sufficient supplies of timber from the forests for sleepers, *Pears* 2496-2500—Views of the agents in regard to the best mode for procuring sleepers, *ib.* 2517, 2518.

Proceedings of witness in regard to supplies of sleepers further explained, *Pears* 3934-3944.

3. *Experimental Supply of Iron Sleepers; increased Supplies recommended:*

Explanation as to a refusal by the Court of Directors to sanction the use of Adam's girder rail, except by way of experiment, *Danvers* 246; *Sir J. Melvill* 3735, 3736.

Advantage anticipated from the use of iron sleepers in India, a recommendation already made by witness on this point has not been sanctioned by the Home Government, *Kennedy* 1920-1923. 1927, 1928. 1936-1948—Considerable advantage of iron sleepers over wooden sleepers further adverted to, more especially as regards the duration, *ib.* 2108, 2109—Large saving in freights if iron sleepers be adopted, *ib.* 2133—Iron sleepers or bearers for about twenty miles have been allowed to be sent out as an experiment, *ib.* 2129, 2130—The iron sleepers, which are known by the name of Adam's girder rail, have been tried with success in this country; they are on the longitudinal principle, *ib.* 2130-2132.

Soane Bridge (East Indian Railway). Particulars in connexion with the large bridge to be built over the Soane; impediment raised at first to a superstructure of iron, *Noad* 498-510. 526-531—The bridge is probably three quarters of a mile in length, *ib.* 498—The substructure of the bridge is made of brick; the superstructure will be iron, *ib.* 499-506.

Grounds upon which witness defends his recommendation of a brick bridge over the Soane, rather than an iron one, *Baker* 3363-3371. 3402-3406. 3429-3431.

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Social Improvement. Excellent result anticipated from the railways as regards the moral and social condition of the natives, *Sir J. Melvill* 3865.

Southern of Madras Railway. It is apprehended that the Southern of Madras may be a competing line, *Sir J. Melvill* 3859.

Staff. See *Agents in India*.

Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, 7.

East Indian Railway, 13.

Engineers.

Labour.

Madras Railway, 13: 22.

Supervision.

Stephenson, Sir Macdonald. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Director of the East Indian Railway Company; was for some years their agent in India, and has been connected with the undertaking since 1835; 3546-3548—Particulars as to the steps taken by witness in the years 1841-4, with a view to obtaining the support of the East India Company towards railways in India, 3549—Survey of the East Indian line undertaken by witness in 1845, Mr. Simms having at the same time been sent to India by the Court of Directors as consulting engineer on their behalf; in 1846 witness returned with the results of the survey, which were most satisfactory, *ib.*

The Home Government are not chargeable with any delay previously to 1844; 3550, 3551—Arrangements in 1847 for constructing portions of the Railway were put a stop to by the monetary crisis of 1847-8; 3552—In 1849 contracts were made, and in 1850 operations were commenced, which have since only been interrupted by local causes, *ib.*—Progress made with the undertaking at the present time; the whole line will be opened by 1862, *ib.*

Grounds upon which it was determined by the Railway Company to execute the works by contract rather than through their engineers, 3553, 3554—Failure of several of the contracts adverted to; blame attributed hereon to Government in their rigid enforcement of original conditions, without reference to the altered circumstances and unforeseen difficulties under which the contractors laboured, 3554-3563—Explanation as to all the contracts having been made in India; failure on account of the system of Government supervision, of attempts to obtain contractors from England, 3564-3570—Reference to the rejection by the India Board of a tender by Mr. Jackson for the execution of a first section of seventy miles on advantageous terms approved by the Railway Board and the East India Company, 3564, 3565.

[Second Examination.] Gain of nearly four years in the completion of the line, if Mr. Jackson's tender in 1848 had been accepted, 3985, 3986—Careful manner in which the contracts were prepared, 3987—Explanation that there are three contracting firms on the Bengal line who have not failed, 3988-3990—Further reference to the grounds upon which the Board of Directors determined to adopt the contract system rather than the departmental system, in the execution of the works, 3991-3994—Reasons for not tendering in England, 3993.

Reference to a letter from Mr. Charles Freshfield, dated 20 January 1857, as showing that the guarantee principle is in no way financially onerous to the East India Company, 3995, 3996—Grounds upon which witness recommended the direct line to Mirzapore, with branches, in preference to the Ganges Valley line, 3997, 3998—Great difficulty experienced in regard to inland transport; steps taken on this point, 3999—Endeavour to employ the labour and materials of the country as far as possible; instances of this, 3999, 4000.

Very onerous duties of witness when agent of the railway company in India, 4001—Invariable co-operation on the part of both the local and home authorities with witness in forwarding the undertaking, 4001, 4017—Expediency of a more correct interpretation of the supervision clause in the contract, 4001, 4015—Belief that all the railways in India, selected with ordinary care and judgment, will pay more than the five per cent. guaranteed, 4002-4004, 4025-4031.

Statistical information provided by witness formed the basis of the Government guarantee, 4005-4007—Sundry items besides the mere cost of construction of the 121 miles of the East India Railway now open, which are included in an expenditure of 12,000 L. per mile, 4008-4012—Drawbacks upon the advantage of the telescopic principle of construction, 4013—Necessary impediment to progress through the system of Government supervision in India, 4014, 4015—Steps taken by witness when in India to prevent the system from working injuriously, 4014, 4052-4058—Individuals are not blameable in any way for the delays through the system, 4015, 4017.

Decided dissent from the statement of Colonel Pears that the railways might be executed more cheaply and expeditiously by Government than by the company, 4016, 4019-4022—Obstacle to a direct loan by the East India Company for the formation of the railways, 4023, 4024—Further statement as to the unnecessary delay before the home authorities decided upon guaranteeing the East Indian Railway, 4032-4040—Subsequently to July 1847 the commercial crisis was the cause of the delay till 1849; 4041, 4042—Delay through the non-acceptance of Mr. Jackson's tender further adverted to, 4043-4047.

Reference to the opinion of Lord Dalhousie that the Government supervision need not cause vexation or delay, 4049-4052—Annoyance to the civil engineers in being controlled

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trolled by military engineers, 4059—Question whether it would not be desirable that civil engineers should be sent from this country to carry out the Government supervision, 4060-4070—Beneficial results anticipated from the operation of the engineering colleges at Roorkee and Calcutta, 4071, 4072. 4082-4084—Ability of the natives of India in imitating and carrying out the designs of others for public works, but not in themselves designing any great undertakings, 4073-4081. 4085-4087.

SUPERVISION:**I. In England.****II. In India:**

1. Importance of the principle of Government Supervision over the Works.
2. Generally as to the exercise of Supervision.
3. Consideration of the Fitness of the Officers appointed to the task.
4. Effect of the System of Contracts in facilitating Supervision.
5. Respects in which desirable to amend the present System.

I. In England:

Evidence relative to the functions exercised by Sir James Melvill as *ex officio* director at the railway boards; limit placed upon his powers by the Board of Control, *Danvers* 45-58. 163-192—Explanation of the practice adopted till lately in the consideration of indents or requisitions from India for materials; extent of delay on this score, *Danvers* 49-64. 169-201. 272, 273; *Noad* 702; *Bruce* 1730, 1731. 1739-1748; *Walker* 2710-2713; *Sir J. Melvill* 3581-3585. 3656-3659; *Rep. p. iv*—Doubt as to the necessity of certain matters being laid by the railway boards before the Court of Directors and approved of by the Board of Control having led to much or any delay in the construction of the works, *Danvers* 172-201—Settlement in this country of questions as to the weight of rails, &c., *ib.* 239-242—Harmonious action between the *ex officio* Government director and the railway directors, *ib.* 257. 290.

Understanding of the East Indian Railway Company that the *ex officio* director to be appointed at their board by Government would have absolute power on the part of the East India Company, at once to determine all questions submitted to the board, *Noad* 925, 826. 839. 842-849—Explanation of the actual authority exercised by the *ex officio* director; increased powers given to him in July 1855, and again in March last, his authority, however, being still most inconveniently and needlessly limited, *ib.* 827-841. 850-894—Enlarged powers as regards the sanctioning of indents which has been recently conferred on the *ex officio* director; considerable improvement thereby, *Noad* 829. 888. 923-926; *Kennedy* 1955-1957; *Walker* 2713, 2714—Discretion exercised by the consulting engineers of the railway company in the choice of materials, after the purchase has been sanctioned, *Noad* 876-879—The office of *ex officio* director was established in August 1849, *ib.* 880.

Advantage if the decision of the *ex officio* Government director in England were final except in important matters, *Noad* 905-911; *Kennedy* 1875, 1876. 2180—Except by a further enlargement of the powers of *ex officio* director in this country the supervision at home scarcely admits of improvement, *Walker* 2958-2960—Improved practice at the railway boards in England through the lately increased power of the *ex officio* director; further improvement if he had power at once to consent to the proceedings of the board, *Watt* 3150, 3151.

Witness, who was until lately secretary to the Court of Directors, has since 1849 been *ex officio* director of the Indian railway companies, *Sir J. Melvill* 3571-3573—Very limited powers first vested in witness as *ex officio* director, *ib.* 3574—Useful enlargement lately, *ib.* 3575 *et seq.*—Objections to any further enlargement of witness's powers as official director, *ib.* 3588-3592. 3614-3620. 3651-3655. 3793-3801.

Necessity of all instructions from the railway boards to their agents in India being sanctioned by the Court of Directors and Board of Control; considerable delay occasionally through this requirement, *Sir J. Melvill* 3593-3595—Convenience if witness had power to appoint a deputy in case of absence, *ib.* 3731—It is absolutely essential that the right man be found for the place of official director, *ib.* 3743.

Remarks upon the supervision as exercised by the official director at the various railway boards, *Rep. p. iv*—Considerable improvement lately in the practice as regards indents, *ib.*—Considerable delays have not unfrequently resulted from the process of forwarding instructions from the railway boards to their agents in India; improvement expected on this score, *ib.*

II. In India:

1. Importance of the principle of Government Supervision over the Works:

Necessity of supervision in connexion with the guarantee, *Danvers* 329; *Baker* 3390, 3391; *Sir J. Melvill* 3700-3703. 3719. 3750. 3798-3801—Approval of the right of supervision, 416—L.

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II. In India—continued.

1. Importance of the principle of Government Supervision, &c.—continued.

supervision and of a check upon the expenditure, if not carried too far, *Noad* 632-634. 709. 912-915—Importance of the principle of good and vigilant Government supervision over the construction of the railways, *Kennedy* 1874. 1931—Usefulness of Government supervision if exercised with great discretion; probable absence of delay in such case, *ib.* 1929-1931. 2184, 2185. 2198-2203.

Witness considers that the system of Government supervision over the railway works in India is essential in justice to the people of that country, *Pears* 2218, 2219—Supervision is perfectly consistent with rapid progress, *ib.* 2220—Government supervision, if properly exercised, is very valuable and useful, *Walker* 2777—Decided approval of Government supervision if confined to the settlement of great principles, *Andrew* 2219. 3240, 3241—Inadequacy of a single audit of expenditure as a check upon expenditure; necessity of previous sanction, *Baker* 3501-3504.

Reference to the testimony given to the value of Government control to the interests of the companies themselves, when rationally and temperately exercised, *Rep. p. vii*—The Committee conclude that Government control is requisite for the protection of the Indian revenue from undue expenditure, and is even valuable to the interests of the shareholders themselves, *ib.*

2. Generally as to the exercise of Supervision:

Explanation as to the establishment of the present system of supervision of the lines in India, *Danvers* 40-49. 94-99—Control exercised over the construction of and expenditure on each line, by an officer of engineers appointed by the Government, *ib.* 40-44—Exercise of the Government supervision adverted to; directions given in order that there may be no undue interference, *ib.* 139-143—Supervision has not prevented the promotion of the works, nor caused any real delay, *ib.* 229. 248-252.

Views expressed by witness in March 1851, in opposition to the present system of carrying out railways in India under Government supervision, *Pears* 2238, 2239—Duties of witness in regard to the railways, as consulting engineer to the Government of India, *Baker* 3304—Desire of the Indian Government that the supervision should be exercised so as to maintain a real check on the operations of the engineers, without doing so in a manner vexatious to them, or calculated to retard the progress of the works, *ib.* 3307, 3308. 3329—The Supreme Government decides as to the direction or route of each line, but does not interfere in the detailed execution, *ib.* 3396-3398.

Opinion that the Government supervision in India has been occasionally too minute and perhaps vexatious, *Sir J. Melvill* 3603. 3660, 3661—The supervision is now working more easily and satisfactorily, *ib.* 3603. 3660—Opinion that the supervision has not caused much delay, *ib.* 3689. 3704-3706.

Fault attaching both to the Government engineers and to the railway engineers in the differences between them: this was owing to the novelty of the position, which is now being properly understood, *Sir J. Melvill* 3713-3718—The Government officers regarded the undertaking too much as a purely Government work, *ib.* 3715—The transaction of business here and in India has generally been improved of late, *ib.* 3737, 3738.

Belief as to the necessity of a knowledge of minute details, in order to exercise a wholesome general control, *Pears* 3971-3974—Expediency of a more correct interpretation of the supervision clause in the contract, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4001. 4015—Necessary impediment to progress through the system of Government supervision in India, *ib.* 4014, 4015.

Under the terms of the contract, the Government have an almost unlimited power of control in India over the acts and operations of the railway companies, *Rep. p. v*—No very material delay in the construction of the various lines appears to have resulted from the Government supervision, *ib.* vii.

3. Consideration of the Fitness of the Officers appointed to the task:

Practical experience of the Government engineering officers employed in supervising the construction of the railways, *Danvers* 313-316—If the supervising officer were a civil engineer the same restrictions would not be enforced as in Madras, *Bruce* 1517, 1518—Fitness of military engineers for the control of the railway engineers considered; importance of the former having had previous experience in railway works, *Kennedy* 2191-2197—Considerable experience of witness as a military engineer; he has also studied the construction of railways and other works in this country, *Pears* 2323-2327.

Former employment of witness on the Ganges Canal and other public works in India; he has also studied the construction of railways in this country, *Baker* 3302—Importance of a military rather than a civil engineer for the supervision of the railway engineers,

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3. Consideration of the Fitness of the Officers appointed, &c.—continued.

needs, *Baker* 3447-3454—Large employment of the military engineers in Bengal, in civil works, *ib.* 3492, 3493. 3535-3539.

Annoyance to the civil engineers in being controlled by military engineers, *Sir M. Stephenson* 4059—Question whether it would not be desirable that civil engineers should be sent from this country to carry out the Government supervision, *ib.* 4060-4070—Inadequate experience of the Government consulting engineers in railway engineering, *ib.* 4066-4070.

4. Effect of the System of Contracts in facilitating Supervision:

The system of contracts is favourable to progress, where there is Government supervision, *Watt* 3094-3096—Respects in which Government interference might be less exercised in the case of lines executed entirely by competent contractors, *Baker* 3486-3491—Probable cause of the harmony between the Government and railway officers in Bombay than in Madras; doubt as to its being owing, in the former case, to the contract system of construction, *Sir J. Melvill* 3780-3784—Respects in which the Government engineer has greater difficulties to contend, under the departmental system of construction, than under the contract system, *Pears* 3907, 3908.

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Nature of the supervision of which witness would approve; the railway engineers should be unfettered, save by an estimate previously agreed upon, in the actual execution of the works, *Noad* 632-634. 736-741—Greater rapidity of construction if the engineers of the company were bound by estimates, without being subject to detailed supervision, *ib.* 824.

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Insufficiency of progress reports as the only means of checking the proceedings of the engineers, *Baker* 3332. 3390, 3391.

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Surat to Bombay. See Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway.

Surrender of Works to Government. Power of the Railway Company to surrender the works upon giving six months' notice, the East India Company repaying the amount expended, *Danvers* 34, 38, 39; *Rep. p.* iv.

T.

Timber. Reference to a complaint recently received from Mr. Palmer, agent of the East Indian Railway Company, that he could not enter into a negotiation for the purchase of some timber without certain detailed information to the Government engineer which would have prevented the negotiation from being carried out, *Noad* 764—Nature of the control exercised by the Government over the cutting of timber in the forests of Madras, 416-1.

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Bruce 1592-1594. 1612-1615—Reference to the kind of wood used for making charcoal, *ib.* 1594-1597—Particulars as to the forests in Madras, the nature of the timber in them, and the regulations in regard to cutting the timber, *Pears* 2310-2322—Difficulty experienced by the Great Indian Peninsula Company in providing timber from the forests; steps taken hereon, *Watt* 3106, 3107—Propriety of the refusal to sanction the purchase of some timber by the East Indian Railway Company's engineer, the purposes of the purchase not having been explained, *Baker* 3387.—See also *Sleepers*.

Traffic. Satisfactory receipts in the lines hitherto opened, *Kennedy* 1933, 1934—Grounds for the interference by Government in regard to the traffic arrangements and the rates of fares, *Baker* 3477-3485—Less supervision desirable when the lines are opened, *Sir J. Melvill* 3662. 3721, 3723.

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Cotton, *East Indian Railway*, 15. *Great Indian Peninsula Railway*, 6.
Madras Railway, 9. 19. *Profits*.

Tram Roads. The question of tram branch lines has not been considered by the East India Railway Company, *Noad* 1004. 1007, 1008—Bad economy in the construction of tram-roads in India instead of railroads, *Kennedy* 2110—Probable formation in course of time tram-roads as feeders to the railroads, *Sir J. Melvill* 3823.

Transport or Carriage of Materials. See *Freights*. *Inland Transport*.

Troops and Stores. Condition of the contract that Government troops, stores, &c. shall be carried at the lowest rates, *Danvers* 230, 231.

U.

Unguaranteed Capital. Facility for providing unguaranteed capital for the extension of the railway system; that is, if confidence be given by the results of the present undertakings, *Kennedy* 1906-1911. 1934—If the present lines are very successful, the public will probably come forward without a guarantee, *Sir J. Melvill* 3775.

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V.

Vaniambady to Bangalore. Though a line from Vaniambady to Bangalore has been sanctioned, permission to proceed with it has not been obtained, *Walker* 2974, 2975.

W.

Waggon Iron Work (Madras Railway). Lapse of two years before some waggon iron work indented for in 1855 was supplied, *Bruce* 1739.

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Walker, James. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Managing Director of the Madras Railway Company, 2606—A company was formed in 1845 for the purpose of constructing a railway at Madras, but after two years' unsuccessful application for a guarantee, it wound up in 1847; 2607-2609—The present company applied for a guarantee in May 1849, but were unsuccessful, 2610-2613—In February 1850 the company renewed the application and subsequently took other steps in the matter, and in May 1852 a guarantee of 4½ per cent. was given on 500,000 £. for a line from Madras to Arcot, 2614-2623.

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Belief as to the inaccuracy of a statement by Colonel Pears, as to the excess of cost per mile beyond the engineer's estimate, 2895-2899—Further statement that Government could not have executed the works more cheaply or expeditiously than the railway company if unfettered by Government, 2900-2904—Explanation as to the censure passed by the Madras Government upon Mr. Bruce, for having commenced the Goriantum Bridge without sanction, and as to Mr. Bruce having been subsequently exonerated by the Railway Board from blame in the matter, 2905-2914.

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Watt, Thomas R. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Secretary, for four years, to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, 3004, 3005—The scheme of the Company was originated by Mr. John Chapman in the spring of 1845, but the Act of Incorporation was not obtained till August 1849; 3006-3009—In August 1849 the Company contracted with the Court of Directors to make a line from Bombay to Callian, a distance of thirty-three miles; this was completed in May 1854; 3010-3016.

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Particulars as to the difficulty and delay experienced in obtaining sanction for the extension from Callian to Munmar and Jubbulpore, 3063-3072—Particulars as to the delay before sanction was given to take the works over the Bhore Ghaut and the Thul Ghaut; alternative lines contemplated by Government, 3073-3089—Obstacle to a line into the Deccan by way of the Mulraj Ghaut, 3090.

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Amount of capital paid up, 3123—About 460,000*l.* has been received as interest, *ib.*—About 9,000,000*l.* may be required for the whole 1,235 miles, 3124—The company have paid to the Government about 70,000*l.* towards the 460,000*l.*, 3125-3127—Very satisfactory receipts on the completed portion of the line; grounds for anticipating largely increased receipts from the conveyance of salt, cotton, &c., when the line is extended into the interior of the country, 3128-3140.

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Wilson, Mr. Active part taken in 1849 by Mr. Wilson, then secretary of the Board of Control, in bringing about and concluding the negotiation for a guaranteed interest of five per cent., *Noad* 341, 344.

Working Expenses. Should any line not pay its working expenses a rateable deduction, corresponding with the amount of expenses uncovered, is to be made from the guarantee, *Danvers* 36, 37—The lines opened have, from the first, more than paid their working expenses, *ib.* 260, 262.

